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The church historians of  
England











THE CHURCH HISTORIANS  
OF ENGLAND.

W. CLAY, PRINTER, BREAD STREET HILL, LONDON.

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**THE CHURCH HISTORIANS  
OF ENGLAND.**

REFORMATION PERIOD.

THE ACTS AND MONUMENTS OF  
✓  
JOHN FOXE.

CAREFULLY REVISED, WITH NOTES  
AND APPENDICES.

VOL. III.—PART I.

Seeleys,

FLEET STREET AND HANOVER STREET.  
MDCCCLV.



# ACTS AND MONUMENTS.



VOL. III.



# ACTS AND MONUMENTS.

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## CONTINUATION OF BOOK V.

CONTAINING

THE LAST THREE HUNDRED YEARS FROM THE LOOSING OUT  
OF SATAN.

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### RICHARD THE SECOND.

AFTER king Edward III. succeeded his son's son, Richard II., being yet but young, of the age of eleven years; who, in the same year of his [grand]father's decease, with great pomp and solemnity was crowned at Westminster, A.D. 1377: who, following his [grand]father's steps, was no great disfavourer of the way and doctrine of Wickliff: albeit at the first beginning, partly through the iniquity of time, and partly through the pope's letters, he could not do that he would. Notwithstanding, something he did in that behalf; more perhaps than in the end he had thank for of the papists, as more (by the grace of Christ) shall appear. But as times do change, so changeth commonly the cause and state of men. The bishops now seeing the aged king to be taken away, during the time of whose old age all the government of the realm depended upon the duke of Lancaster; and now the said bishops again seeing the said duke, with the lord Percy, the lord marshal, to give over their offices, and to remain in their private houses without intermeddling, thought now the time to serve them to have some vantage against John Wickliff; who hitherto, under the protection of the aforesaid duke and lord marshal, had some rest and quiet.

*Richard II.*

A. D.  
1377.

The  
bishops  
take van-  
tage of  
time.

Concerning the story of which Wickliff, I trust, gentle reader, it is not out of thy memory what went before (vol. ii. p. 801), how he being brought before the bishops, by the means of the duke and lord Henry Percy the council was interrupted and brake up before nine of the clock, by reason whereof Wickliff at that time escaped,

(1) Latin Edition 1559, p. 3. Ed. 1563, p. 89. Ed. 1570, p. 520. Ed. 1576, p. 125. Ed. 1583, p. 430. Ed. 1596, p. 296. Ed. 1684, vol. i. p. 490.—Ed.

*Richard II.*  
*A.D. 1377.* without any further trouble. Who notwithstanding being by the bishops forbid to deal in that doctrine any more, continued yet with his fellows<sup>1</sup> going barefoot and in long frieze gowns, preaching diligently unto the people. Out of whose sermons these articles most chiefly at that time were collected.

*See Appendix.*

### Articles collected out of Wickliff's Sermons.

The first articles collected out of Wickliff's sermons. That the holy eucharist, after the consecration, is not the very body of Christ, but figurally.  
 That the church of Rome is not the head of all churches more than any other church is; nor that Peter had any more power given of Christ than any other apostle had.

Item, That the pope of Rome hath no more in the keys of the church, than hath any other within the order of priesthood.

Item, If God be, the lords temporal may lawfully and meritoriously take away their temporalities from the churchmen offending "habitualiter."

Item, If any temporal lord do know the church so offending, he is bound, under pain of damnation, to take the temporalities from the same.

Item, That the gospel is a rule sufficient of itself to rule the life of every christian man here, without any other rule.

Item, That all other rules, under whose observances divers religions persons be governed, do add no more perfection to the gospel, than doth the white colour to the wall.

Item, That neither the pope, nor any other prelate of the church, ought to have prisons wherein to punish transgressors.

His conclusions condemned by the cardinals at Rome. Beside these articles, divers other conclusions afterward were gathered out of his writings and preachings by the bishops of England, which they sent diligently to pope Gregory XI. at Rome; where the said articles being read and perused, were condemned for heretical and erroneous by twenty-three cardinals.

Wickliff called before the archbishop of Canterbury. In the mean time the archbishop of Canterbury, sending forth his citations, as is aforesaid, called before him the said John Wickliff, in the presence of the duke of Lancaster and lord Percy; who, upon the declaration of the pope's letters made, bound him to silence, forbidding him to treat any more of those matters. But then, through the disturbance of the bishop of London, and the duke, and lord Percy, that matter was soon despatched, as hath been above recorded. And all this was done in the days and last year of king Edward III. and pope Gregory XI.

Wickliff commanded to keep silence by the bishops. \*<sup>2</sup>Wickliff, albeit he was forced by the bishops and prelates to keep silence, yet could not so be suppressed, but that through the vehemency of the truth he burst out afterwards much more fiercely. For Wickliff, having obtained and gotten the goodwill and favour of certain noblemen, attempted again to stir up his doctrine amongst the common people. Then began the Pharisees again to swarm and gather together, with marvellous tragedies striving against the light of the gospel, which began to shine abroad; neither was the pope himself behind with his part, for he never ceased with his bulls and letters to stir up them, who otherwise, of their own accord, were but too furious and mad.\*

A.D. 1377. Edmund Stafford brings the pope's bull. Accordingly, that same year, which was the year of our Lord 1377, being the first year of king Richard II., the said pope Gregory,

(1) See the Appendix.—Ed.

(2) Edition of 1565, p. 90, and Latin Ed. p. 7—Ed.



taking his time, after the death of king Edward sendeth his bull by the hands and means (peradventure) of one master Edmund Stafford, directed unto the university of Oxford, rebuking them sharply, imperiously, and like a pope, for suffering so long the doctrine of John Wickliff to take root, and not plucking it up with the crooked sickle of their catholic doctrine. Which bull when it came to be exhibited unto their hands by the pope's messenger aforesaid, the proctors and masters of the university, joining together in consultation, stood long in doubt, deliberating with themselves whether to receive the pope's bull with honour, or to refuse and reject it with shame.

*Richard II.*  
A.D.  
1377.

The masters of Oxford doubt whether to receive or reject it.

I cannot here but laugh in my mind to behold the authors of this story whom I follow; what exclamations, what wonderings and marvels they make at these Oxford men, for so doubting at a matter so plain, so manifest of itself (as they say), whether the pope's bull sent to them from Rome was to be received or not; which thing to our monkish writers seemed then such a prodigious wonder, that they with blushing cheeks are fain to cut off the matter in the midst with silence.

*See Appendix.*

The copy of this wild bull, sent to them from the pope, was this:¹

Gregory the Bishop, the Servant of God's Servants, to his well-beloved Sons, the Chancellor and University of Oxford, in the Diocese of Lincoln, Greeting and Apostolical Benediction.

We are constrained both to marvel and lament, that you, who—considering the favours and privileges granted to your university of Oxford by the apostolic see, and your knowledge of the Scriptures, the wide ocean whereof (through the favour of the Lord) you so successfully explore—ought to be champions and defenders of the orthodox faith (without which there is no salvation of souls), through negligence and sloth on your part allow cockle to spring among the pure wheat in the field of your glorious university aforesaid, and (what is worse) to grow up; and take no means (as we were lately informed) for rooting out of the same; to the great blemishing of your fair name, the peril of your souls, the contempt of the Roman church, and the decay of the orthodox faith. And (what grieveth us still more bitterly) the increase of the said cockle is perceived and felt in Rome before it is in England, where (however) the means of extirpating it ought to be applied. It hath, in truth, been intimated to us by many trust-worthy persons (who are much grieved on the subject), that one John Wickliff, rector of Lutterworth, in the diocese of Lincoln, professor of divinity (would that he were not rather a master of errors), hath gone to such a pitch of detestable folly, that he feareth not to teach, and publicly preach, or rather to vomit out of the filthy dungeon of his breast, certain erroneous and false propositions and conclusions, savouring even of heretical pravity, tending to weaken and overthrow the *status* of the whole church, and even the secular government. Some of these, with a change only in certain of the terms, seem to be identical with the perverse opinions and unlearned doctrine of Marsilius de Padua and John de Ghent of cursed memory, whose book was reprobated and condemned by our predecessor of happy memory, pope John XXII. These opinions, I say, he is circulating in the realm of England, so glorious for power and abundance of wealth, but still more so for the shining purity of its faith, and wont to produce men illustrious for their clear and sound knowledge of the scriptures, ripe in gravity of manners, conspicuous for devotion, and bold defenders of the catholic faith; and some of Christ's flock he hath been defiling therewith, and misleading from the straight path of the sincere faith into the pit of perdition. Wherefore, being (as in duty bound) unwilling to connive at so deadly a pest, for which if not at

The pope's mad bull sent to Oxford.

The pope complaineth of John Wickliff

(1) A new translation from the Latin in Walsingham, p. 200.—En.

Richard  
II.A.D.  
1377.Here the  
wild bull  
strikeeth.

once checked, yea, plucked up by the roots, it would be too late to apply a remedy when it had infected multitudes—we strictly charge and command your university by our apostolic letters, in virtue of your holy obedience, and on pain of forfeiting all the graces, indulgences, and privileges, ever granted to you and your society by the said see, that you never again permit conclusions and propositions to be asserted or propounded which bear unfavourably on good works and faith, yea, though the proposers of them may strive to defend them under some curious disguise of words or terms; and that by our authority you seize or cause to be seized the said John, and send him under trusty keeping to our venerable brethren the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of London, or either of them: and moreover that any recusants in the said university, subject to your jurisdiction (if such there be, which God forbid!) who may be infected with these errors, if they obstinately persist in them, that you do (as in duty bound) firmly and anxiously proceed to a like or other seizure and transmission of them, so that you may supply your lack of diligence, which hath been hitherto remiss as touching the premises, and may obtain beside the reward of the divine recompense, the favour and goodwill also of us and the see aforesaid. Given at St. Mary's the Greater, Rome, xi Cal. of June, and the seventh year of our pontificate. [May 22d, A.D. 1377.]

Here is  
imprison-  
ing, but  
no teach-  
ing.See  
Appendix.

Beside this bull sent to the university of Oxford, the said pope Gregory directed, moreover, his letters the same time to the archbishop of Canterbury, Simon Sudbury, and to the bishop of London, named William Courtney, with the conclusions of John Wickliff therein enclosed, commanding them, by virtue of those his letters apostolical, and straitly enjoining them, to cause the said John Wickliff to be apprehended, and cast in prison.<sup>1</sup>

(1) *Litteræ apostolicæ directæ Archiep. Cant' et Episcopo London' ad procedendum contra Magistrum Johannem Wyckliff ratione conclusionum erronearum per eum tentarum.* Ex Reg. Sudbury, fol. 45 b.—Ed.

Gregorius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabilibus fratribus, archiepiscopo Cantuariensi et episcopo Londoniensi, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Regnum Angliæ, gloriosum nempe potentia et abundantia facultatum, sed gloriosius pietate fidelis, et sacræ paginæ claritate coruscum, consuevit viros producere divinarum scripturarum recta scientia præditos, maturitate graves, devotione præclaros, et pugiles fidei orthodoxæ, qui non solum proprios sed alienos populos documentis instruebant verissimis, et in mandatorum Domini semitam dirigebant: et, sicut ex effectu contingentium temporis antiqui colligitur, dicti regni præsules in specula sollicitudinis positi, proprias excubias exercentes sollicitè, non permittebant aliquid oriri erroneum quod posset inficere oves suas; sed si oriretur zizania ex inimici hominis inspersione, illam protinus evelebant; crescebatque assidue purum triticum in dominicuum horreum inferendum. Sed (proh dolor) nunc apparet, quod in ipso regno, officio vigiles negligentia verò desides, non circueunt civitatem, dum hostes ingreditur in eam, animarum thesaurum preciosissimum prædaturi. Quorum latentes ingressus et patentes aggressus prius sentiuntur in Romæ, intercapedine longa remota, quam eis in Angliæ resistatur. Sane plurimum fide dignorum significatione admodum dolenter audivimus, quod Johannes Wyckliff, rector Ecclesiæ de Lutterworth Lincolnienſis diocæ, sacræ paginæ Professor, utinam non magister errorum, in illam detestabilem veniam dicitur temerè prorupſisse, quod nonnullas propositiones et conclusiones erroneas et falsas, in fide malè sonantes, quæ statum totius Ecclesiæ subvertere et enervare conantur, quarumque aliquæ, licet aliquibus mutatis terminis, sentire videntur perversas opiniones et doctrinam in doctam damnatæ memoriæ Marsilii de Padua et Johannis de Ganduno, quorum liber per felicis recordationis Johannem Papam XXII. prædecessorem nostrum reprobatus extitit et damnatus, non veretur in præfato regno asserere, dogmatizare, et publice prædicare, nonnullos Christi fideles eis maligne inficiens, ac à fide catholica (sine qua non est salus) faciens deviare: de quibus sic subortis, et non extirpatis, seu saltem eis nulla facta resistencia, quam sciamus, sed transactis seu toleratis conniventibus oculis, vos aliquique præsules Angliæ, cum debeatis esse columnæ Ecclesiæ dictæque fidei defensores attentis, sub quadam conniventia, tam negligenter transeundo, non immerito debetis rubore perfundi, verecundari, et in propriis conscientiis remorderi. Quare cum tam perniciosum malum, quod non præcisum seu radicitus extirpatum serpere posset in plurimos in animabus eorum (quod absit) lethali contagione necandos, notulum (sicut nec debemus) sub dissimulatione transire, fraternitati vestræ per Apostolica scripta committimus et mandamus, quatenus receptis præsentibus vos vel alter vestrum de dictarum propositionum et conclusionum assertionem, quarum copiam vobis mittimus sub Bulla nostra inclusam, vos secreta informantes, si inveniatis ita esse, præfatum Johannem faciatis autoritate nostra capi, et carceribus mancipari, ejusque confessionem super eisdem propositionibus seu conclusionibus recipere studentis; ac ipsam confessionem, et quæcunque dictus Johannes dixit seu scripserit super earundem propositionum et conclusionum inductione ac probatione, et quicquid feceritis in præmissis, sub vestris sigillis clausa et nemini revelata, nobis per fidelem nuncium transmissuri, eundemque Johannem sub fidei custodia tenentis in vinculis, donec a nobis super hoc aliud receiveritis in mandatis: Contrafactores per censuram ecclesiasticam, appellatione postposita, compescendo; invocato ad hoc, si opus fuerit, auxilio brachii secularis. Non obstantibus felicis recordationis Bonifacii Papæ VIII. prædecessoris nostri constitutionibus, in quibus cavetur ne aliquis extra suam civitatem vel diocæ, nisi in certis exceptis casibus, et in illis ultra unam dietam à fine suæ diocæ ad iudicium evocetur; seu ne iudices a sede apostolica deputati aliquos ultra unam dietam à fine suæ diocæ evocare præsumant; ac de duabus dietis in concilio generali; ac exemptionibus, et aliis privilegiis, constitutionibus, et lictis apostolicis Prædicarum, Minorum, et Heremitarum Sancti Augustini, et

Besides this bill or bull of the pope, sent unto the archbishop of Canterbury and to the bishop of London, bearing the date, eleventh Kalend. Jun. and the seventh year of the reign of the pope; I find, moreover, in the said story, two other letters<sup>1</sup> of the pope concerning the same matter, but differing in form, sent unto the same bishops, and all bearing the same date, both of the day, year, and month of the reign of the said pope Gregory; the one directing that in case Wickliff could not be found, he should be warned by public citation to appear before the pope at Rome within three months; the other exhorting the said bishops that the king and the nobles of England

Richard  
II.  
A.D.  
1377

See  
Appendix.

Sanctæ Mariæ de monte Carmeli, et aliis quibuscunque mendicantium, vel aliis ordinibus et locis, aut specialibus personis, seu capitulis et conventibus ipsorum generalibus vel specialibus, quorumcunque tenoribus existant; necnon statutis et consuetudinibus eorundem ordinum et locorum contrariis, per quæ effectus præsentium impediri valeat quomodolibet vel differri, etiamsi de eis eorumque totis tenoribus ac de verbo ad verbum plena et expressa mentio in nostris literis sit habenda: seu si Johanni prædicto vel quibusvis aliis communiter vel divisim à dicta sede sit indultum, quod personaliter capi, aut quod interdici, suspendi, vel excommunicari non possint per litteras Apostolicas, non facientes plenam et expressam, ac de verbo ad verbum, de indulto hujusmodi mentionem. Dat. Romæ apud S. Mariam majorem xi Cal. Junii, pontificatus nostri anno septimo.

(1) The following are the two letters to which Foxe alludes, taken from Wilkins's Concilia, tom. iii. pp. 117, 118, corrected in several instances from the copies in Walsingham, p. 201.—Ed.

*Alia littera apostolica ad citandum eum ad comparandum coram domino papa.* Ex Reg. Sudbury, fol. 45, b.—“Gregorius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabilibus fratribus, archiepiscopo Cantuariensi et episcopo Londonensi, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Nuper per nos, non sine gravi cordis turbatione, ex plurium fide dignorum significatione percepto, quod Johannes Wycliff, rector ecclesiæ de Lutterworth, Lincolnensis diocesis, sacræ paginæ professor, utinam non magister errorum, in eam detestabilem vesaniam temere proruperat, quod nonnullas propositiones et conclusiones erroneas ac falsas, et male in fide sonantes, quæ statum totius ecclesiæ subvertere et enervare nituntur, quarumque aliquæ, licet quibusdam mutatis terminis, imitari videbantur perversas opiniones et doctrinam indoctam damnatæ memoriæ Marsilii de Padua et Johannis de Gandava [Gandavo, Wals.] quorum liber per felicis recordationis Johannem papam XXII. prædecessorem nostrum reprobatus extitit et damnatus, non verebatur in regno Angliæ asserere, dogmatizare, et publice prædicare, illis nonnullis Christi fideles maligne incliniens ac a fide catholica (sine qua non est salus) faciens deviare.—Nos attendentes, quod tam perniciosum malum quod in plurimos serpere poterat, eorum animas lethali contagione hecando, non debebamus, prout nec debemus, sub dissimulatione transire; vobis per alias nostras litteras commisimus et mandavimus, ut vos vel alter vestrum de dictarum propositionum et conclusionum assertione, quarum copiam sub bulla nostra misimus interclusam, vos secreto informantes, si ita esse inveneritis, prædictum Johannem auctoritate nostra capi et carceribus mancipari faceritis, eumque sub bona custodia teneretis in vinculis, donec a nobis super hoc receperitis aliud in mandatis, prout in dictis literis plenius continetur. Considerantes utique, quod præfatus Johannes hujusmodi captionem et carcerationem forte præsentiens, posset (quod absit) per fugæ vel latitacionis præsidia dictum nostrum mandatum in gravissimum fidei detrimentum eludere; nos, ne tam damnabiles propositiones et conclusiones indiscussæ et earum temerarius assertor impunitus remaneat, in detrimentum gravissimum fidei prelibatæ, fraternitati vestræ per apostolica scripta committimus et mandamus, quatenus vos vel alter vestrum, per vos vel alium seu alios, præfatum Johannem, si per vos capi et carcerari non possit, per edictum publicum proponendum in studio Oxoniensi dictæ diocesis, et aliis locis publicis, de quibus sit verisimilis conjectura quod ad dicti Johannis notitiam pervenire valeat, et de quibus vobis expedire videatur, ex parte nostra preemptorie monere et citare curetis, quod infra trium mensium spatium a die citationis hujusmodi in antea computandum, ubicunque tunc nos esse contigerit, compareat personaliter coram nobis, super propositionibus et conclusionibus hujusmodi responsurus ac dicturus, et facturus quicquid super eis duxerimus ordinandum, et ordo dictaverit rationis; prædicendo in hujusmodi citationis edicto, quod, si eundem Johannem in hujusmodi termino comparuerit, sive non comparuerit, nos super præmissis, et contra eum, usque ad debitam condemnationem ipsius inclusive procedemus, prout ejus demerita exigent, ac nobis secundum Deum et conservationem dictæ fidei videbitur expedire. Volumus autem, et præsentium tenore statuimus, quod prædicta citatio sic facta perinde præfatum Johannem arcet, ac si sibi personaliter insinuatæ et intimata fuisset; constitutione quacunque contraria non obstante. Diem vero citationis et formam, et quicquid feceritis in prædictis, nobis per vestras litteras, vestris sigillis munitas, harum seriem continentes, fideliter et quam citius poteritis, intimare curetis. Dat. Romæ apud Sanctam Mariam Majorem, 11 cal. Junii, pontificatus nostri anno septimo.” [A.D. 1377, the 51st Ed. III.]

*Alia littera apostolica pro eodem.* Ex Reg. Sudbury, fol. 46, a.—“Gregorius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabilibus fratribus Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, et episcopo Londonensi, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Super periculosis admodum erroribus quarundam detestabilium propositionum et conclusionum ad enervationem totius ecclesiastici status tendentium, quas, scriptas in schedula inclusa præsentibus, Johannes Wycliff, rector ecclesiæ de Lutterworth, Lincolnensis diocesis, dictus theologie professor, asserit tam impie quam temere suscitasse, plenius vobis scribimus per alias nostras patentes litteras, quas cum præsentibus destinamus. Volumus igitur, et fraternitati vestræ mandamus, quatenus clarissimum in Christo filium nostrum Edwardum, regem Angliæ illustrem, et dilectos filios nobiles viros et natos dicti regis, ac delectam in Christo filiam nobilem mulierem principissam Aquitanie et Wallie, aliosque magnates de Anglia, et consiliarios regis, per vos et alios magistros et peritos in sacra pagina non maculatos hujusmodi erroribus, sed in fide sinceros et fervidos, studeatis facere plenarie informari ac eis ostendi, quanta veracundia devoto regno Angliæ oriatur exinde; et quod non solum sunt ipsæ conclusiones erroneæ in fide, sed, si bene advertatur, imminuunt omnem destruere politiam; et requiratis eos strictissime, quod ad extirpationem tantorum errorum, pro reverentia Dei et apostolicæ sedis et nostræ, ipsorumque merito apud Deum et honore in seculo, tanquam catholici principes et pugiles dictæ fidei, omni, qua poterint, efficacia tribuant auxilium et favorem. Dat. Romæ apud Sanctam Mariam Majorem, 11 cal. Junii, pontificatus nostri anno septimo.”

See  
Appendix.

Richard  
II.

A. D.  
1377.

Three  
sundry  
letters of  
the pope  
to one  
person  
about one  
matter.

should be admonished by them, not to give any credit to the said John Wickliff, or to his doctrine in any wise. Whereby it is to be supposed that the said pope either was very exquisite and solicitous about the matter, to have Wickliff to be apprehended, who wrote three divers letters to one person, and all in one day, about one business, or else that he did suspect the bearers thereof; the scruple whereof I leave to the judgment of the reader.

Furthermore, beside these letters written to the university, and to the bishops, he directeth also another epistle, bearing the same date, unto king Edward, as one of my stories saith; but as another saith, to king Richard, which soundeth more near the truth; forasmuch as in the seventh year of pope Gregory XI., which was A.D. 1378, king Edward was not alive.<sup>1</sup> The copy of his letter to the king here followeth:—

The Copy of the Epistle sent by the Bishop of Rome to Richard, King of England, to persecute John Wickliff.<sup>2</sup>

To his most dear son in Christ, Edward, the illustrious king of England, health, &c.

The realm of England, which the most High hath put under your governance, a realm glorious for its power and abundance of all things, but still more glorious for its piety and faith, and reflecting the brightness of the sacred page, hath been wont ever to produce men endued with a right understanding of the holy Scriptures, grave in years, fervent in devotion, and defenders of the catholic faith: the which have instructed by wholesome precepts not only their own people, but the people of other countries also, and have directed them into the path of God's commandments. But we have lately learned (to our great sorrow of heart) by the information of many trustworthy persons, that John Wickliff, rector of Lutterworth in the diocese of Lincoln, professor of divinity (would to God he were not rather a master of errors), hath run to such a detestable and abominable excess of folly, that he hath propounded and set forth certain conclusions full of errors, and containing manifest heresy, which tend to weaken and subvert the *status* of the whole church; some of which (albeit with a change in certain terms) seem to be identical with the perverse opinions and unlearned doctrine of Marsilius de Padua and John de Ghent, of cursed memory, whose book was reprobated and condemned by our predecessor of happy memory, pope John XXII.

Hitherto, gentle reader, thou hast heard how Wickliff was accused by the bishop. Now you shall also hear the pope's mighty reasons and arguments, by the which he did confute him to the king. It followeth:—

Whereas, therefore, our venerable brethren the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of London have received a special commandment from us, by our authority to seize and commit to prison the aforesaid John, and to take and transmit to us his confession touching the said propositions or conclusions; and whereas they are known to need the favour and help of your highness in the prosecution of this business; therefore we request and earnestly entreat your majesty, who as well as your noble progenitors have been wont to be chief defenders of the catholic faith, whose quarrel is involved in the present affair, that for the reverence you owe to God, to the said faith, to the apostolic see, and to our own person, you would vouchsafe to lend your countenance and aid to the said archbishop and bishop, and all others who shall prosecute this matter, assured that, beside the praise of men, you will obtain a divine reward,

(1) Respecting an error here, see the Appendix.—E.D.

(2) Collated with the Latin in Walsingham, p. 204.—E.D.

and the increased goodwill of us and of the said see. Given at Rome, at St. Mary the Greater, the 11th Kal. of June, in the 7th year of our bishopric, A.D. 1377.

*Rich. rd  
II.*

A. D.  
1377.

\*<sup>1</sup>These are the whole force and strength of the arguments with the which these apostolic bishops do defend the christian faith, by the which also they do persuade the whole world to the burning of their brethren, whom they, by a slanderous title and name, do call heretics, and we truly, contrariwise, most blessed martyrs. "We will, require, and command you"<sup>2</sup>—what reason is brought herein, but only that *will* standeth for *reason*? Whatsoever the pope doth once pronounce or speak, it is counted of such force and effect, that there is no man so hardy or stout, that dare once murmur against it. But they which do succeed in the apostles' room and place, ought to confer with their brethren with an apostolic spirit and meekness, considering with themselves (according to the counsel of the gospel) "of what spirit" and whose ministers they are: for whatsoever is lawful unto an extern judge, in a profane cause; or in time past hath been licensed unto tyrants amongst the heathen; or else, whatsoever was permitted unto the bishops of the old law, is not by-and-by fit and decent for the ministers of the New Testament, the which have received a far diverse and contrary spirit, even the spirit of him, which commanded them to learn of him to be humble and meek of heart. Wherefore it were very decent that these men (brag they never so much of the apostles' succession) do remember themselves, not only that they are ministers and servants, but also *whose* ministers they are; for, as Themistocles said, that he would not count him a cunning musician that kept neither number nor measure in his song; so likewise must these men think of themselves in the using of their function and office, that they frame themselves no other way, than according to the true harmony of the rule which they have professed. And albeit that Wickliff *had* been a most great and rank heretic, yet where did the pope learn to bind him in fetters, to lay him in prison, and with force and fire to oppress and persecute him,<sup>3</sup> when as yet he had confuted him by no probable argument, whose cause also, peradventure, he did not sufficiently know? And seeing that John Wickliff had written so many books in Latin, if they had seemed not consonant unto the truth, how worthy a thing had it been for the apostolic dignity, first to have communicated the matter with the man himself, or else to have debated the same (as far as had been lawful) amongst learned men. Truly it had been their office and duty, stoutly to subdue and overthrow errors by the Scriptures, and not by force: and, verily, to accuse him so rashly, to so noble and valiant a prince and king, not having any cause, which either they could not, or would not, bring and allege against him, it seemeth to be a kind of most strange and

The  
pope's  
reasons  
and argu-  
ments in  
confuting  
heresies.

(1) These passages in single asterisks, extending to page 11, are extracts from the Edition of 1563, pp. 89—91, and are translated from the Latin Edition of 1559, pp. 6, 7.—Ed.

(2) "Volumus, requirimus, et mandamus;" Latin Edition, p. 6; referring to the terms used in the preceding papal bulls.—Ed.

(3) This refers to the pope's commands in the letter cited above, p. 6, note (1). If Wickliff was never actually subjected to so severe a punishment, the reader is reminded that it was the gracious providence of God which preserved him from the misery of fetters, prisonhouses, and the stake, and not any leniency on the part of the pope of Rome. See the five papal letters just cited by Foxe, and others, to be found elsewhere, together with the decree for his exhumation and burning of his bones, in proof of what the pope would gladly have done with Wickliff had he possessed the power.—Ed.

*Richard II.*

barbarous cruelty and lightness of men, impudently abusing the majesty of their prince.

*A. D. 1377.*

And yet these men (whom nothing can once cause to blush or be ashamed) desire to be accounted the successors of the apostles; from whose manners and examples they do so much vary, and are as distant, as we are distant from India. St. Paul willeth, that after thou hast admonished or warned any heretic once or twice, if he do not amend, then to fly and eschew his company [Tit. iii. 10]. Which of the apostles, at any time, did cast a heretic in prison, were he never so obstinate, or bound him in fetters, either consumed him to ashes? as though the truth itself, and Christ, who is the author of truth, were not strong enough of themselves to reprove heretics, without they were holpen with bonds and torments. St. Paul, instructing the ecclesiastical pastor with apostolic precepts, amongst other things writeth thus to Timothy [2 Tim. ii. 24], "It is not meet for the servant of the Lord to fight and strive, but to show himself mild and gentle towards all men, ready to instruct, suffering evil, and with meekness teaching not only those which were seduced through error or ignorance, but also such as do resist, that God in time may give them repentance to know his truth." And again, writing unto Titus [i. 9], he saith that "he must be stout, or strong, to overcome those who resist and gainsay him:" but how? with sword, weapon, or torment? No! I think not; but with the armour and power of the Spirit, and with the word of God. For it is far different to fight with worldly princes, as touching their right, and to dispute in causes of religion, in the church of God. I confess, that according to St. Paul's word, we must eschew and fly a heretic; but it is one thing to eschew a heretic, and a clean contrary to kill an innocent, instead of a heretic. He that being once or twice admonished or warned, continueth still in his error, is worthy not only to be eschewed of all men, but also by strait imprisonment to be secluded from all good and honest company. But how shall I know that it is an error, without thou do allege better?

By what means the bishops do convince heretics.

From whence then is this example of barbarous cruelty sprung up or come into the christian hierarchy, that they will straight condemn to death, him, whom not only they have not overcome with any arguments, but also not once admonished, for no other cause but only that he seemeth unto them a heretic? wherefore, he that can so boldly pronounce or determine of other men's heresies, had need to be assuredly grounded as to what is the true sincerity of the faith; otherwise, if it were sufficient for every man, that which his own will and affection leadeth him unto, it were to be feared, lest as it happened unto the Jews in time past, the which when they would have crucified Christ as a deceiver, they crucified the very Son of God; so likewise may happen unto them in persecuting of heretics, that they themselves become the greatest heretics of all others. But now-a-days, there are many, whom either their nature, or cruelty, or folly, or some vain superstition, hath so moved or stirred up, that albeit they understand and see no more in these matters, than a poor blind man doth in colours; yet is it a world to see with how great boldness they will determine and pronounce against heretics. And yet, these are they which cannot fail, err, or be deceived<sup>1</sup>; neither is it lawful

The papists the greatest heretics themselves.

(1) "Atque interim hi sunt, qui falli, errare, atque decipi non possunt." Latin Edition, 1559, p. 19.—Ed.



for any man to examine their wills by the censure of any human judgment! O most miserable estate of the church! seeing that the whole state of christian people dependeth in the will (as it were in the beck) of any one man, that whatsoever doth either please or displease his blockish brain, it must be received and embraced of all men; and according thereunto, the whole religion to be applied and formed. What other thing is this, than to refer Christ's religion unto men's wills, and not men unto religion? But now we will leave to speak any more of the pope, and return unto Wickliff.\*

The articles included in the pope's letters, which he sent to the bishops and to the king against Wickliff, were these which in order do follow:—

The Conclusions of John Wickliff, exhibited in the Convocation of certain Bishops at Lambeth.<sup>1</sup>

Richard  
II.  
A. D.  
1377.

I. The whole human race concurring, without Christ, have not power simply [or, absolutely] to ordain that Peter and all his meiny<sup>2</sup> should rule over the world politically for ever [in perpetuum].

II. God cannot give civil dominion to any man for himself and his heirs for ever [in perpetuum].

III. Many charters of human invention, concerning perpetual civil inheritance for ever, are impossible.

IV. Every one existing [or, being] in grace justifying finally, not only hath a right unto, but in fact hath, all the things of God [or, not only hath a right unto the thing, but for his time hath by right a power over all the good things of God].<sup>3</sup>

V. A man can give dominion to his natural or adopted son,<sup>4</sup> whether that dominion be temporal or eternal, only ministerially.

VI. If God be, temporal lords can lawfully and meritoriously take away the goods of fortune from a delinquent church.<sup>5</sup>

VII. We know that it is not possible that the vicar of Christ, merely by his bulls, or by them together with his own will and consent, and that of his college of cardinals, can qualify or disqualify any man.

VIII. It is not possible that a man should be excommunicated to his damage, unless he be excommunicated first and principally by himself.

IX. Nobody ought to excommunicate, suspend, or interdict any one, or proceed to punish according to any ecclesiastical censure, except in the cause of God.<sup>6</sup>

X. Cursing or excommunication doth not bind, except in so far as it is used against an adversary of the law of Christ.

(1) The editor has substituted Lewis's translation of the following Articles (slightly altered) for Foxe's, which is not sufficiently close to the original. See the Latin in Wilkins and Walsingham.

(2) The original expression is "*omne genus suum*." A word is put in for *genus*, which Wickliff himself uses in his "*de Prelatis*," cited by Lewis, "the pope with his Meyne" (Lewis, p. 138); it occurs also in the title of one of his treatises "*Of Antichrist and his meynce*," mentioned by Dr. Todd in his introduction to Wickliff's Defence of Lollard Doctrines, p. xii. "*Meiny*" is derived from the French "*meunie*," and means "*family, retinue, household, followers*." See Nares, and Todd's Johnson.—ED.

(3) This article in Walsingham reads thus,—"Nedum habet jus, sed in re habet omnia Dei:" but in the second explanation of his conclusions (Lewis, p. 319) this article reads, "nedum habet jus ad rem, sed pro suo tempore jus in rem super omnia bona Dei."

(4) Walsingham, at p. 205, (Ed. 1574) reads, "*Tam naturali filio quam imitationis in schola Christi*," where Foxe seems to have read "*imitationis*," but at p. 207, Walsingham reads "*tam naturali filio invitationis*;" and the second set of Conclusions and Explanations (Lewis, p. 320) reads "*tam naturali filio quam filio imitationis*."—ED.

(5) "*Si Deus est*;" in Walsingham, p. 205, the "*est*" is wanting, but it is inserted at p. 207. "The church when delinquent;" see the Latin edition, p. 9, "*Ecclesia delinquente*." In the English editions, "the church when they do offend habitualiter." Between the sixth and the seventh conclusions, Wilkins, tom. iii. p. 123, gives another from the Sudbury Register—"Nunquid ecclesia est in tali statu vel non, non est meum discutere, sed dominorum temporalium examinare; et posito casu confidenter agere, et in pena damnationis æternæ ejus temporalia auferre." This is also in Walsingham, p. 205, but not at p. 207; nor is it found in the Latin or in any English edition of Foxe; Lewis, p. 58, gives it thus: "Whether the church be in such a state or not, is not my business to examine, but the business of temporal lords; who, if they find it in such a state, are to act boldly, and on the penalty of damnation to take away its temporalities."—ED.

(6) This article was thus expressed in the pope's schedule, according to Walsingham, p. 205, "*Nemo ad sui deteriorationem excommunicatur, suspenditur, vel aliis censuris cruciatur, nisi in causa Dei*;" but at p. 207 he gives it according to Foxe's translation.—ED.

Richard  
II.

XI. There is no power exemplified [or, granted] by Christ to his disciples,<sup>1</sup> of excommunicating a subject chiefly for denying any temporalities, but the contrary.

A. D.  
1378.

XII. The disciples of Christ have no power coactively [or, by civil coercion] to exact<sup>2</sup> temporalities by censure.

XIII. It is not possible by the absolute power of God, that if the pope or any other christian pretend that he bindeth or looseth at any rate, he doth therefore actually bind or loose.

XIV. We ought to believe, that then only the vicar of Christ doth bind or loose, when he simply obeyeth the law of Christ.

XV. This ought to be universally believed, that every priest rightly ordained according to the law of grace hath a power, according to which he may minister all the sacraments *secundum speciem*, and, by consequence, may absolve him who hath confessed to him, and is contrite, from any sin.

See  
Appendix.

XVI. It is lawful for kings, in cases limited by law, to take away the temporalities from churchmen who habitually abuse them.

XVII. If the pope, or temporal lords, or any other, shall have endowed the church with temporalities, it is lawful for them to take them away in certain cases, namely, when the doing so is by way of medicine to cure or prevent sins, and that, notwithstanding excommunication or any other church censure, since these endowments were not given but under a condition implied.

XVIII. An ecclesiastic, even the Roman pontiff himself, may lawfully be rebuked by their subjects for the benefit of the church, and be impleaded by both clergy and laity.<sup>3</sup>

The above letters, with these articles enclosed, being received from the pope, \*the<sup>4</sup> bishop of Canterbury and other bishops took no little heart; for, being partly encouraged by them, and partly moved and pricked forward by their own fierceness and cruelty, it is to be marvelled at, with what boldness and stomach they did openly profess, before their provincial council,\* that all manner respects of fear or favour set apart, no person, neither high nor low, should let them, neither would they be \*seduced<sup>5</sup> by the entreaty of any man, neither by any manner threatenings or rewards; but that in the cause, they would follow straight and upright justice and equity, yea, albeit that danger of life should follow thereupon: surely a very good and noble promise, if they had determined this justice within his right bounds.\* But these so fierce brags and stout promise, with the subtle practiees of these bishops, who thought themselves so sure before, the Lord, against whom no determination of man's counsel can prevail, by a small occasion did lightly confound and overthrow. For the day of the examination being come,<sup>6</sup> a certain personage of the prince's

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Wickliff  
again  
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(1) So the Sudbury Register: Walsingham, p. 205, reads, "à Christo *vel* discipulis suis;" but at p. 208 he omits the "*vel*," and reads "concessa" for "exemplificata."—Ed.

(2) Walsingham, p. 205, (as well as the Sudbury Register,) reads "coactè exigere;" but at p. 208 he reads, "ad coactione civili exigendum."—Ed.

(3) Lewis observes, p. 46, "This conclusion or article was thus represented by the Council of Constance: 'People may, at their pleasure, correct their princes, when they do amiss.'"—Ed.

(4) and (5) These two passages are from Edition 1563, p. 90.—Ed.

(6) The following is the archbishop's summons of the council, taken from the Sudbury Register, fol. 46: it is given by Wilkins, tom. iii. p. 123, with several errors; and by Lewis from Walsingham: it is dated Dec. 18th, A.D. 1377, and names the 30th Juridical day as the time, and St. Paul's as the place for the meeting. See on this subject the note in the Appendix on p. 4 *suprà*, and on vol. ii. p. 800.—Ed.

Simon, permissione divina, &c. et Willielmus, eadem permissione Londoniensis episcopus, delegati a sede apostolica cum illa clausula, 'quatenus vos duo, aut unus vestrum, ad infra scripta specialiter deputati, dilecto filio venerabilique viro cancellario universitatis Oxoniæ, Lincolniensis diocesis, ejusve locum tenenti, salutem in Domino et mandatis nostris, imo verius apostolicis, firmiter obedire. Literas sanctissimî in Christo patris ac domini nostri, domini Gregorii divina providentia papæ XI<sup>m</sup>i—super eo quod Johannes Wicliff, sacre pagine professor, rectorque de Littelworth diocetis Lincolniensis diocesis, in detestabilem vesaniam temerè prorumpens, nonnullas propositiones et conclusiones erroneas ac falsas et male in fide sonantes, quæ statum totius ecclesiæ subvertere et enervare nituntur, non verebatur asserere, dogmatizare, et publicè prædicare; illis nonnullis Christi fideles malignè inficiens, ac a fide catholica (sine qua non est salus) faciens deviare, ut in dictis literis apostolicis plenius est expressum—nos noveritis cum eâ quæ decessit reverentia recepisse. Volentes igitur mandatis apostolicis parere pro viribus, ut tenemur, vobis in virtute obedientiæ qua diocetis sedi tenemini committimus et mandamus, firmiter injungentes,

court, and yet of no great noble birth, named Lewis Clifford, entering in among the bishops, commanded them that they should not proceed with any definitive sentence against John Wickliff. With which words all they were so amazed, and their combs so out, that, as in the story is mentioned, they became so mute and speechless, as men having not one word in their mouth to answer.<sup>1</sup> And thus, by the wondrous work of God's providence, John Wickliff escaped the second time out of the bishops' hands, and was by them clearly dismissed upon his declaration made of his articles, as anon shall follow.

Richard  
II.A.D.  
1378.Is again  
delivered  
from  
them.

Moreover, here is not to be passed over, how at the same time, and in the said chapel of the archbishop at Lambeth, where the bishops were sitting upon John Wickliff, the historian, writing of the doing thereof, addeth these words, saying:<sup>2</sup> "I say, not only that the citizens of London, but also the vile objects of the city, presumed to be so bold in the same chapel at Lambeth, where the bishops were sitting upon John Wickliff, as both to entreat for him, and also to let and stop the same matter; trusting, as I suppose, upon the negligence which they saw before, in the bishops," &c.

Over and besides, here is not to be forgotten, how the said John Wickliff, the same time of his examination, offered and exhibited unto the bishops, in writing, a protestation, with a declaration or exposition of his own mind upon the said his articles, the effect whereof here followeth.<sup>3</sup>

### The Protestation of John Wickliff.

See  
Appendix.

First of all, I publicly protest, as I have often before done, that I purpose and will with my whole heart, by the grace of God, to be an entire Christian, and as long as breath shall remain in me to profess and defend the law of Christ so far as I am able. And if through ignorance, or any other cause, I shall fail therein, I ask pardon of my God, and do now, as before, revoke and retract it, humbly submitting myself to the correction of holy mother church. And for-

quatenus receptis per vos presentibus, evocatis ad hoc etiam per vos sacre pagine professoribus expertis, rectius et sanctius in fide catholica sentientibus, verbis sophisticalibus sive terminorum curiosa implicatione penitus prætermisissis, de dictarum propositionum et conclusionum assertione, quarum copia inferius inseritur, vos secretè informantes, de omni eo quod in præmissis inveniretis et sentiretis literis vestris clausis et sigillo vestro sigillatis, clarè distinctè et apertè, in omnibus et per omnia, nos reddatis (ut convenit) certiores: Citetis insuper seu citari faciatis peremptoriè dictum Johannem, quòd tricesimo die juridico post citationem sibi factam in ecclesia Sancti Pauli, London, compareat personaliter coram nobis seu aliis subdelegatis nostris sive commissariis in hac parte, super conclusionibus et propositionibus hujusmodi responsurus et auditurus, ulteriusque facturus quicquid auctoritate apostolica fieri debeat in hac parte et ordo dicaverit rationis; prædicentes eidem, quòd sive comparerit in termino prædicto sive non, ulterius contra eum procedatur, prout literæ apostolicæ in se exigunt et requirunt. Vobis insuper injungimus auctoritate prædictâ, quatenus literas apostolicas in præsentiarum per nos vobis transmissas, sub penis in eisdem literis plenius expressatis, in omnibus et per omnia diligenter et fideliter exequamini, juxta vim, formam, et effectum earundem, certificantes nos aut dictos commissarios nostros seu subdelegatos, celerius quo fieri poterit, quid feceritis in præmissis per literas vestras patentes, harum et facti vestri seriem plenius continentes. Datæ apud Otteford xv Kalend. Januarii, A.D. 1377, et translationis nostri Simonis, Cantuariensis archiepiscopi supradicti, anno tertio. [Dec. 18th, A.D. 1377.] Wilkins misdates this letter "v Kal. Jan.," i.e. ten days later.—*En.*

(1) See the Appendix.—*En.*

(2) "Non dico cives tantum Londonenses, sed viles ipsius civitatis, se impudenter ingerere præsumperunt in eandem capellam et verba facere pro eodem et istud negotium impedire, confusi, ut reor, de ipsorum præmissa negligentia prælatorum," &c. [Walsingham.]—*En.*

(3) The original Latin is in Walsingham. Lewis's translation, a little altered, is substituted for Foxe's.—Another Exposition, somewhat different from that in the text, is found in Walden's "Fasciculus zizaniorum Wiclevi," preserved in the Bodleian: this Bale states to have been presented by Wickliff to the parliament, which met April 5th; if so, it is posterior in date to that in the text; and certainly it exhibits less of scholastic peculiarity, as though intended for the perusal of the public: Lewis (p. 318) gives the original Latin from Arch. Seldeni. MSS. B. 10: Foxe gives a translation of it in his first edition (p. 91) of the 'Acts and Monuments,' where he observes, "it were to long in this place to rehearse all the conclusions of this booke, but for the rare and most singular utility and profit in them, gentle reader, I thought it not good to omit them, lest I should be thought more desirous of brevity than of profit." Foxe's translation, revised from the Latin in Lewis, is inserted in the Appendix.—These Expositions are most strangely represented by some writers as an evasion on Wickliff's part; on this point see the Appendix.—*En.*

Richard  
II.

A. D.  
1378.

sonmuch as an opinion concerning the faith which I have taught in the schools and elsewhere hath been reported by children, and moreover hath been conveyed beyond sea by these children even to the court of Rome; therefore, lest Christians should be scandalized on my account, I wish to set down in writing my opinion for the which I am impeached, the which opinion I will defend even unto death, as I believe all Christians ought to do, but specially the bishop of Rome and the rest of the priests of the church. But I understand the conclusions after the sense and manner of speaking of the scripture and the holy doctors, the which [sense and manner of speaking] I am ready to expound; and if the conclusions shall then be found contrary to the faith, I am willing and most ready to revoke them.

### An Exposition upon the Conclusions of John Wickliff, exhibited by him to the Bishops.

I. "The whole human race concurring, without Christ, have not power simply [or, absolutely] to ordain, that Peter," &c.

And it is plain that it is not in the power of men to hinder the coming of Christ to the final judgment, in the which we are bound to believe according to that article of the Creed, "From thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead." For after that, according to the faith delivered in Scripture, all human polity shall cease. But I understand political dominion, or civil secular government, to pertain to the laity who are actually living, on their pilgrimage, whilst they are absent from the Lord: for it is of such a political dominion that the philosophers speak. And although that which is *periodical* [or, terminable] is sometimes styled *perpetual* [or, *for ever*], yet because in holy Scripture, in the use of the church, and in the books of the philosophers, *perpetual* is plainly used commonly in the sense of *eternal*, I accordingly suppose the term to be taken here in that more famous signification; for thus the church singeth, "Glory be to God the Father, and to his only Son, with the Spirit the Paraclete, both now and *for ever* [in perpetuum]." And then the conclusion immediately followeth on the principles of the faith; since it is not in the power of men to appoint the pilgrimage of the church to be without end.

II. "God cannot give civil dominion to any man for himself and his heirs for ever [in perpetuum]."

By *civil dominion* I mean the same that I meant above by political dominion, and by *perpetual* [or, *for ever*] the same that I did before, as the Scripture understandeth the "*perpetual habitations*" in the state of blessedness. I have said, therefore, First, that God of his ordinary power cannot give man civil dominion for ever. I have said, Secondly, that it seemeth probable that God of his absolute power cannot give man such a dominion for ever, because he cannot, as it seemeth, always imprison his spouse on the way, nor for ever defer the ultimate completion of her blessedness.

III. "Many charters of human invention, concerning perpetual civil inheritance, are impossible."

This is an incident truth. For we ought not to reckon as catholic [canonical] all the charters that are held by an unjust occupier. But if it were so determined by the faith of the church, occasion would be given to the chartered to trust in temporalities, and too much encouragement to petition for them. For as every truth is necessary, so every error may be supposed possible; as is plain by the testimony of Scripture, and of the holy doctors, who entreat of the necessity of things future.

IV. "Every one existing [or, being] in grace justifying finally,<sup>1</sup> not only hath a right unto, but in fact hath, all the things of God:" or, "hath not only a right unto the thing, but for his time hath by right a power over all the good things of God."

This is plain from Scripture; because the Truth Himself promiseth this to those citizens who enter into his joy (Matt. xxiv.); "Verily I say unto you, that he shall make him ruler over all his goods." For the right of the communion of saints in their own country is founded objectively on the universality of the good things of God.<sup>2</sup>

V. "A man can give dominion to his natural or adopted son, whether that dominion be temporal or eternal, only ministerially."

(1) "In gratia gratificante finaliter."—Ed.

(2) "Fundatur objective supra universitatem bonorum Dei."

Here he speaketh only of the right of things in the country to come, not in this exile.

This is plain from the fact, that every man ought to acknowledge himself in all his works an humble minister of God; as is evident from Scripture, "Let a man so account of us as of the ministers of Christ." Nay Christ himself so ministered, and taught his principal apostles so to minister. But in their own country the saints will give to their brethren the dominion of goods; as is plain from their mode of acting in the body, or their disposal of good things inferior by nature; according to that of Luke vi. "Good measure pressed down, and shaken together, and running over, shall men give into your bosom."

VI. "If God is, temporal lords can lawfully and meritoriously take away the goods of fortune from a delinquent church."

This conclusion is correlative with the first article of the Creed, "I believe in God the Father Almighty." But I understand the word *can* as the Scripture doth, which granteth that God "*can* of stones raise up children unto Abraham." For, otherwise, all christian princes would be heretics. For the first conclusion on the argument is thus formed: If God is, he is almighty; and if so, he can prescribe to temporal lords so to take away the goods of fortune from a delinquent church; and if so, they can lawfully so take them away. *Ergo*, &c. Wherefore, in virtue of that principle, christian princes have ever put that opinion in practice. But God forbid that from thence it should be believed, that it was my meaning, that secular lords can lawfully take them away when and howsoever they please, or by their bare authority: but they may do it only by the authority of the church, and in cases and form limited by law.

VII. "We know that it is not possible, that the vicar of Christ, merely by his bulls, or by them together with his own will and consent, and that of his college [of cardinals], can qualify or disqualify any man."

This is plain from the catholic faith. Since it behoveth the Lord in every vicarious operation to maintain the primacy. Therefore, as in every qualifying of a subject, meetness and worthiness are required of the subject to be qualified, so in every disqualification there is first required a deserving from some demerit of the person to be disqualified; and, by consequence, such a qualifying or disqualifying is not made purely by the ministry of the vicar of Christ, but from above, from elsewhere [or, from some other].

VIII. "It is not possible, that a man should be excommunicated to his damage, unless he be excommunicated first and principally by himself."

This is plain; since such an excommunication must be originally founded on the sin of the party damaged. Whence Augustine in his 21st Sermon on the words of our Lord saith, "Do not thou misuse thyself, and man shall not get the better of thee." And to this day the faith of the church singeth, "No adversity shall do us any hurt, if iniquity do not prevail." To this eighth conclusion we add, that, notwithstanding, all excommunication is to be dreaded on many accounts, even although the excommunication of the church be to the humble excommunicate, not damnable, but wholesome.

IX. "No body ought to excommunicate, suspend, or interdict any one, or to proceed to punish according to any ecclesiastical censure, except in the cause of God."

This appeareth from the fact, that every just cause is the cause of God, to which point respect ought chiefly to be had. Nay, a love for the excommunicate ought to exceed the zeal or appetite of punishment, and the affection for any temporal things. Since, otherwise, even he that excommunicateth injureth himself. To this ninth conclusion we add, that it is agreeable thereto, that a prelate should excommunicate in human causes, but principally on the account that an injury is done to his God, as appeareth from [Decreti Pars II. Causa] xxiii. Quæst. 4, cap. 27. "inter querelas."

X. "Cursing or excommunication doth not bind, except so far as it is used against an adversary of the law of Christ."

This is plain, since it is God only that bindeth simply [or, absolutely] every one that is bound; who cannot excommunicate unless it be for a transgression of, or prevaricating with, his own law. To this tenth conclusion we add, that it is consonant thereto, that the ecclesiastical censure used against an adversary of a member of the church, doth bind secondarily, though not absolutely.

XI. "There is no power exemplified [or, granted] by Christ to his disciples, of excommunicating a subject [chiefly] for denying any temporalities, but on the contrary."

This is plain from the faith taught in Scripture, according to which we believe

Richard  
II.

A. D.  
1378.

Richard  
II.A. D.  
1378.

that God is to be loved above all things, and our neighbour and enemy more than all the temporalities of this world; and it is necessarily so, because the law of God is not contradictory to itself.

XII. "The disciples of Christ have no power to exact temporalities coactively by censures."

As is plain from Scripture (Luke xxii.), where Christ forbade his Apostles to reign civilly [or, to exercise any temporal dominion]: "The kings of the gentiles," saith he, "exercise lordship over them, but ye shall not be so." And in that sense the passage is expounded by St. Bernard, St. Chrysostom, and other saints. We add to this twelfth conclusion, that, notwithstanding, they may exact temporalities by ecclesiastical censures *accessorie*, in vindication of their God.

XIII. "It is not possible by the absolute power of God, that if the pope or any other Christian pretend that he bindeth or looseth at any rate, therefore he doth actually bind or loose."

The opposite of this would destroy the whole catholic faith. Since it importeth no less than blasphemy, to suppose any one to usurp such an absolute power of the Lord's. I add to this thirteenth conclusion, that I do not intend by this conclusion to derogate from the power of the pope or of any other prelate of the church, but do allow that they may, in virtue of the Head, bind and loose. But I understand the denied conditional as impossible in this sense; that it cannot be that the pope or any other prelate should pretend that he doth bind or loose at any rate [or, just as he will], unless he do in fact so bind and loose; and then he cannot be guilty of any fault [*peccabilis*].

XIV. "We ought to believe, that then only a priest of Christ doth bind or loose, when he simply obeyeth the law of Christ."

Because it is not lawful for him to bind or loose but in virtue of that law, and, by consequence, not unless it be in conformity to it.

XV. "This ought to be universally believed, that every priest rightly ordained according to the law of grace: hath a power, according to which he may minister all the sacraments *secundum speciem*, and, by consequence, may absolve him who has confessed to him, and is contrite, from any sin."

This is plain from the fact, that the priestly power is not more or less sufficient in its essence: notwithstanding, the powers of inferior priests are at one time reasonably restrained, and at other times relaxed to meet the exigences of the ministry. I add to this fifteenth conclusion, that, according to the doctors, every prelate hath a twofold power, viz. a power of order, and a power of jurisdiction or government; and that it is in reference to this last that they are prelates, viz. as being of a superior majesty and government.

XVI. "It is lawful for kings, in cases limited by law, to take away the temporalities from churchmen who habitually abuse them."

Power of  
all priests  
toward  
God  
equal.

This is plain from the fact, that temporal lords ought to depend more on spiritual alms, which bring forth greater plenty of fruit, than on alms for the necessities of the body; and that it may happen to be a work of spiritual alms to correct such clergymen as damage themselves both in soul and body, by withholding from them the temporalities. The case which the law putteth is, when the spiritual head [or, president] doth fail in punishing them, or that the faith of the clerk is to be corrected, as appeareth [*Decreti Pars II. Causa*] 16. *Quæst. 7. "filiis,"* and [*Decreti Pars I.*] *distinctio 40. "Si papa."*

XVII. If the pope, or temporal lords, or any other, shall have endowed the church with temporalities, it is lawful for them to take them away in certain cases, viz. when the doing so is by way of medicine to cure or prevent sins, and that, notwithstanding excommunication or any other church censure: since these endowments were not given, but with a condition implied."

This is plain from the fact, that nothing ought to hinder a man from doing the principal works of charity necessarily, and that in every human action the condition of God's good pleasure is necessary to be understood, as in the civil law, "*De Capitulis Conradi*," c. 5, in fine collationis 10. We add to this seventeenth article, God forbid that by these words occasion should be given to the temporal lords to take away the goods of fortune to the detriment of the church.

XVIII. "An ecclesiastic, even the Roman pontiff, may be rebuked by their subjects, and, in case it is for the benefit of the church, be impleaded by both clergy and laity."



This is plain from the fact, that the pope himself (as is here supposed) is capable of sin, except the sin against the Holy Ghost; saving the sanctity, humility, and reverence, due to so worthy a Father. And since he is our peccable brother [or, liable to sin as well as we], he is subject to the law of brotherly reproof. And when, therefore, it is plain that the whole college of cardinals are remiss in correcting him for the necessary welfare of the church, it is evident that the rest of the body of the church, which, as it may chance, may chiefly be made up of the laity, may medicinally reprove him, and implead him, and reduce him to lead a better life. This possible case is handled dist. 40, "Si papa fuerit a fide devius." For as so great a lapse ought not to be supposed in the lord pope without manifest evidence, so it ought not to be supposed possible that when he doth fall he should be guilty of so great obstinacy, as not humbly to accept a cure from his superior with respect to God. Wherefore many chronicles attest the facts of this conclusion. God forbid that truth should be condemned by the church of Christ, because it soundeth ill in the ears of sinners and ignorant persons: for then the whole faith of the Scripture would be liable to be condemned.

Richard  
II.A.D.  
1378.

Thus John Wickliff, in giving his exposition unto his aforesaid propositions and conclusions, as is above prefixed, through the favour and diligence of the Londoners either shifted off the bishops, or else satisfied them so, that for that time he was dismissed and scaped clearly away, only being charged and commanded by the said bishops, that he should not teach or preach any such doctrine any more, for the offence of the lay people.

Thus this good man being escaped from the bishops with this charge aforesaid, yet notwithstanding ceased not to proceed in his godly purpose, labouring and profiting still in the church as he had begun; unto whom also, as it happened by the providence of God, this was a great help and stay, for that in the same year<sup>1</sup> the aforesaid pope Gregory XI., who was the stirrer up of all this trouble against him, turned up his heels and died. <sup>\*2</sup>Whose death was not a little happy to Wickliff; for immediately after his decease there fell a great dissension between the Romish and the French pope,<sup>\*</sup> and others succeeding them, one striving against another, that the schism thereof endured the space of thirty-nine years, until the time of the Council of Constance (A.D. 1417).<sup>3</sup>

A.D. 1378.

Death of  
pope Gre-  
gory XI.  
A schism  
in Rome.

The occasioner of which schism first was pope Urban VI., who in the first beginning of his popedom was so proud and insolent to his cardinals and other (as to dukes, princes, and queens), and so set to advance his nephew and kindred, with injuries to other princes, that the greatest number of his cardinals and courtiers by little and little shrunk from him, and set up another French pope against him, named Clement VII., who reigned sixteen years; and after him Benedict XIII., who reigned twenty-three years. Again, of the contrary side, after Urban VI. succeeded Boniface IX., Innocent VII., Gregory XII., Alexander V., John XXIII. (A.D. 1410).<sup>4</sup>

As touching this pestilent and most miserable schism, it would require here another Iliad to comprehend in order all the circumstances and tragical parts thereof; what trouble in the whole church;

(1) Gregory XI. died March 27th, A.D. 1378. L'Art de Vér. des Dates.—Ed.

(2) Edition of 1563, p. 95, and Latin Edition, 1559, p. 12.—Ed.

(3) See Appendix.

(4) POPES.				ANTIPOPES.			
Urban VI. ruled	.	.	11 yrs. 6 mo.	Clement ruled	.	.	16 yrs.
Boniface IX.	.	.	14	Benedict XIII.	.	.	23
Innocent VII.	.	.	2				
Gregory XII.	.	.	2				
Alexander V.	.	.	0				
John XXIII.	.	.	5				

Corrected by L'Art de Ver. des Dates.—Ed.

*Richard II.* what parts-taking in every country; what apprehending and imprisoning of priests and prelates taken by land and sea; what shedding of blood did follow thereof; how Otho, duke of Brunswiek and prince of Tarentum, was taken and murdered; how Joan, queen of Jerusalem and Sicily, his wife, who before had sent to pope Urban, besides other gifts at his coronation, forty thousand ducats in pure gold, after by the said Urban was committed to prison, and in the same prison strangled; what cardinals were racked, and miserably, without all mercy, tormented on gibbets to death; what slaughter of men, what battles were fought between the two popes, whereof five thousand on the one side were slain, beside the number of them who were taken prisoners; of the beheading of five cardinals together after long torments; and how the bishop of Aquila, being suspected of pope Urban for not riding faster with the pope, his horse being not good, was there slain by the pope's commandment, sending his soldiers unto him to slay him and cut him in pieces. All these things, with divers other acts of horrible cruelty happening in the time of this abominable schism, because they are abundantly discoursed at full by Theodricus Niemus,<sup>1</sup> who was near to the said pope Urban and present at all his doings, therefore, as a thing needless, I here pretermit; referring them who covet to be certified more amply herein, unto the three books of the said Theodric, above mentioned.

*See Appendix.* About the same time also, about three years after, there fell a cruel dissension in England, between the common people and the nobility, the which did not a little disturb and trouble the commonwealth. In this tumult Simon of Sudbury, archbishop of Canterbury, was taken by the rustical and rude people, and was beheaded; in whose place after succeeded William Courtney, who was no less diligent than his predecessor had been before him, in doing his diligence to root out heretics. Notwithstanding, in the mean season, Wickliff's sect increased privily, and daily grew to greater force,

Jack Straw's rebellion.

Simon, the archbishop, beheaded.

A.D. 1381, until the time that William Berton, chancellor of Oxford, about A.D. 1381, had the whole rule of that university: who calling together eight monastical doctors, and four other, with the consent of the rest of his affinity putting the common seal of the university unto certain writings, he set forth an edict, declaring unto every man, and threatening them under a grievous penalty, that no man should be so hardy, hereafter to associate themselves with any of Wickliff's abettors or favourers: and unto Wickliff himself he threatened the greater excommunication and farther imprisonment, and to all his fautors, unless that they after three-days' admonition or warning, canonical and peremptory (as they call it), did repent and amend.<sup>2</sup> The which thing when Wickliff understood, forsaking the pope and all the clergy, he thought to appeal unto the king's majesty;<sup>3</sup> but

Edict against the Wickliffites.

(1) Theodoricus Niemus, "De Schismate."

(2) See the Appendix for the Process issued by William Berton, and *infra*, p. 24.—*Ed.*

(3) A parliament being held at Westminster this year, the Wednesday next after St. John Port Latin, or May 7th, Wickliff, in prosecution of his appeal from the chancellor of Oxford's decree against him, presented his complaint to the king and them as follows, (cited by Lewis, p. 83, from MS. CCCC.): it is also both in Latin and English in the Cotton Collection.

Please it to our most noble and most worthy King Richard, King both of England and France, and to the noble Duke of Lancaster, and to other great men of the Rewme, both to Seculars and Men of holy Church, that ben gedred in the Parliament to there assent and meyntene the few Articles or Points that ben sett within this writing, and proved both by auctority and Reson; that Christen Faith and Christen Religion ben encreased, meyntened, and made stable. Sith our Lord

the duke of Lancaster coming between forbade him, that he should not hereafter attempt or begin any such matters, but rather submit himself unto the censure and judgment of his ordinary. Whereby Wickliff being beset with troubles and vexations, as it were in the midst of the waves, he was forced once again to make confession of his doctrine; in the which his confession, to avoid the rigour of things, he answered as is aforesaid, making his declaration, and qualifying his assertions after such a sort, that he did mitigate and assuage the rigour of his enemies.<sup>1</sup>

*Richard  
II.  
A.D.  
1382.*

The next year after (A.D. 1382), by the commandment of William, archbishop of Canterbury, there was a convocation holden at London, whereat John Wickliff was also commanded to be present; but whether he there appeared personally or not, I find it not in story certainly affirmed.<sup>2</sup>

A.D. 1382.

Here is not to be passed over the great miracle of God's divine admonition or warning; for when as the archbishop and suffragans, with the other doctors of divinity and lawyers, with a great company of babbling friars and religious persons, were gathered together to consult as touching John Wickliff's books, and that whole sect; when as they were gathered together at the Black-Friars<sup>3</sup> in London to begin their business upon St. Dunstan's day, after dinner, about two of the clock, the very hour and instant that they should go forward with their business, a wonderful and terrible earthquake fell throughout all England:<sup>4</sup> whereupon divers of the suffragans, being feared by the strange and wonderful demonstration, doubting what it should mean, thought it good to leave off from their determinate purpose. But the archbishop (as chief captain of that army, more rash and bold than wise) interpreting the chance which had happened clean contrary to another meaning or purpose, did confirm and strengthen their hearts and minds, which were almost daunted with

An earth-  
quake,  
when  
Wickliff  
was ex-  
amined.

Jesu Christ, very God and very man, is Head and Prelate of this Religion, and shed his precious Heart Blood and Water out of his Side on the Cross to make this Religion perfit and stable, and cleane without Error.

First, That all Persons of what Kynne, private Sects or singular Religion made of sinful men, may freely, without any letting or bodily Pain, leave that private Rule or new Religion founden of sinful Men, and stably hold the Rule of Jesu Christ, taken and given by Christ to his Apostles, as far more perfect than any such new Religion founden of sinful men.

Secondly, That those Men that unreasonably and wrongfully have damned all this Counsell be amended of so great Error, and that their Error may be published to Men dwelling in the Rewme.

Thirdly, That both Tithes and Offrings ben given and paid and received by that Intent, to which Intent or End both God's Law and the Pope's Law ordained them to be paid and received; and that they be take away by the same Intent and Reson that both God's Law and the Pope's Law ordaineth that they should be withdrawn.

Fourthly, That Christ's Taching and Belief of the Sacrament of his own Body, that is plainly taught by Christ and his Apostles in Gospels and Epistles, may be taught openly in Churches to Christen people; and the contrarie Taching and false Belief brought up by cursed Hypocrites and Hereticks and worldly Priests ununning in God's Law.

(1) This is Walsingham's representation of the matter; but it is a calumny against Wickliff, into which Foxe, Wood, and others have been betrayed by their papal authority: happily we are able to confront with this account a very different one from the "Fasciculus" of Thomas Walden, given in the Appendix, which represents Wickliff as unmoved by friends or foes. In the Appendix is given from Knighton (col. 2649), another papal writer, the confession which Wickliff made on this occasion, and on which Lewis (p. 88) justly remarks, "One would wonder that ever this paper should by any that had seen it be reckoned a retraction of Dr. Wickliffe's, &c." It was moreover immediately attacked by the chancellor himself, and five others; and soon after Wickliff was expelled the university.—*Ed.*

(2) Wickliff is not mentioned in the archbishop's Register as present, whence we may conclude that he was not present. Wharton says that he was cited, but refused to appear, being advised by his friends that a plot was laid by the prelates to seize him on the road; and that his cause was undertaken by the chancellor of Oxford, the two proctors, and the greatest part of the senate, who, in a letter sealed with the university seal, sent to the court, gave him a great commendation for his learning, piety, and orthodox faith. (Appendix to Cave's Hist. Litt. art. "Joh. Wiclevus.")

(3) "Apud Dominicanos," Latin edition, p. 19: this is erroneously translated in Foxe's first English edition of 1563, p. 13, "Grey Friars," which has been retained in all succeeding editions.—*Ed.*

*See  
Appendix.*

(4) Ex Chron. mon. Alban. [The Godstow Chronicle tells us, "that this earthquake was on the Wednesday before Whitsunday, [i. e. May 21st,] about one o'clock in the afternoon." See Lewis' Hist. p. 332.—*Ed.*]

*Richard*  
*II.*

A.D.  
1382.

Deter-  
mination  
upon the  
Articles  
of Wickliff.

*See*  
*Appendix.*

fear, stoutly to proceed and go forward in their attempted enterprise who then discoursing Wickliff's articles, not according unto the sacred canons of the holy Scripture, but unto their own private affections and men's traditions, pronounced and gave sentence, that some of them were simply and plainly heretical, other some half erroneous, others irreligious, some seditious and not consonant to the church of Rome. \*Besides<sup>1</sup> the earthquake aforesaid, there happened another strange and wonderful chance, sent by God, and no less to be marked than the other, if it be true, that was reported by John Huss's enemies. These enemies of his, amongst other principal points of his accusation, objected and laid this to his charge at the Council of Constance; that he should say openly unto the people as touching Wickliff, that at what time as a great number of religious men and docters were gathered together in a certain church to dispute against Wickliff, suddenly, the door of the church was broken open with lightning, in such sort, that his enemies hardly escaped without hurt. This thing, albeit that it were objected against Huss by his adversaries (neither is it in the story of Wickliff, that I can find or know), yet, forso much as he did not deny the same, neither, if he so said, it seemeth that he would speak it without some ground or reason, I have not thought it good to leave it clean out of memory. Of like credit is this also, which is reported of Wickliff (which thing I do here write only of report), that when as Wickliff was lying very sick at London, certain friars came unto him to counsel him; and when they had babbled much unto him, as touching the catholic church, and of the acknowledging of his errors, and of the bishop of Rome; Wickliff, being moved with the foolishness and absurdity of their talk, with a stout stomach, setting himself upright in his bed, repeated this saying out of the Psalms, [cxviii. 17], "I shall not die, but I shall live, and declare the works of the Lord;" the which thing, if it be so true, as it is reported of some, it doth declare and show a great fervency and desire of the spirit in that man, passing and above the common state of our human nature and infirmity.<sup>2\*</sup>

The causes alleged of the archbishop, William Courtney, for the conventing together of the aforesaid council, with the time and place thereof, and the articles of John Wickliff condemned therein, here follow underwritten, truly copied out of the archbishop's own registers.<sup>3</sup>

### Process of Archbishop Courtney respecting Heresy.

Be it remembered, that—whereas, as well among the nobles as the commons of the realm of England, a rumor had spread of certain conclusions heretical and erroneous, and repugnant to the determinations of the church, and which tend to overthrow the *status* of the whole church and of our province of Canterbury, and likewise the tranquillity of the realm, being preached in divers places of our said province generally, commonly, and publicly—We William, by divine permission archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate

(1) For this passage, see edition 1563, pp. 95, 96; also the Latin Edition, 1559, p. 13.—Ed.

(2) In Lewis's History, p. 64, another version of this story is given, which has been repeated by many writers on the reformers, to the rejection of this more sober account from Foxe's own pen. The point of difference in Lewis's History, quoted from Bale, p. 469, is this: "Dr. Wickliff immediately recovering strength, called his servants to him, and ordered them to raise him a little on his pillows, which when they had done, he said with a loud voice, 'I shall not die, but live and declare the evil deeds of the friars;' on which the docters, &c. departed from him in confusion, and Dr. Wickliff recovered."—Ed.

(3) See the Appendix.

of the apostolic see, being desirous to be certified of these matters, and to execute the duty of our office, did assemble together certain fellow-brethren, our suffragans, and others a great many, doctors and bachelors of divinity and of the canon and civil law, whom we believed to be the most famous and skilful men and of the soundest judgment in religion in all the realm, whose names hereunder follow. And on the 17th day, in the year of our Lord 1382, the same being assembled in a certain chamber within the precincts of the priory of the Preaching Friars at London, the said conclusions (the tenor whereof hereunder ensueth) having been publicly propounded and distinctly and clearly read before us and our aforesaid fellow-brethren then and there personally present, we burdened our fellow-brethren and the doctors and bachelors aforesaid, on the faith wherein they stood bound to our Lord Jesus Christ, and as they would answer before the most High Judge in the day of judgment, that they should severally tell us their opinion touching the said conclusions.

*Richard*  
*II.*  

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*A.D.*  
*1382.*

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And at length, after deliberation had upon the premises, our fellow-brethren the bishops, and the doctors and bachelors aforesaid, being re-assembled before us on the 21st day of the same month in the chamber aforesaid, the said conclusions being a second time read and clearly set forth, it was declared, with the common consent of us all, that some of the said conclusions are heretical, and others erroneous and contrary to the determination of the church, as hereafter shall more fully appear. And forso much as by sufficient information we find, that the said conclusions have been, as is premised, preached in many places of our said province, and that divers persons have held and maintained the same, and be of heresy vehemently and notoriously suspected, we have instituted the processes—as well general as special—which are underwritten.

Certain of  
Wickliff's  
conclu-  
sions pro-  
nounced  
to be he-  
retical,  
others er-  
roneous.

The articles of John Wickliff here above specified, whereof some ten were by these friars condemned as heretical, the rest as erroneous, here in order follow, and are these: although it may be thought, that some of them were made worse by their sinister collecting than he meant them in his own works and writings.

*See*  
*Appendix.*

### The Articles of John Wickliff condemned as Heretical.

1. That the substance of material bread and wine doth remain in the sacrament of the altar after consecration.

2. That the accidents do not remain without the subject in the same sacrament, after consecration.

3. That Christ is not in the sacrament of the altar identically, truly, and really, in his proper corporal person.

4. That if a bishop or a priest be in mortal sin, he doth not ordain, consecrate, nor baptize.<sup>1</sup>

5. That if a man be duly contrite, all exterior confession is to him superfluous and invalid.

6. That God ought to obey the devil.<sup>2</sup>

7. That it hath no foundation in the gospel, that Christ did ordain the mass.

8. That if the pope be a reprobate and an evil man, and consequently a member of the devil, he hath no power over the faithful of Christ given to him by or, unless it be by Cæsar [or, except peradventure it be given him by the emperor].

9. That after Urban VI. none other is to be received for pope, but that Christendom ought to live after the manner of the Greeks under its own laws.

10. That it is against the sacred Scripture, that ecclesiastical persons should have any temporal possessions.<sup>3</sup>

### The other Articles of John Wickliff, condemned as Erroneous.

11. That no prelate ought to excommunicate any man except he first know him to be excommunicate of God.

(1) *Id est*, "indigne hæc facit," exposit Joan. Huss. [Lat. Ed. p. 26.—Ed.]

(2) This article is either slanderously reported, or else can hardly be defended. [This sixth article is inserted from the Latin Edition, p. 26, "Deus debet obedire diabolo," to which our author attaches a side-note, "Calumniam sapit." It is also referred *infra*, p. 32. See Appendix.—Ed.]

(3) It meaneth church goods not to be so peculiar to ministers, but that they may be taken away if they so deserve.

Richard  
II.

A. D.  
1382.

See  
Appendix.

12. That he who doth so excommunicate, is thereby himself either a heretic or excommunicated.

13. That a prelate or bishop excommunicating a cleric who hath appealed to the king or the council of the realm, in so doing is a traitor to the king and the realm.

14. That they who leave off to preach or hear the word of God or the gospel preached, for fear of such excommunication, are already excommunicate, and in the day of judgment shall be counted traitors to God.

15. That it is lawful for any deacon or presbyter to preach the word of God, without the authority or license of the apostolic see or any other of its catholics.<sup>1</sup>

16. That a man is no civil lord, nor bishop, nor prelate, as long as he is in mortal sin.<sup>2</sup>

17. Also, that temporal lords may at will take away their temporal goods from churches habitually delinquent.<sup>3</sup>

18. That tithes are pure almose, and that parishioners may for the offences of their curates detain them, and bestow them on others at pleasure; and that tenants [populares] may correct delinquent landlords [dominos] at will.

19. Also, that special prayers, applied to any one person by prelates or religious men, do no more profit the same person, than general prayers would, *ceteris paribus*, profit him.

20. That whosoever doth give any almose unto friars, or to any friar that preacheth, is excommunicate; as also is he that taketh.

21. Moreover, in that any man doth enter into any private religion whatsoever, he is thereby made more unapt and unable to observe the commandments of God.

22. That holy men, who have instituted any private religions whatsoever (as well of seculars having possessions, as of begging friars who have none), in so instituting did err.

23. That religious men living in private religions are not of the christian religion.

24. That friars are bound to get their living by the labour of their hands, and not by begging.

Names of  
the jurors  
to whom  
they were  
referred.

The names of the jurors were these:—Eight bishops: William of Canterbury, William of Winchester, John of Durham, Thomas of Exeter, John of Hereford, Ralph of Sarum, Thomas of Rochester, and friar William Bottlesham, bishop Nanetensis. Doctors of civil and canon law, fourteen: John Appelby, dean of St. Paul's; John Waltham, canon of York; Thomas Baketon, archdeacon of London; Nicholas Chaddesdene, Ralph Gregrisyow, Thomas Stowe, John Blawnchard, William Rocoumbe, John Lydeford, John Welbourne; William Flaynburgh, Adam de Mottrum, licentiate in the Decrees; Thomas Braundon, John Prophet, rector of Hadesham in Kent, the pope's public notary. Three Preaching friars of London: William Syward, prior, John Parys, John Langley. Four Minorites: William Folville, Hugh Karlel, Roger Fryseby, Thomas Bernwell. Augustine friars, four: Thomas Ayshbourne, John Bankyn, Robert Waldeby, John Horninton. Carmelites, four: Robert Glanville, William Dys, John Lovey, John Kynningham. And Monks, two: John Wells, monk of Ramsey, John Bloxham, warden of Merton Hall, Oxford. Bachelors of divinity, six: Robert Humbleton, William Pickwith, John Lyndlowe, Dominicans; Ralph Wych, Franciscan; John Chiseldene, John Toniston, Carmelites.

\*When these conclusions were thus condemned in the council of the earthquake (as Wickliff called it), it was given forth in command-

(1) "Hunc articulum explanat et emollit Joan. Huss." Lat. Ed. p. 26.—Ed.

(2) This article, peradventure, was not so straitly meant of him as it was gathered of them, as is aforesaid.

(3) This article expoundeth the 10th article above. ["Forte adversarii depravant articulum." See the Latin Edition, p. 26.—Ed.]

(4) From the edition of 1563, p. 97, and the Latin Edition, 1559, p. 14. Foxe, however, there says that the archbishop's "mandate was sent to Robert Rygge, that by his means the condemnation of the conclusions should be published throughout the whole university." But the fact is, that *this* mandate was sent first to Peter Stokes May 28th, and then to the bishop of London May 30th; and *another* mandate was sent to Rygge, dated May 30th, to assist Stokes in the publication of the sentence (See *infra*, p. 25, note (3)). The mandate *now* sent to Stokes is given by Lewis (p. 371) from MS. Cotton, Cleopatra E. ii. fol. 155; it is also found in Walden's "Fasciculus Zizaniorum Wiclevi," fol. 63 b, apud Bodleianum; and is the same *mutatis mutandis* as that sent to the bishop of London, of which a translation is given in the text: it opens thus:—"Wilhelmus, permissione divina Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, totius Angliæ primas et apostolicæ

ment unto friar Peter Stokes, a Carmelite, at Oxford, and unto the bishop of London, that by their means the condemnation of the conclusions should be published throughout the university and the whole province,\* in form as followeth :—

*Richard  
II.  
A.D.  
1382.*

The Mandate of the Archbishop of Canterbury directed to the Bishop of London, against John Wickliff and his Adherents.

William, by divine permission archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the apostolic see, to our reverend brother, by the grace of God bishop of London, greeting, and brotherly love in the Lord. The prelates of churches ought so much the more vigilantly to intend the keeping of the Lord's flock committed unto them, by how much the more they know that wolves, dressed up in sheep's clothing, be fraudulently going about to worry and scatter the sheep. Truly, by continual cry and bruted fame (which it giveth us to relate) it is come to our hearing, that although, by the canonical sanctions, no man, being forbidden or not sent, ought to usurp to himself the office of preaching, publicly or privily, without the authority of the apostolic see or of the bishop of the place; yet notwithstanding, certain, being sons of perdition under the veil of great sanctity, are brought into such a doating mind, that they take upon them authority to preach, and are not afraid to affirm, and teach, and generally, commonly, and publicly to preach, as well in the churches as in the streets, and also in many other profane places of our said province, certain propositions and conclusions hereunder recited, both heretical, erroneous, and false, condemned by the church of God, and repugnant to the determinations of holy church, which threaten to subvert the whole *status* of the same, and of our province of Canterbury, and to weaken and destroy the tranquillity of the realm; who also infect therewith very many good christians, causing them lamentably to err from the catholic faith, without which there is no salvation.

*See  
Appendix.*

We therefore—considering that so pernicious a mischief as this is, which may creep amongst many, with its deadly contagion slaying their souls, we ought not to suffer and by dissimulation to pass over, lest their blood be required at our hands, but wishing as much as is permitted us from above to extirpate the same—with the counsel and assent of many of our brethren and suffragans, we convoked divers doctors of divinity and professors of the canon and civil law and other clerks, the best learned within the realm, and of the soundest judgment in the catholic faith, to give their opinions and judgments concerning the aforesaid conclusions. But, forso much as the said conclusions and assertions having been in the presence of us and our fellow-brethren and the other convokes openly expounded and diligently examined, it was in the end found and unanimously declared, that some of those conclusions were heretical, and some of them erroneous and repugnant to the determinations of the church, as they are hereunder described; we charge and command your brotherhood, and in virtue of holy obedience firmly enjoin you, to enjoin all and singular our brethren the suffragans of our church of Canterbury, with all the speed you possibly can, as we do hereby enjoin them and each of them and yourself, that every of them, in their own cathedral churches, and in the other churches of their cities and dioceses, do admonish and warn; and that you in your own church, and the other churches of your city and diocese, do admonish and warn; as we, by the tenor of these presents, do admonish and straitly warn; once, twice, and thrice, assigning for the first admonition one day, for the second admonition another day, and for the third admonition, canonical and peremptory, another day—That no man henceforth, of what estate or condition soever, do hold, teach, preach, or defend the aforesaid heresies and errors, or any of them; nor that he admit to preach any one that is prohibited or not sent to preach, or any one else of whom there is any doubt; nor that he hear or hearken to any one preaching the said heresies or errors, or any of them; nor that he favour or adhere to him, either publicly or privily; but that immediately

*Had ye  
tried  
them by  
the truth,  
you  
should  
have  
found  
them  
other-  
wise.*

*sedis legatus, dilecto in Christo filio fratri Petro Stokys, sacre pagine professori, ordinis Carmelitarum, salutem, gratiam, et benedictionem. Ecclesiarum prelati circa gregis Domini sibi commissi, &c. (usque ad, 'ferimus in his scriptis.')* Then follow the heretical and erroneous conclusions; after which the letter concludes thus :—"In quorum omnium testimonium sigillum nostrum privatum duximus apponendum Dat. in Manerio nostro de Otteford, 23<sup>o</sup> die mensis Maii, A.D. 1382, et nostre translationis anno primo."—Ed.

*Richard  
II.*

A. D.  
1382.

He that  
killeth  
you, shall  
think he  
doth God  
good  
service.

he shun and avoid him, as he would avoid a serpent putting forth pestiferous poison; under pain of the greater curse: the which against all and singular who shall be rebellious in this behalf, and shall not regard our monitions, after that those three days be past which are assigned for the canonical monition, their delay, fault, and offence committed so requiring, we do hereby pronounce, for then as for now, and do command to be fulminated, both by every one of our fellow-brethren and suffragans in their cities and dioceses, and by you in your city and diocese, so much as belongeth both to you and to them.

And furthermore, we for our part will and command our aforesaid fellow-brethren, all and singular, through you, by the sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ, and likewise exhort you, that as, according to the institution of the sacred canons, they be in their respective cities and dioceses inquisitors of heretical pravity, and you also in your city and diocese be the like inquisitor of heretical pravity, that of such presumptions they and you carefully and diligently inquire, and that both they and you (according to the duty of your office) do proceed effectually against the same, to the honour and praise of His name that was crucified, and for the preservation of the orthodox faith.<sup>1</sup>

Given at our manor of Otteford, the last day but one of May, in the year of our Lord MCCCXXXII. and the first of our translation.

MATTERS INCIDENT OF ROBERT RYGGE, CHANCELLOR OF OXFORD,  
NICHOLAS HEREFORD, AND PHILIP REPPYNGDON, WITH OTHER.<sup>2</sup>

*See  
Appendix.*

The chancellor the same time in Oxford was Master Robert Rygge; \*<sup>3</sup>who, as it seemeth, inclining and favouring Wickliff's part, as much as he could or durst, providing for the defence of the truth, many times dissembled and cloked certain matters, and oftentimes (as opportunity would serve) preferred and holpe forward the cause of the gospel, which was then in great danger. But when the time was come, that there must needs be sermons made unto the people, he committed the whole doings thereof to such as he knew to be most addict and greatest favourers of John Wickliff.\* The two proctors were John Huntman and Walter Dish; who then, as far as they durst, favoured the cause of John Wickliff and that side. Insomuch that the same time and year, which was A.D. 1382, when certain public sermons should be appointed customably at the feast of the Ascension and of Corpus Christi to be preached in the cloister of St. Frideswide (now called Christ's Church), before the people, by the chancellor aforesaid and the proctors, the doings hereof the chancellor aforesaid and proctors had committed to Philip Reppyngdon and Nicholas Hereford, so that Hereford should preach on the Ascension-day, and Reppyngdon on Corpus Christi-day. First Hereford beginning, was noted to defend John Wickliff openly, to be a faithful, good, and innocent man; for the which no small ado with outeries was among the friars. This Hereford, after he had long favoured and maintained Wickliff's part, grew first in suspicion amongst the enemies of the truth; for as soon as he began somewhat liberally and freely to pronounce and utter any thing which tended to the defence of Wickliff, by-and-by the Carmelites and all the orders of religion were in his top, and laid not a few heresies unto his charge, the which they had strained here and there out of his sermons, and had compiled together in a certain form by the hands of certain notaries, through the industry and diligence of one Peter Stokes, a Carmelite, a kind of people prone and ready to all kind of mischief,

Hereford  
preaching  
on the  
Ascen-  
sion day,  
defendeth  
Wickliff.  
[May 15,  
A.D.  
1382.]

(1) Yea, rather, for the honour of your pope, and the destruction of christian faith.

(2) See the Appendix

(3) Edition 1563, p. 97, and Latin Edition, 1559, p. 14.—Ed.



uproars, debate, and dissension, \*<sup>1</sup>as though they were born and provided only for that purpose, utterly unprofitable and nothing worth for any thing else. Much like thing do divers writers (such as entreat of the properties of beasts) write of the nature of certain spiders; that whatsoever pleasant juice is in herbs, they suck it out, and convert it into poison. But these cowed merchants in this behalf do pass all the spiders, for whatsoever is worst and most pestilent in a man, that do they hunt out and seek for, and with their teeth even, as it were, gnaw it out; and of the opinions which be good, and agreeable with verity, they do make schisms and heresies. Such is the aptness of art, when nature helpeth thereunto.\* After this, the feast of Corpus Christi drew near, upon which day it was looked for that Reppyngdon should preach. This man was a canon of Leicester, and had before taken his first degree unto doctorship; who preaching the same time at Brackley,<sup>2</sup> for the same sermon he became first suspected and hated of the pharisaical brood of the friars; but, through the great and notable dexterity of his wit which all men did behold and see in him, accompanied with like modesty and honesty, he did so overcome, or at least assuage, this cruelty and persecution which was towards him, that shortly after, by the consent of the whole fellowship, he was admitted doctor; who as soon as he had taken it upon him, by-and-by he stepped forth in the schools, and began immediately to show forth and utter that which he had long hidden and dissembled, protesting openly that in all moral matters he would defend Wicliff; but as touching the sacrament, he would as yet hold his peace, until such time as the Lord should otherwise illuminate the hearts and minds of the clergy.

Now the day of Corpus Christi aforesaid approaching near, when the friars understood that this man should preach shortly, these Babylonians fearing lest that he would scarce civilly or gently rub the galls of their religion, convented with the archbishop of Canterbury, that the same day, a little before Philip should preach, Wicliff's conclusions, which were privately condemned, should be openly defamed in the presence of the whole university; the doing of which matter was committed to Peter Stokes, friar, standard-bearer and chief champion of that side against Wicliff, as is before declared.

There were also letters sent unto the chancellor, that he should help and aid him in the publishing of the same conclusions.<sup>3</sup>

Richard  
II.A. D.  
1382.See  
Appendix.Reppyng-  
don  
canon  
of Leices-  
ter, after-  
wards  
bishop of  
Lincoln.Com-  
menceeth  
doctor.Reppyng-  
don  
preacheth  
in de-  
fence of  
Wicliff  
on Corpus  
Christi  
day.  
[Thurs-  
day, June  
5th.]Peter  
Stokes,  
standard-  
bearer  
to the  
Papists.

(1) Edition 1563, p. 101, and Latin Edition, p. 19.—Ed.

(2) See the Appendix.

(3) The following is the letter, as transcribed from Walden's 'Fasciculus.' See Appendix.—Ed.  
Littera quam misit archiepiscopus cancellario Oxon., ut assisteret fratri Petro Stokys in publicatione ejusdem commissionis sub hac forma.

In Christo fili, miramur non modicum et turhamur, quod, cum ille Magister Nicolaus Herforde super prædicationibus et doctrina hæreticarum et erronearum conclusionum notoriè reddatur suspectus, sicut nos vobis alias retulisse meminimus, extunc vos sibi adeo favorabilem [*sic* M.S.] exhibuistis, ut excellenciorum et digniorum anni sermonem in universitate vestra vobis et cancellario qui pro tempore fuit deputatum, ut nostis, assignaretis eidem Nicolao absque difficultate qualibet inibi prædicandum. Vobis ergo consulimus et hortamur in visceribus Jesu Christi quod talibus nullum de cætero præsumatis impartiri favorem, ne ipsorum secta et numero unus esse videamini, et exinde contra vos officii vestri debitum nos oporteat exercere: Quoniam adversus hujusmodi præsumptorem audaciam dominus noster Rex et Proceres regni in processu nostri subsidium nobis et suffraganeis nostris sic promiserunt assistere, quod per Dei gratiam diucius non regnabunt. Et ut talium præsumptorum consortia et opiniones erroneas abhorrere dicamini [*sic* MS. pro *discamini*], dilecto fillo meo fratri Petro Stokys sacra pagina: professori ordinis Carmelitarum in publicatione litterarum nostrarum sibi contra conclusiones hujusmodi directarum pro defensione catholice fidei viriliter adharere curetis, et litteras illas in scholis theologicis Universitatis prædicte per Bedellum illius facultatis in proxima lectione inibi faciendâ absque diminutione quacunque faciatis effectualiter publicari, nobis illico rescribentes quid feceritis in hac parte. Scriptum in manerio nostro de Otteforde penultimo die Maii. Semper in Christo Valet.—Ed.

Richard  
II.

A. D.  
1382.

See  
Appendix.

\*Robert Rygge<sup>1</sup> (as we have said before) was chancellor at that time, who (albeit privily) with all labour and diligence that he might, endeavoured himself to prefer the gospel. Who having received the archbishop's letters and perceived the malicious and wicked enterprise of the Carmelite, was wonderfully moved against him, and falling out with him and his like (not without cause) for perturbing and troubling the state of the university, said, that by them and their means the privileges and liberties of the university were enervated and weakened, affirming also, that neither the bishop nor the archbishop had any rule or power over that university, nor should not have, in the determination of any heresies. And afterward taking deliberation, calling together the proctors, with other regents and non-regents, he did openly say and affirm, that he would by no means assist or help the Carmelite in his doings or enterprise.\*

These things thus done and finished, Reppyngdon at the hour appointed proceeded to his sermon; in the which sermon, among many other things, he was reported to have uttered these sayings, or to this effect:

"That the pope or bishops ought not to be recommended \*<sup>2</sup>and prayed for in sermons before\* temporal lords."

Notes on  
the ser-  
mon of  
Reppyng-  
don.

Also, "That in all moral matters he would defend Master Wickliff as a true catholic doctor."

Moreover, "That the duke of Lancaster was very earnestly affected and minded in this matter, and would, that all such should be received under his protection;" besides many things more, which touched the praise and defence of Wickliff.

And finally, in concluding his sermon, he dismissed the people with this sentence; "I will," said he, "in the speculative doctrine, as appertaining to the matter of the sacrament of the altar, keep silence and hold my peace, until such time as God otherwise shall instruct and illuminate the hearts of the clergy."

When the sermon was done, Reppyngdon entered into St. Frideswide's church, accompanied with many of his friends, who, as the enemies surmised, were privily weaponed under their garments, if need had been. Friar Stokes, the Carmelite aforesaid, suspecting all this to be against him, and being afraid of hurt, kept himself within the sanctuary of the church, not daring as then to put out his head. The chancellor and Reppyngdon, friendly saluting one another in the church-porch, sent away the people, and so departed every man home to his own house. There was not a little joy throughout the whole university for that sermon; but in the mean time, the unquiet and busy Carmelite slept<sup>3</sup> not this matter. For first, by his letters he declared the whole order of the matter unto the archbishop, exag-

The uni-  
versity  
rejoiceth.

(1) Edition 1563, p. 101, and Latin Edition, 1559, p. 19.—Ed.

(2) In the first Edition of Foxe, p. 97, and the Latin, 1559, p. 14, the notes on Reppyngdon's sermon slightly vary from later editions. They are as follow: "First, Whoso doth recommend the pope or bishops above the temporal lords, doeth contrary and against the holy Scripture. Secondly, That Master Wickliff is a true catholic doctor. Thirdly, That Wickliff never determined or talked otherwise, as touching the matter of the sacrament of the altar, than according to the mind and intent of the whole universal church of God. Fourthly, That his opinion concerning the sacrament of the altar is most true." At p. 102 of the same edition, the first note is thus stated: "That temporal lords ought to be recommended and prayed for in sermons before the pope or any bishops." Whence the words in the text between asterisks are inserted. The corresponding words in the Latin Edition, p. 19, are these: "Dominos temporales debere privis recommendari in sermonibus quam papam vel episcopos."—Ed.

(3) "Nec interim conquiescit irrequietus Carmelita." Latin Edition, p. 19.—Ed.

gerating the perils and dangers that he was in, requiring and desiring his help and aid, pretermittting nothing whereby to move and stir up the archbishop's mind, who of his own nature was as hot as a toast (as they say), and ready enough to prosecute the matter of his own accord, though no man had prickt him forward thereunto; pouring oil into the burning flame. \*<sup>1</sup>The archbishop hearing this, was moved and angered, and calling together the whole convocation, commanded Rygge, the chancellor, and the proctors, John Huntman and Walter Dish, to be sent for, with one Master Brightwell, against whom he would attempt and lay certain suspicions, or rather evidences,<sup>2</sup> to convict them for taking Wickliff's part.\*

Richard II.

A. D. 1382.

See Appendix.

But besides all this, the Tuesday after,<sup>3</sup> with a fierce and bold courage the said friar, breathing out threatenings and heresies against them, took the way unto the schools, minding there to prove, that the pope and the bishops ought to be prayed for before the lords temporal. Whiles this friar was thus occupied in the schools, he was mocked and derided of all men, and the same day he was sent for by the archbishop to London; whom, immediately after, the chancellor and Brightwell followed up,<sup>4</sup> to purge and clear themselves and their adherents from the accusations of this friar Peter. \*<sup>1</sup>They at first denied, and by excusing themselves with fair words and doubtful sentences went about to slip their heads out of the collar.\* At length, they being examined upon Wickliff's Conclusions that were condemned, they did all consent that they were worthily condemned. The chancellor being afterwards accused for the contempt of the archbishop's letters, when as he perceived and saw that no excuse would prevail, to avoid that danger, humbling himself upon his knees, he desired pardon; the which when he had now again (albeit very hardly) obtained by the help of the bishop of Winchester, he was sent away again with certain commandments and suspensions of heretics; \*<sup>1</sup>and under this condition, that so soon as he was returned home, making inquisition throughout the university, he should put to silence all such as he found to be the favourers of Wickliff, Hereford, Reppyngdon, Ashton, and Bedman; and that he should also publish, in the head church of the university, all Wickliff's Conclusions to be condemned, and that all other, whosoever he took or found to be an adherent unto Wickliff's sect or faction, that he should either put them to their purgation, or cause them to abjure; unto whom when the chancellor answered again, that he durst not do it for fear of death, "What!" said the archbishop, "is Oxford such a nestler and favourer of heresies, that the catholic truth cannot be published?"

Whether the lords were to be prayed for before the bishops. The friar derided in the schools.

Hereby it appeareth (to note here by the way concerning this university) that Oxford amongst all other schools and universities that I hear of, was the first and most forward in setting forth and maintaining the truth of all this christian religion and doctrine, which now, through the operation of Christ, is spread so far and wide abroad. Wherefore, as this university of Oxford may worthily challenge the first praise hereof, under the Lord, amongst all other christian schools, so is it to be wished of the Lord, that the said university now will show herself no less fervent and studious in re-

(1) See Edition of 1663, p. 97, and Latin Edition, 1559, p. 15.—Ed. (2) See Appendix

(3) June 10th See Appendix.—Ed.

(4) Wednesday, June 11th.—Ed.

*Richard II.* taining or defending the same, which she so fervently set forth in the beginning.\*

*A. D. 1382.* For confirmation of the foregoing history hereunder follow —

The Process and Commandments aforesaid, taken out of the Archbishop's Register.<sup>1</sup>

Item, on the twelfth day of June, A.D. 1382, in the chamber of the friars preachers, master Robert Rygge, chancellor of the university of Oxford, and Thomas Brightwell, professors of divinity, being appointed the same day and place by the reverend father in God, the archbishop of Canterbury, appeared before him in the presence of the reverend father in Christ, lord William, by the grace of God bishop of Winchester, and divers doctors and bachelors of divinity and of the canon and civil law, whose names are under recited. And first, the said chancellor, by the lord archbishop of Canterbury being examined what his opinion was touching the aforesaid conclusions, publicly affirmed and declared that certain of those conclusions were heretical, and certain erroneous, as the other doctors and clerks before mentioned had declared. And then immediately next after him, the aforesaid Thomas Brightwell was examined, who, upon some of the conclusions at first somewhat staggered, but, in the end, being by the said archbishop diligently examined upon the same, did affirm and repute the same to be heretical and erroneous, as the aforesaid chancellor had done. Another bachelor of divinity also there was, named . . . , who stammered at some of those conclusions, but in the end he affirmed that his opinion therein was, as was the judgment of the aforesaid chancellor and Thomas Brightwell, as is above declared. Whereupon the said lord archbishop of Canterbury, willing to let and hinder the peril of such heresies and errors, delivered unto the aforesaid chancellor, there being publicly read, his letters-patent to be executed, the tenor wherof in these words doth follow.

A Letter of William Courtney, Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Chancellor of Oxford, against Wickliff and his Adherents.

William, by divine permission archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the apostolic see, to our well-beloved son in Christ, the chancellor of the university of Oxford, greeting, grace, and benediction. The prelates of the church ought so much the more vigilantly to intend the keeping of the Lord's flock committed to them, by how much the more they know that wolves, dressed up in sheep's clothing, be fraudulently going about to worry and scatter the sheep. Truly, by continual cry and bruited fame (as it grieveth us to relate) it is come to our ears, &c. [as far as the words "as hereunder are described" in the archbishop's mandate, p. 23, l. 43.] We charge, therefore, and command, and firmly enjoin you, that in the church of the blessed Mary in Oxford, on those days when accustomedly the sermon is made there, as also in the schools of the said university on the days when the lectures be read, ye publish, and cause by others to be published, to the clergy and people, as well in the vulgar as in the Latin tongue, plainly, clearly, and without any curious implications of terms, that the said heretical and erroneous conclusions, so repugnant to the determination of holy church, have been (as is aforesaid) and are condemned; the which conclusions we also declare by these our letters to be condemned: And, furthermore, that you forbid and canonically admonish, and cause to be forbidden and admonished, as we by the tenor of these presents do forbid and admonish once, twice, thrice, and that peremptorily, that none hereafter hold, teach, preach, or defend, the aforesaid heresies and errors, or any of them, either in the schools or out of them, even under any sophistical cavillations: nor that any admit to preach, or hear or hearken to, John Wickliff, Nicholas Hereford, Philip Rappyingdon (canon regular), John Ashton, or Lawrence Bedeman, who be vehemently and notoriously suspected of heresy, or any other whatsoever so suspected or defamed; nor either publicly or privately aid or favor them, but immediately shun and avoid the same as a serpent putting forth pestiferous poison.

And furthermore, we suspend the said suspected persons from every scholastic act, till such time as they shall purge their innocence before us in this behalf;

(1) See the Appendix.

and we enjoin that you denounce the same to have been and to be by us suspended, and that ye cause inquiry to be made faithfully and diligently through all the halls of the said university for all their fautors; and that when you shall have intelligence of their names and persons, ye compell them all and singular by ecclesiastical censures and other pains canonical, to abjure these their excesses, under pain of the greater curse, which against all and singular who shall rebel and disobey our monitions, their fault, deceit, and offence so requiring, after the third monition (which we deem canonical in this behalf), we now as well as then do hereby pronounce, specially reserving to ourselves the absolution of all and singular who shall incur (which God forbid) this sentence sent forth by us. And we exhort you, chancellor, by the sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ, that you henceforth labour to the uttermost of your power, that, if there be any of the clergy and people within your jurisdiction who have erred from the catholic faith, they may be recovered from their error, to the laud and honour of His name that was crucified, and the preservation of the orthodox faith. And our will is further, that of what you shall do in the premises, and of the manner and form of your process to be made in this behalf, you do, when required thereto on our part, plainly and distinctly certify us by your letters patent, having the tenor hercof.

Given at our manor of Lambeth, under our private seal, the twelfth day of June, A.D. 1382, and in the first year of our translation.

Richard  
II.

A. D.  
1382.

The conclusions and articles here mentioned in this letter are above prefixed;<sup>1</sup> of which some were condemned for heretical, some for erroneous.

After this, the same day and place, the aforesaid lord archbishop of Canterbury delivered his letters monitory to the aforesaid chancellor of Oxford, for the repressing of this doctrine; which still notwithstanding, both then, and yet to this day (God be praised), doth remain: the copy of his monition to the chancellor here, out of his own register, followeth.

See  
Appendix.

The Monition of William Courtney, archbishop of Canterbury, unto the aforesaid Chancellor of Oxford.

In the name of God, Amen. Whereas we William, by divine permission archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the apostolic see, did, with the consent of our suffragans, cause to be assembled certain clerics, secular and regular, of the university of general study at Oxford, within our province of Canterbury, and others who are sound in the catholic faith, to inform us touching and upon certain heretical and erroneous conclusions generally and commonly preached and published in divers places of our province of Canterbury, to the subverting of the whole church and our said province; and whereas, after full deliberation had upon the same, by the unanimous sentence of us and our said suffragans and the other convokes, it was declared, that some of those conclusions are heretical, and some erroneous and notoriously repugnant to the determination of the church, and have been and are condemned by the church, which also in addition we declare to be so condemned: and whereas we have learned from the testimony of trustworthy persons, and from experience of the fact, that thou, master Robert Rygge, chancellor of the university aforesaid, hast somewhat inclined and dost still incline to the aforesaid conclusions so condemned, whom therefore in this behalf we hold suspected of an intention by your crafty contrivances *de facto* to annoy in many ways the said clerics who were so summoned, and others who (as in duty bound) adhere to and favour us in the matter, and on that very pretext: Therefore, we admonish thee, master Robert, the chancellor aforesaid, once, twice, and thrice, and peremptorily, that thou do not grieve, let, or molest, judicially or extra-judicially, publicly or privily, the aforesaid clerics, secular or regular, or such as favour them in the premises, in their scholastic acts, or on any other occasion whatever, neither cause or procure, directly or indirectly, by yourself or any one else, that they be so grieved, let, or molested, neither

(1) See *suprà*, p. 21.—ED.

*Richard*  
*II.*

A. D.  
1382.

permit as far as in you lieth that they be so grieved; and that you permit no one henceforth in the university aforesaid to hold, teach, preach, or defend the heresies and errors aforesaid, or any of them, in the schools or out of them; and that you do not admit to preach John Wickliff, Nicholas Hereford, Philip Rappyingdon (canon regular), John Ashton, or Laurence Bedman, who are notoriously suspected of heresy, or any one else so suspected or diffamed, but suspend them from every scholastic act, until they have purged their innocence in this behalf before us, under pain of the greater excommunication, which against thy person, if you shall not with effect obey these our monitions, thy fault, deceit, and offence in this behalf so requiring, after the said warning (which in this behalf we deem canonical), we do now as then and then as now, pronounce hereby; specially reserving to ourselves the absolution from this extreme excommunication if it should happen thee (which God forbid) to incur the same.

\*<sup>1</sup> But to the story again. The next day the matter was declared unto the council by the archbishop, whereby the chancellor received a new commandment from the king's council, that with all diligence he should execute the archbishop's injunction. With these commandments he returned home.\*<sup>2</sup>

First  
causers  
of this  
trouble.

See  
*Appendix.*

Then began the hatred on either part somewhat to appear and show; and specially all men were offended and in the tops of the friars and religious men, unto<sup>3</sup> whom whatsoever trouble or mischief was raised up, they did impute it, as to the authors and causers of the same. \*<sup>1</sup> And, in my mind, not without cause, for what trouble or business hath there ever been, where men of religion have not been the ringleaders, both in city, town, and country: in all places they creep, in all matters they meddle. And as in Christ's time none were more against him than they who professed most sanctimony, so now amongst all sorts of men none more against true religion than they who most professed religion; \* amongst whom there was one Henry Crompe, a monk Cistercian, a well learned divine, who afterward was accused by the bishops of heresy. He at that time was openly suspended<sup>4</sup> by the chancellor, because in his lectures he called the heretics "Lollards," from his acts (as they term them in the schools).<sup>5</sup> Then he, coming by and by up to London, made his complaint unto the archbishop and to the king's council.

Henry  
Crompe,  
an ac-  
cuser of  
others,  
after  
accused  
himself,  
of heresy.

\*<sup>1</sup> Whereupon the chancellor and the proctors were again sent for in the king's and the council's name.\* Whereupon he obtained a decree of the king's council, by virtue whereof he, returning again to the university, was to be released and restored to his former state; and afterward a letter of the king himself, the words of which letter hereafter follow.<sup>6</sup>

Mention was made (as you heard) a little before, how Master Rygge, chancellor of Oxford, coming up with Master Brightwell to the archbishop of Canterbury, was there straitly examined of the conclusions of Wickliff; where he, notwithstanding, through the help of the bishop of Winchester obtained pardon, and was sent away again with commandments and charges to seek out all the favourers of John Wickliff. This commandment being received, Nicholas Hereford and Philip Reppyngdon, being privily warned by the said chancellor,

Hereford  
and Rep-  
pyngdon  
fly to the  
duke of  
Lancas-  
ter.

(1) From edition 1563, p. 97, and Latin Edition, 1559, p. 15.—Ed.

(2) The chancellor reached Oxford by Saturday June 14th. See Appendix.—Ed.

(3) All the editions, but that of 1563, read "upon."—Ed.

(4) All the editions but that of 1563 read erroneously "suspected."—Ed.

(5) "Ab actibus suis (ut cum scholis loquar) publicè suspenditur per cancellarium." Lat. ed. p. 15.—Ed.

(6) See *infra*, p. 43.—Ed.

in the mean season conveyed them out of sight, and fled to the duke of Lancaster for succour and help;<sup>1</sup> \*<sup>2</sup>but, the bishop's aiders were at hand (as it were serpents lying in wait), to bite Christ by the heel; unto whom the duke showed himself at the first somewhat sharp;\* but whether for fear or for what cause else, I cannot say, \*<sup>2</sup>overcome by the bishop's adherents,\* in the end he forsook his poor and miserable clients. \*<sup>2</sup>Who being put back from him, they were sent unto the censure of the archbishop, as the proverb saith—from the hall to the kitchen.\*<sup>3</sup>

Richard  
II.A.D.  
1382.

### Examination of Nicholas Hereford, Philip Reppyingdon, and John Ashton.<sup>4</sup>

See  
Appendix.

The eighteenth day of the month and year aforesaid (A.D. 1382), in the chamber of the preaching friars aforementioned, before the aforesaid archbishop, in the presence of divers doctors and bachelors of divinity, and of the canon and civil law, whose names are underwritten, appeared master Nicholas Hereford, master Philip Rappyingdon, canon regular, doctors of divinity, and John Ashton, bachelor of divinity; who, after a corporal oath taken to show their judgment upon the conclusions aforesaid, were examined severally, each one by himself, before the archbishop; when the said Nicholas and Philip there required a longer day to deliberate upon the conclusions aforesaid, and to give their answer unto the same in writing, and also required to have a copy of the said conclusions to be delivered unto them, the which copy, the said Nicholas and Philip, being openly read unto them, received. Also<sup>5</sup> the aforesaid master John Ashton like wise was examined, and judicially admonished by the said archbishop, by virtue of his oath, that he, setting aside all sophistical words and subtleties, should fully and plainly say his mind upon the conclusions aforesaid. And being asked, moreover, by the said archbishop, whether he would have a further day to deliberate upon his answers, as the aforesaid Nicholas and Philip had before, he said expressly that he would not, but would answer presently to those conclusions; and so for final answer said, as concerning all these conclusions (containing them all together), that his judgment was in this behalf to hold his peace. Wherefore the aforesaid archbishop, reputed the said John herein to be suspected, admonished him in form of words as followeth: "We admonish thee, John Ashton, whom we repute to be notoriously defamed and suspected of heresy, the first, the second, and third time, that in our province of Canterbury hereafter thou do not preach publicly or privately without our special license, under pain of the greater curse, which we denounce here by these presents against thy person, if thou obey not our monitions, for now as for then." And consequently, forasmuch as the said John, being asked of the archbishop, confessed that he had heard before of the publication of the archbishop's mandate, wherein was inhibited that no person prohibited or not sent should preach hereafter, the aforesaid archbishop assigned to him the Friday next following, which was the twentieth day of the same month, after dinner, to appear before him either at Lambeth, or in the same place, to say for himself wherefore he might not be pronounced a heretic, and for such an one be denounced through his whole province. Also the said archbishop assigned to the aforesaid Nicholas and Philip the said day and place, to answer peremptorily and to speak fully and plainly to the conclusions aforesaid, all sophistication of words and disputation set apart.

John Ashton  
examined.Answer  
of John  
Ashton.Ashton  
admon-  
ished  
again to  
appear

The names of the friars that sat upon them.—Friars Preachers, seven: Thomas Bernewell, William Suyard, William Pickworth, Thomas Whatelye, Lawrence Grenham, John Leigh, John Hakett. Carmelites three: Walter Dysshe, John Kynnyngham, John Loveye. Augustine friar: Thomas Ayshbourne, doctor.

(1) On Monday, June 16th. See Appendix.—Ed.

(2) Edition of 1563, p. 102, and Latin Edition, 1559, p. 20.—Ed.

(3) Ibid. p. 98, and the Latin, p. 20, where the proverb in Latin is "ab equis ad asinos." This happened on Tuesday, June 17th. See Appendix.—Ed.

(4) Ex. Regist. [Wilkins's Conc. tom. iii. p. 160; whence the text has been corrected and improved in several particulars.—Ed.]

(5) Wilkins, iii. p. 161.—Ed.

*Richard  
II.*

A.D.  
1382.

Hereford  
and Rep-  
pyngdon  
appear.

On the twentieth day aforesaid of the said month of June, the year and place above prefixed, before the aforesaid archbishop, sitting in his tribunal seat, in the presence of divers doctors of divinity, and lawyers both civil and canon, personally appeared master Nicholas Hereford and master Philip Reppyngdon, bachelors of divinity, and John Ashton, master of arts. Where the aforesaid Nicholas and Philip, being required by the archbishop to answer and say fully and plainly their judgment upon the conclusions prefixed (for which purpose the said archbishop had assigned to the said Nicholas and Philip the same term), did exhibit to the said archbishop, there judicially sitting, certain answers in writing contained, after the manner of indenture. The tenor of which indenture, containing the aforesaid conclusions unto them moved as afore, followeth in these words :

### The Protestation<sup>1</sup> of Nicholas Hereford and Philip Reppyngdon, with their Articles and Answers to the same.

We protest here as before, publiely, in these presents, that we intend to be humble and faithful children to the church and holy Scripture, and to obey in all things the determinations of the church. And if it shall chance us at any time, which God forbid, to swerve from this our intention, we submit ourselves humbly to the correction of our reverend father, the lord archbishop of Canterbury and primate of all England ; and of all others who have interest to correct such swervers. This protestation premised, thus we answer to the conclusions aforesaid.

Articles,  
with the  
answer.

1. "That the substance of material bread and wine remaineth in the sacrament of the altar after consecration."

After any sense contrary to the Decretal<sup>2</sup> beginning "Firmiter credimus," we grant that is heresy.

2. "That the accidents do not remain without the subject after consecration of the sacrament."

After any sense contrary to the Decretal<sup>3</sup> "Cum Marthæ," we grant that it is heresy.

3. "That Christ is not in the sacrament of the altar the self same, truly, and really, in his proper corporal person."

Although this conclusion, as the words stand, sound to be probable and intelligible, yet in any sense contrary to the Decretal<sup>4</sup> in the Clementines, "Si Dominum," we grant that it is heresy. And, briefly, concerning this whole matter of the sacrament of the altar, as touching also all other things, we profess that we will, both in word and sense, hold with the holy Scripture, with the determination of the holy church, and sayings of the holy doctors.

4. "Obstinately to affirm that it hath no foundation in the gospel, that Christ ordained the mass."—We grant that it is heresy.

5. "That God ought to obey the devil."

In this sense, that God in his own person or essence ought to obey the devil with the obedience of necessity, we grant that it is heresy.

6. "If a man be duly contrite, that all external confession is to him superfluous and unprofitable."—We grant that it is heresy.

7. "If the pope be a reprobate, and an evil man, and consequently a member of the devil, he hath no power over the faithful of Christ given to him by any, unless it be by Cæsar."—We grant that it is heresy.

8. "That after pope Urban VI. none is to be received for pope ; but that we ought to live after the manner of the Grecians, under our own laws."—We grant that it is heresy.

9. To say "that it is against the holy Scripture for ecclesiastical persons to have temporal possessions."—If obstinacy be joined withal, we grant that it is heresy.

10. "That no prelate ought to excommunicate any man, unless he know him before to be excommunicate of God."—We grant that it is an error ; understand-

(1) Wilkins, iii. p. 161. Foxe, by mistake, adds the name of John Ashton to this heading, whereas he would not answer.—Ed.

(2) Decretal. Greg. IX. lib. i. tit. 1. cap. 1.—Ed.

(3) Decretal. Greg. IX. lib. iii. tit. 11. cap. 6.—Ed.

(4) Clementin. lib. iii. tit. 16.—Ed.



ing this knowledge to mean an experimental knowledge; so that herewith may stand the decree<sup>1</sup> of the church, 11 q. 3, "Nemo Episcoporum."

11. "That he who doth so excommunicate, is thereby an heretic, or excommunicate."—After any sense agreeing to the other before, we grant it to be an error.

Richard  
II.

A. D.  
1382.

12. "That a prelate excommunicating a clerk, who appealeth to the king or council of the realm, in so doing is a traitor to God, the king, and the realm."—We grant it is an error.

13. "That they who leave off to preach, or to hear the word of God and the gospel preached, for the excommunication of men, are excommunicate and in the day of judgment shall be counted traitors to God."—Understanding this conclusion universally, so as Scripture and laws do understand such indefinite propositions, we grant it is an error.

14. To affirm "that it is lawful for any deacon or priest to preach the word of God without the authority of the see apostolic, or catholic bishop, or of any other whose authority he knoweth sufficient."—We grant it is an error.

15. To affirm "that there is no civil lord, no bishop, nor prelate, while he is in mortal sin."—We grant it is an error.

16. "That temporal lords may, at their pleasure, take away the temporal goods from churches offending '*habitudinaliter*.'"—Understanding this after this sense, that they may so take away temporal goods of the churches, without the cases limited in the laws of the church and kingdoms, we grant it is an error.

17. "That the vulgar people may correct the lords offending, at their pleasure."—Understanding by this word "may" that they may do it by the law, we grant it is an error, because subjects have no power over their lords.

18. "That tithes be pure alms, and that parishioners may, for the offences of their curates, detain the same, and bestow them to others at their pleasure."—Understanding by this word "may" (as before) to be "may by the law," we grant it is an error.

19. "That special prayers, applied to any one person by prelates or religious men, do no more profit the same than general prayers, if there be no let by the way to make them unlike."—Understanding this conclusion universally negatively, and understanding by 'special prayers' the prayers made upon special devotion, and 'general prayers' of general devotion; then after this sense, that no such special prayers, applied to any one person by special orators, do profit more specially the said person than general prayers do, which are made of the same and for the same persons, we grant it is an error.

20. "That he that giveth alms to the friars, or to any friar that preacheth, is excommunicate, as also is he that taketh."—Understanding this proposition universally or conditionally, as is aforesaid, we grant it to be an error.

21. "That whoso entereth into any private religion whatsoever, is thereby made more unapt and unmeet to obey the commandments of God."—We grant it is an error.

22. "That such holy men as did institute any private religions whatsoever, as well of seculars having possessions, as of friars having none, in so instituting did sin."—Understanding this reduplicatively or universally, we grant it is an error, after this sense, that what saints soever did institute private religion, instituting the said religion upon that consideration as they did, did sin.

23. "That religious men, living in private religions, be not of the religion of Christ."—Understanding the proposition universally, as is aforesaid, we grant it is an error.

24. "That friars are bound to get their living by the labour of their hands, and not by begging."—Understanding this proposition universally, as before, we grant it is an error.

These things have we spoken, reverend father and lord, in all humility, under your gracious supportation and benign correction, according to our abilities and slender capacities, for this present (the honour of God, the verity of our belief, and safe conscience always in all points reserved); more humbly yet beseeching you, that, if it should seem unto your excellency and discretion that we should have spoken otherwise either in substance or in manner, your gracious fatherhood would vouchsafe to inform us as your sons by the sacred Scriptures, by the determinations of the church, or authorities of the holy doctors; and, doubtless, with most ready wills and obedient minds we will consent unto

(1) Decreti Pars ii. Causa xi. quest. iii. cap. 41.—Ed.

Richard  
II.  
A.D.  
1382:

your more wholesome doctrine. May it therefore please your most reverend fatherhood, according to the accustomed manner of your benignity, favourably to accept these our words and sayings, forasmuch as the aforesaid conclusions were never commonly by us either in the schools asserted, or else in sermons publicly preached.

When all these answers were made unto the said lord archbishop of Canterbury, the said Nicholas and Philip, for that they answered not unto the sense and words of the first conclusion expressly, but to the sense contrary to the Decretal "*Firmiter credimus*," were there judicially examined what that sense was, but they would not express the same. Then was it demanded of them, according to the sense of the same conclusion declared on the part of the said lord of Canterbury, whether the same material bread "*in numero*," which before the consecration is laid upon the altar, remain in its proper substance and nature after the consecration in the sacrament of the altar; and likewise of the wine. To<sup>1</sup> this sense the said Nicholas and Philip answered, that for that time they could say no more therein, than that they had already answered, as was afore alleged, in the writing. And for that unto the sense and words of the second conclusion they answered not fully and expressly, but to the sense contrary to the Decretal "*Cum Marthæ*," being asked what that sense was, they would not express the same. Therefore it was demanded of them, according to the sense of the same conclusion declared on the part of the said lord of Canterbury, whether those corporal accidents which formally were in the bread and wine before the consecration of them, after the consecration were in the same bread and wine, or else were subjected in any other substance. To this sense they answered, that better to answer than before in the writing they already had, for that time they could not. To the meaning also and words of the third conclusion, for that they answered not plainly and expressly, but to the sense contrary to the Decretal in the Clementines "*Si Dominum*," being asked what that sense was, they would not declare the same. Wherefore it was then demanded of them, according to the sense of the same conclusion declared on the part of the said lord of Canterbury, whether the same body of Christ, which was assumed of the Virgin, be in the sacrament of the altar "*secundum seipsum*," even as he is really in carnal substance, proper essence, and nature. To this sense they answered, that for that time they could say no more than that they had said, as was before specified in the writing.

Furthermore, to the sense and text of the sixth conclusion for that they answered not fully and expressly, being asked whether God ought any manner of obedience to the devil or not, they said, "Yea, as the obedience of love, because he loveth him, and punisheth him as he ought." And that God ought so to obey the devil, they offered to prove to any one, on pain of being burnt.<sup>2</sup>

To the eleventh conclusion for that they answered not expressly, being asked whether a prelate might excommunicate any man being in a state of grace, they said, "Yea."

See  
Appendix

Unto the nineteenth conclusion for that they answered not fully, simply, and expressly, being demanded whether special or general prayers did most profit and were of greater force, they would not say but that special.

Unto the last conclusion for that they answered neither simply, nor expressly, and being demanded particularly, whether any friar were bound to get his living with his manual labour, so that it might not be lawful for them to live by begging, they would make no answer at all.

Judgments of  
the doctors upon  
these  
articles.

After that, the aforesaid lord archbishop of Canterbury demanded of all the aforesaid doctors, what their judgment was touching the answers that were made upon all and singular such conclusions; all which doctors and every of them severally said, that all the answers, given unto the first, second, third, and sixth conclusions (as is before recited) were insufficient, heretical, and subtle; and that all the answers made specially to the nineteenth and last conclusions, as is above mentioned, were insufficient, erroneous, and perverse. Whereupon, the said lord archbishop of Canterbury, considering the said answers to be insuff-

(1) Wilkins, p. 162.—Ed.

(2) The Register speaks here in the singular number, as if only one of them had made this challenge: "*Et ad probandum quod Deus debet taliter obedire diabolo, obtulit se sub pectus incendii et quemcumque*,"—Ed.

ficient, heretical, subtle, erroneous, and perverse, according as the said doctors did likewise consider (as is aforesaid), admonished the said Nicholas and Philip sufficiently under this form of words :—

*Richard II.*

A. D.  
1382.

### Monition of the Archbishop to Nicholas Hereford and Philip Reppyngdon.

The name of Christ being called upon, we William, by divine permission archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the apostolic see, and through our whole province of Canterbury inquisitor of heretical pravity, seeing that you Nicholas Hereford and Philip Reppyngdon, professors of divinity, having this day and place assigned you by your own express consent and our prefixion, peremptorily to answer and to say fully and plainly your opinion touching those conclusions whereunto we do refer you (all subtle, and sophistical, or logical words set apart), being thereunto sworn, admonished, and commanded, without any reasonable or legitimate cause, neither have been willing, nor are willing, nay rather have contemptuously refused and still dost refuse, to answer to some of those conclusions before us judicially, according to our monition and commandment aforesaid, but have answered unto some of them heretically, and to other some erroneously and not fully; we fully admonish you once, twice, and thrice, and that peremptorily, that you and each of you, fully and plainly (all subtle, sophistical, or logical words set apart) answer unto the same conclusions, and that after the sense and meaning by us limited, under the pain that otherwise such conclusions be held as by you confessed, and that you be held as convicted touching the same conclusions.

Admonition and citation of the archbishop, against the ex-aminants.

Which admonition being made and done, for that the aforesaid Nicholas and Philip would make none other answer, the said lord archbishop of Canterbury concluded that business, prefixing and assigning unto the aforesaid Nicholas and Philip the same day se'nicht, that is to say, until the twenty-seventh day of the same month, that then they should appear before the said lord archbishop of Canterbury, wheresoever within the same his province of Canterbury he should then fortune to be, to hear his decree that should be made in that behalf. This done, the aforesaid archbishop of Canterbury monished and cited lawfully and sufficiently John Ashton, under the tenor of these words following.

*See Appendix.*

Another day assigned for them to appear.

### Monition of the Archbishop to John Ashton.

The name of Christ being called upon, we William, by divine permission archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, legate of the apostolic see, and through our whole province of Canterbury inquisitor of heretical pravity, seeing that thou John Ashton, master of arts and scholar in divinity, otherwise appearing before us judicially, hast been corporally sworn on the book to speak the plain verity touching those conclusions, to the which we do refer thee, and the which we have caused to be delivered to thee; as also hast been otherwise by us admonished and commanded in this behalf, and hast this day and place by our prefixion for a peremptory term, to propound reasonable cause (if thou hast any) wherefore thou oughtest not to be pronounced a heretic; we do lawfully and fully monish and cite thee, the first, second, and third time, and that peremptorily, that thou fully and plainly (all subtle, sophistical, or logical words set apart) do answer unto the same conclusions, under the pain that such conclusions be held to have been on thy part confessed, and that thou be held as convicted touching the said conclusions.

Which monition being thus premised, the said archbishop read the first conclusion, and of the said John inquired what was his opinion and meaning therein? and bade him hereupon say his mind, according to the aforesaid monition. Then the aforesaid John Ashton, being often required by the archbishop, that he would answer in the Latin tongue to those questions which were demanded of him, because of the lay people that stood about him; he, crying out in the English tongue, uttered frivolous and opprobrious contumelies to move and excite the people against the said archbishop, as it should seem.<sup>1</sup> Neither did he unto the first conclusion, nor unto any of these other conclusions, effectually and pertinently seem to them to answer, but rather by subtleties and shifts.

John Ashton separately examined. The archbishop and his friars avoid the English tongue for fear of the people.

(1) See Appendix.—Ed.

*Richard*  
*II.*

A.D.  
1382.

Whether  
material  
bread  
remain  
in the  
sacra-  
ment.

saying oftentimes and expressly, as a layman might say, that it was sufficient for him to believe as holy church believed.<sup>1</sup> Then the said archbishop examined him upon the first conclusion touching the sacrament of the altar; whether that after the words of consecration there remaineth material bread, particular bread, or universal bread? He said the matter passed his understanding, and therefore said, he would in that form and manner answer, and otherwise not: but amongst other things, he spake in deriding wise unto the said archbishop against this word "material," saying, "You may put that in your purse, if you have any." Whereupon the said archbishop, calling that an unwise and foolish answer, as the rest of the doctors did (of whom mention was made before), the rather for that he was a clerk and a graduate in the schools, farther proceeded against the said John Ashton in this wise.

### The Sentence pronounced on John Ashton.

And seeing that thou John Ashton, monished and commanded by us, as is aforesaid, after thine oath taken, without any reasonable or legitimate cause, neither wouldest, nor yet wilt, but refusedst, and yet dost refuse contemptuously, to answer unto these conclusions before us judicially, according to our monition and commandment aforesaid, we do hold all such conclusions to be by thee confessed; and thee the aforesaid Dominns John, as touching those conclusions, which by us, with the deliberation of certain prelates our suffragans, and divers of doctors of divinity, and other wise men in the law, according to the canonical sanctions have been condemned as savouring of heresy and heretical and declared to be such, we pronounce and sententially declare to have been, and to be still, a heretic. And as touching the other conclusions, by us heretofore reputed erroneous and for erroneous condemned, we do pronounce and declare sententially by these our writings, that thou hast erred, and dost err.

Ashton  
declared  
a heretic.

Thomas  
Hilman  
suspected  
of fa-  
vouring  
Ashton.

Time  
given to  
Hilman to  
answer.

Upon the same twentieth day of June, in the year and place above recited, the aforesaid lord of Canterbury being desirous, as he asserted, to be informed by Thomas Hilman, bachelor of divinity, there being present, and somewhat favouring the said master John Ashton, what his judgment and opinion was, touching the aforesaid conclusions, prefixed and assigned unto the said Thomas (for that time demanding the same deliberation and day) that day se'nnight, that is to say, the twenty-seventh of the said month, to appear before the archbishop of Canterbury, wheresoever within his said province of Canterbury he should then happen to be, to declare plainly and fully what his judgment and opinion was touching the aforesaid conclusions.<sup>2</sup>

The names of friars and doctors assistant at the examination aforesaid.—Masters in divinity, ten, viz.: of Friars Preachers; bishop Nanetensis, John Langley, William Syward: of Friars Carmelite; John Kynnyngham, John Lovey, Peter Stokes, Walter Dys: of Friars Augustine; Thomas Ayshbourne, Bankine of London, Robert Waldeby.—Doctors of civil law, six, viz.; Master John Barnet, Master Thomas Baketon, Master John Blanchard, Master John Shillyugford, Master John Lydeford, Master Thomas Southam.

June 27.

The Friday next following, that is to say, the twenty-seventh of June, A.D. 1382, the aforesaid Master Nicholas, Philip, and Thomas Hilman, appeared before the said archbishop and lord inquisitor of Canterbury in the chapel of his manor of Otford, in the diocese of Canterbury, there sitting on his tribunal seat. To whom the said archbishop of Canterbury said, that for because at that time he had not the presence and assistance of the doctors in divinity and of the canon and civil law, he continued<sup>3</sup> the said business touching the said Nicholas, Philip, and Thomas, in the same state wherein then it was, till Tuesday next and immediately ensuing, that is to say, the first day of July, the year of our Lord aforesaid; and prefixed unto the said Nicholas, Philip, and Thomas Hilman, the same day to appear before him, wheresoever within his province of Canterbury he should then chance to be, to do that which upon the said twenty-seventh day they were purposed to do, together or apart.<sup>4</sup>

(1) "Dicens frequentius et expressè, sicut laicus, quòd sufficeret sibi credere sicut etiam sancta credit ecclesia."—Wilkins, p. 161. See Appendix.—Ed.

(2) Ex Regist. W. Courtney.

(3) "Continuavit," adjourned.—Ed.

(4) See infra, p. 40, for the continuation of the Process.—Ed.

The archbishop, yet not contented with this, doth, moreover, by all means possible sollicit the king to join withal the power of his temporal sword; for that he well perceived, that hitherto as yet the popish clergy had no authority sufficient, by any public law or statute of this land, to proceed unto death against any person whatsoever in case of religion, but only by the usurped tyranny and example of the court of Rome. Where note, gentle reader, for thy better understanding, the practice of the Romish prelates in seeking the king's help to further their bloody purpose against the good saints of God; which king being but young and under years of ripe judgment, partly induced, or rather seduced, by importune suit of the aforesaid archbishop, partly, also, either for fear of the bishops (for kings cannot always do in their realms what they will), or else, perhaps, enticed by some hope of subsidy to be gathered by the clergy, was contented to adjoin his private assent, such as it was, to the setting down of an ordinance, which was indeed the very first law that is to be found made against religion and the professors thereof, bearing the name of an Act made in the parliament holden at Westminster in the fifth year of Richard II.; where, among sundry other statutes then published, and yet remaining in the printed books of statutes, this supposed statute is to be found (cap. 5. et ultimo) as followeth:—

Richard II.

A. D. 1382.

Hitherto no law to burn any man for religion.

The king circumvented by the archbishop.

First law practised by the clergy, for imprisoning professors of religion.

#### A Private Statute made by the Clergy, without Consent or Knowledge of the Commons.

See Appendix.

Item, Forasmuch as it is openly known that there be divers evil persons within the realm, going from county to county, and from town to town, in certain habits, under dissimulation of great holiness, and without the license of the ordinaries of the places, or other sufficient authority, preaching daily, not only in churches and churchyards, but also in markets, fairs, and other open places where a great congregation of people is, divers sermons containing heresies and notorious errors, to the great emblemishing of the christian faith and destruction of the laws and of the estate of holy church, to the great peril of the souls of the people and of all the realm of England, as more plainly is found and sufficiently proved before the reverend father in God the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops and other prelates, masters of divinity, and doctors of canon and of civil law, and a great part of the clergy of the said realm, specially assembled for this cause; which persons do also preach divers matters of slander, to engender discord and dissension betwixt divers estates of the said realm, as well spiritual as temporal, in exciting of the people, to the great peril of all the realm: which preachers, being cited or summoned before the ordinaries of the places, there to answer of that whereof they be impeached, will not obey to their summons and commandments, nor care not for their monitions nor the censures of holy church, but expressly despise them; and moreover, by their subtle and ingenious words do draw the people to hear their sermons, and do maintain them in their errors by strong hand and by great routs: it is ordained and assented in this present parliament, that the king's commissions be made and directed to the sheriffs, and other ministers of our sovereign lord the king, or other sufficient persons learned, and according to the certifications of the prelates thereof to be made in the Chancery from time to time, to arrest all such preachers, and also their fautors, maintainers, and abettors, and to hold them in arrest and strong prison, till they will justify themselves according to reason and the law of holy church. And the king willeth and commandeth, that the chancellor make such commissions at all times that he by the prelates, or any of them, shall be certified and thereto required, as is aforesaid. [Teste Rege apud Westm. 26 Maii, anno regni Regis R. II. 5.]

This statute was repealed afterwards by the commons.

Richard  
II.AN EXAMINATION OF THE AFORESAID SUPPOSED STATUTE, AND  
OF THE INVALIDITY THEREOF.A.D.  
1382.No usual  
words of  
warrant  
affixed to  
this com-  
mission.

Which supposed statute, forasmuch as it was the principal ground whereupon proceeded all the persecution of that time, it is, therefore, not impertinent to examine the same more particularly; whereby shall appear, that as the same was fraudulently and unduly devised by the prelates only, so was it in like manner most injuriously and unorderly executed by them. For, immediately upon the publishing of this law, without further warrant either from the king or his council, commissions under the great seal of England were made in this form: "Richard, by the grace of God," &c. (as the Act shows, p. 541); "Witness myself at Westminster, the twenty-sixth day of June, in the sixth year of our reign;" without more words of warrant underwritten, such as in like cases are both usual and requisite; viz. "per ipsum regem," "per regem et concilium," or "per breve de privato sigillo:" all or any of which words being utterly wanting in this place, as may be seen in the king's records of that time, it must, therefore, be done either by warrant of this aforesaid statute, or else without any warrant at all. Whereupon it is to be noted, that whereas the said statute appointed the commissions to be directed to the sheriff, or other ministers of the king, or to other sufficient persons learned, for the arresting of such persons; the said commissions are directed to the archbishop and his suffragans, being, as it appeareth, parties in the case, authorizing them, further, without either the words or reasonable meaning of the said statute, to imprison them in their own houses, or where else pleased them.

Besides also, what manner of law this was, by whom devised, and by what authority the same was first made and established, judge by that which followeth, viz.—

In the Utas of St. Michael<sup>1</sup> next following, at a parliament summoned and holden at Westminster, the sixth year of the said king, among sundry petitions made to the king by his commons, whereunto he assented, there is one in this form:—

An Extract from the Petition of the Commons for repealing the aforesaid Statute.<sup>2</sup>

The  
statute  
repealed.

Item, the commons pray, That, whereas a statute was made the last parliament in these words—"It is ordained and assented in this present parliament, that the king's commissions be directed to the sheriffs and other ministers of the king, or to other sufficient persons, after and according to the certificates of the prelates thereof to be made unto the Chancery from time to time, to arrest all such preachers, and their fautors, maintainers, and abettors, and them to hold in arrest and strong prison, until they will justify themselves according to reason and the law of holy church; and the king willeth and commandeth, that the chancellor make such commissions at all times that he shall be by the prelates or any of them certified and thereto required, as is aforesaid:"—the which statute was never assented to nor granted by the Commons; but whatsoever was moved therein was without their assent: That the said statute be therefore annulled. For it was never any wise their intent to be justified to the prelates, nor to bind their successors to be so, more than their ancestors have been in times past: whereunto was answered, "Yl pleist au roy;" that is, "the king is pleased."

(1) The "Utas," or octaves, meant the eighth (inclusive) day succeeding any given term or feast. As Michaelmas Day falls on September 29th, "the Utas of St. Michael" would fall on October 6th.—Ed.

(2) The original French is printed in Cotton's Abailment, vol. iii. p. 141, 6 Rich. II. Paris 1694, 53, with a fine French translation has been collated, and revised.—Ed.

Hereby notwithstanding the former unjust law of the fifth of Rich. II. was repealed, and the fraud of the framers thereof sufficiently discovered, yet such means was there made by the prelates, that this act of repeal was never published, nor ever sithence imprinted with the rest of the statutes of that parliament: insomuch as the said repeal being concealed, like commissions<sup>1</sup> and other process were made from time to time by virtue of the said bastard statute, as well during all the reign of this king, as ever sithence, against the professors of religion; as shall hereafter, by the grace of God, appear in the second year of king Henry IV., where the clergy pursued the like practice.<sup>2</sup>

And now again to the story of our Oxford divines, and of the archbishop; to whom the king writeth his letters-patent, first to the archbishop, then to the chancellor of Oxford, in form as followeth:—

*Richard II.*  
*A. D. 1382.*  
The king ratifieth the repeal.

*See Appendix.*

The King's Letters-patent to the Archbishop, against the Favourers of Wickliff.

Richard, by the grace of God king of England and France and lord of Ireland, to all those to whom these present letters shall come, greeting. By the petition of the reverend father in God William, archbishop of Canterbury and primate of England, exhibited unto us, we fully understand, that divers conclusions, contrary to sound doctrine and notoriously redounding to the subversion of the catholic faith, of the holy church, and of his province of Canterbury, in divers places within the province aforesaid have been openly and publicly although damnably preached: of the which conclusions, some as heresies, other some as errors, after good and mature deliberation first therein had, and by common counsel of the said archbishop and his suffragans and many doctors in divinity, and other clerks learned in the holy Scriptures, have been sentimentally condemned and wholesomely declared to be so. Whereupon, the said archbishop having made his supplication unto us, that for the coercion and due castigation of such as would henceforth of an obstinate mind preach or maintain the aforesaid conclusions, we would vouchsafe to put to the arm of our royal power—We, moved (as in duty bound) by zeal for the catholic faith, whereof we be and will be on all occasions the defender, and unwilling to allow that any such heresies or errors should spring up within the limits of our dominion, do give and grant special authority and license by the tenor of these presents unto the aforesaid archbishop and his suffragans, to arrest and imprison, either in their own prisons or any other if they please, all and every such person and persons, as shall either privily or apertly preach or maintain the said conclusions so condemned; and the same persons, so imprisoned, to detain there till such time as they shall repent them and amend them of such erroneous and heretical pravities; or till it shall be by us and our council touching such arrests otherwise provided: further charging and enjoining all and singular our liege-men, ministers, and subjects, of what state or condition soever they be, upon their fidelity and allegiance wherein they stand bound to us, that by no means they either favour, counsel, or help the maintainers or preachers of the said conclusions so condemned, or their factors, on pain of forfeiture of all that ever they have; but that they rather obey and humbly attend upon the said archbishop, his suffragans, and ministers, in the execution of these presents; so that due and open publication may be made against the aforesaid conclusions and their maintainers without any perturbation, as for the defence and preservation of the catholic faith shall be thought most requisite to be done. In witness whereof, we have caused these our letters-patent to be made.

Witness our self, at Westminster, the twenty-sixth day of June, and sixth year of our reign.<sup>3</sup>

(1) See for example the Royal Commission to the Bishop of Hereford infra, p. 195.—Ed.

(2) See the Appendix.

(3) Fozz dates this "16th June, the 6th year of our reign," which would throw it forward into the next year, A.D. 1383; he gives the true date at p. 28. If Hereford and Reppington were aware of this letter having been just issued, it will quite account for their absconding between June 27th and July 1st.—Ed.

Richard  
II.

## Further Process against Hereford and Reppyingdon.

A.D.  
1382.Answer of  
Hilman.Hereford  
and Rep-  
pyngdon  
excom-  
muni-  
cated.

The Tuesday<sup>1</sup> being come, the aforesaid archbishop, in the chapter-house of his church at Canterbury, before the hour of nine, with the doctors whose names are under contained, and other clerks a great multitude, expected the aforesaid Nicholas, Philip, and Thomas, long time by the beadle calling them and looking after them; who, nevertheless, appeared not: wherefore, he continued the aforesaid business in the pristine state till two of the clock after dinner the same day; at which hour the aforesaid archbishop of Canterbury, having assistants the doctors and clerks under recited, examined the aforesaid Master Thomas Hilman, then and there judicially appearing, what his opinion was touching the aforesaid conclusions; who, at them, and the meaning of them, somewhat stammering, at last, to all and singular the same conclusions then to him read and expounded thus answered: "I suppose and judge all and singular those conclusions lately condemned by my lord of Canterbury that now is, together with the counsel and consent of his clerks, to be heretical and erroneous, even as the same my lord of Canterbury, and other doctors of divinity, and of the canon and civil law, by common consent and counsel have supposed and thought. And the same, being for heresies and errors, as before is said, condemned, I do, as much as in me is, condemn; protesting that I will hold and affirm the contrary of those conclusions, and in the same faith live and die." Then the said archbishop of Canterbury, then and there sitting on his tribunal seat,<sup>2</sup> pronouncing the said masters Nicholas and Philip, long in court called before and tarried for and yet not appearing, guilty of contumacy and disobedience, excommunicated them for the penalty of this their contumacy, in tenor of these words following:

The Sentence of Excommunication passed upon Nicholas Hereford and Philip Reppyingdon.

We William, by the grace of God archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the apostolic see, and through our whole province of Canterbury inquisitor of heretical pravity, do pronounce Master Nicholas Hereford and Master Philip Reppyingdon, professors of divinity, having this day and place by our prefixion appointed to hear our decree in this business of heretical pravity, being in court by our beadle called and long tarried for, and yet not appearing, contumacious persons; and for the penalty of this their contumacy we do excommunicate them, and both of them, by these presents.

The names of the doctors and friars, assistant at this sitting, were these.—Masters in divinity, nine, viz.: of seculars; Master William Blankpayne, Master William Berton: of Friars Carmelite; Robert Yvory, provincial, John Kynnyngham, Philip Loveye: of Friars Minor; William Barnewell, John Ryddene: Friar Preacher, William Bruseumbe: Friar Augustine, John Courte: Bachelors in divinity, three, viz.; Stephen Patrington, John Tompston, John Reppys, Carmelites.

Against this blind excommunication of the said archbishop the parties excommunicate commenced and exhibited their appeal unto the bishop of Rome; which appeal of theirs, as insufficient, or rather to him unpleasant, the said archbishop utterly rejected<sup>3</sup> (as might oftentimes overcometh right), proceeding in his preconceived excom-

(1) See *suprà*, p. 36.—Ed.

(2) "Pro tribunali sedens." Wilkins, p. 164.—Ed.

(3) As appears by the following citation from the Register, printed in Wilkins, tom. iii. p. 165.  
"In Dei nomine, Amen. Nos Willielmus, permissione divina Cant. archiepiscopus, totius Angliæ primas, et apostolicæ sedis legatus, quandam appellationem prætensam cujus tenor inferius continetur, per magistros Nicolam Hereford et Philippum de Reppyingdon canonicum regularem monasterii beate Mariæ de pratis Leycestre. Lincoln. dioc. professores sacre pagine se dicentes et eorum quilibet, et nonnullis gravaminibus prætensis per nos eis et eorum cuilibet, ut asserunt, et asserit eorum quilibet, licet minus veraciter, illatis; ad sedem apostolicam et dominum nostrum papam interpositam, ad quam nos referimus et pro hic inserta habere volumus, in valvis ecclesiæ cathedralis London. necnon ecclesiæ beate Mariæ de arcubus London. publicè appositam et affixam, infra tempus juris ad dand. apostolos, notorie existentem frivolam et ex frivolis falsisque ac falso fabricatis et confictis malitiose conceptam, necnon errorem juris in se manifestum continentem, reputamus, et eam ideo refutamus, et eidem non deferimus, et hanc responsionem prædictis magistris Nicolao et Philippo et eorum quilibet damus loco apostolorum in valvis dictarum ecclesiarum et locis aliis publicè attingendam. In cuius dationis apostolorum testimonium, sigillum nostrum presentibus duximus apponend. Dat. Lond. duodecimo die mensis Junii, anno Domini M.CCC. LXXXII. et nostre translationis anno primo."—Ed.



munication against them, and writing, moreover, his letters to him that should preach next at Paul's Cross, to denounce and to publish openly the said Nicholas Hereford and Philip Reppyingdon to be excommunicate, for not appearing at their term assigned; which was dated the thirteenth day of July:

*Richard II.*

A.D. 1382.

### The denouncing of the Excommunication against Nicholas Hereford and Philip Reppyingdon.

William, by divine permission archbishop of Canterbury, &c., to our beloved son in Christ, whosoever he be, that this instant Sunday shall preach the word of God at St. Paul's Cross in London, health, grace, and benediction. Forsomuch as to Master Nicholas Hereford, and Master Philip Reppyingdon, canon regular of the monastery of St. Mary at Leicester, doctors of divinity, and of heretical pravity vehemently suspected, after certain answers not fully but impertinently made, as also heretically and erroneously, touching certain heretical and erroneous conclusions, in divers places of our said province commonly, generally, and publicly preached and taught, we prefixed a certain competent day and place for them, judicially appearing before us, to do and to receive peremptorily in that behalf what thing soever the quality of that business should move us unto; and that we did for their contumacy in not appearing before us at the said day and place judicially excommunicate them, as right therein required: we, by these presents, charge and command you, firmly enjoining you, that on the same Sunday, when the largest multitude of people shall have gathered together to hear your sermon, in the place aforesaid you publicly and solemnly denounce the aforesaid Nicholas and Philip, holding up the cross, and lighting up candles, and then throwing the same down upon the ground, to have been and still to be so excommunicated by us.—Fare ye well.

July 12th, A.D. 1382. Excommunication to be denounced at Paul's Cross.

Given at our manor house at Lambeth, the thirteenth day of July, in the year of our Lord 1382, and the first of our translation.

This archbishop, moreover, the said year, in the month and on the day aforesaid, sent also another letter to Master Rygge, the chancellor of Oxford, straitly enjoining and charging him, not only to denounce the said sentence of excommunication, and to give out public citation against them, but also to make diligent search and inquisition through all Oxford for them, to have them apprehended and sent up to him, personally before him to appear at a certain day prescribed for the same; requiring, moreover, by him to be certified again what he had done in the premises.

Another letter of the archbishop to the chancellor of Oxford.

*See Appendix.*

### Mandate of the Archbishop to the Chancellor of Oxford against the said Nicholas and Philip.

William, by divine permission, &c., to our well beloved son Master Robert Rygge, chancellor of the university of Oxford, health, &c. Forsomuch as we prefixed a competent day and place to Master Nicholas Hereford, and Master Philip Reppyingdon, &c. [see the preceding letter, as far as the words "as right therein required"]: we therefore straitly charge and command you, firmly enjoining you, that you publicly and solemnly denounce in the church of St. Mary at Oxford, and in the schools of the university, the aforesaid Nicholas and Philip to have been and still to be by us excommunicated; and further that you cite, or cause to be cited, peremptorily the aforesaid Nicholas and Philip, that they and each of them appear before us within fifteen days after the date of such citation, wheresoever within our said province of Canterbury it shall fortune us then to be; to hear and see how we mean to proceed against them and each of them, concerning the said heretical and erroneous conclusions, according to the form of the retroactions used in this behalf, and the quality of the business: and that of the day of the receipt of these presents, and of the manner and form of your citation; and whether the said Nicholas and Philip, or either of them, have been apprehended by personal citation, or whether they or either of them

*Richard II.* have absconded to avoid such apprehension; as of every thing else, which in this behalf you shall think meet to be done; between this and the feast of St. Laurence you clearly certify us by your letters patent, containing the effect of these things.—Fare ye well.

*A.D.*  
*1382.*

Given at our manor of Lambeth, the thirteenth day of July, in the year of our Lord 1382, and the first of our translation.

*A.D. 1382.*  
*July 13.*

*See*  
*Appendix.*

The contents of a sharp letter of king Richard sent to Oxford, against Wickliff and his fellows.

Letters, with their books, to be sent

The young king also, moved by the unquiet importunity of the archbishop, sendeth, moreover, a special letter to the chancellor and proctors of the university of Oxford, wherein, under a pretended zeal of the defence of christian faith, he straitly and sharply enjoyneth and assigneth them, for the utter abolishing of those conclusions and opinions, to make a general inquisition through the whole university, for all whom they know or judge to be suspected of the doctrine of John Wickliff, Nicholas Hereford, Philip Reppyingdon, John Ashton, and such others; or to be maintainers, receivers, and defenders of the aforesaid parties or their conclusions, in any manner of way; to the intent that they, being so apprehended through their diligent search, may be within seven days of their admonitions expelled the university, and cited up to the archbishop of Canterbury, before him to appear and to stand to their answers: willing, moreover, and commanding the said chancellor and proctors, with other regents their assisters, that if any person or persons in any house, hall, or college, or in any other place, shall be found to have any of their books or treatises compiled by the said John Wickliff, Nicholas Hereford, &c., they will cause without delay the said person or persons, with their books, to be arrested and attached, and presented within one month, without correction, corruption, or mutation, to the aforesaid archbishop, upon their faith and allegiance, as they will avoid the forfeiture of all and singular the liberties and privileges to the university appertaining; and that they will be obedient to the archbishop aforesaid in the ordering hereof, and all other his injunctions to be obeyed in all things lawful and honest. Giving, moreover, in these his letters charge and commandment to the sheriff, mayor, bailiffs, and others, the inhabitants of Oxford, to be assistant and attendant unto the aforesaid chancellor and proctors, touching the execution of the premises, bearing the date of July 13th, A.D. 1382.

### The King's Letters-patent to the Chancellor and Proctors of Oxford.

Richard, by the grace of God king of England and France and lord of Ireland, to the chancellor and the proctors of the university of Oxford who now be, or for the time being shall be, greeting. Being wholesomely moved and induced by zeal for the christian faith, whereof we be and always will be defenders, and having a great desire to repress, and by condign punishment to restrain, the impugnors of the faith, who have newly and wickedly presumed to sow their naughty and perverse doctrines within our realm of England, and to hold and preach conclusions already condemned, notoriously repugnant to the same faith, and are endeavouring to pervert our people, as we understand, before they proceed any further in their errors and naughtiness, or infect others; We by these presents appoint you, with the assistance of all the divinity regents of the university aforesaid, to make inquiry of all and singular the graduates and lawyers within the same university whether they know any within the jurisdiction of that university, who be probably of them suspected to be in the favour, belief, or defence of any heresy or error, and especially of any of the conclusions publicly condemned by the venerable father, William, archbishop of Canterbury, with the counsel of his clergy, or else of any other

conclusion like unto any of them in meaning or in words: and that if henceforth you shall find any that believe, fauter, or defend any of the aforesaid heresies or errors, or any such like, or who shall dare to receive into their houses and inns, Master John Wickliff, Master Nicholas Hereford, Master Philip Reppyngdon, Master John Ashton, or any other by probable suspicion noted of any of the aforesaid heresies or errors, or any other like unto them in words or in meaning; or that shall presume to communicate with any of them, or else to defend or fauter any such fautors, receivers, communicants, and defenders; that, within seven days after the same shall appear and be manifest unto you, you banish and expel them from the university and town of Oxford, till such time as they shall declare their innocency by manifest purgation before the archbishop of Canterbury for the time being; and that in order that such may be compelled to purge themselves, you certify us and the same archbishop under your seals, from time to time, within one month that they be such manner of men: commanding moreover that through all the halls of the university aforesaid, ye cause to be inquired and searched out of hand whether any man have any book or tractate put forth or compiled by the aforesaid Master John Wickliff or Nicholas Hereford, and that wheresoever ye shall chance to find any such book or tractate, ye cause the same to be arrested and taken and presented unto the aforesaid archbishop within one month, without any correction, corruption, or mutation whatsoever, as to its meaning or words. And therefore we enjoin and command you, upon the fidelity and allegiance wherein ye stand bound unto us, and upon pain of forfeiture of all and singular the liberties and the privileges of your said university and of all else that you can forfeit to us; that you give yourself diligently to execute the premises well and faithfully; and that you do execute the same in form aforesaid; and that you obey the aforesaid archbishop, and his lawful and honest mandates, that he shall think good to direct unto you in this behalf, as it is meet you should. And we give in charge unto the sheriff and mayor of Oxford for the time being, and to all and singular our other sheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, ministers, and other our faithful subjects by these presents, that they aid, obey, and be attendant upon you in the execution of the premises. Witness myself at Westminster, the thirteenth day of July, the sixth year of our reign.

*Richard  
II.*

*A.D.  
1382.*

*See  
Appendix.*

Besides these letters-patent, the said young king sendeth another letter the next day to the aforesaid chancellor and proctors of the university of Oxford touching Henry Crompe, of whom ye heard before.

#### Another Letter of the King to the Chancellor and Proctors of Oxford.

Richard, by the grace of God king of England and France, lord of Ireland, to the chancellor and proctors of the university of Oxford, greeting. Whereas we of late—upon the grievous complaint of Henry Crompe, monk, and regent in divinity within the university aforesaid, how that, while he was assistant with the reverend father in God, the archbishop of Canterbury, and other divines in the city of London, at the condemnation of divers conclusions erroneous and heretical, you, at the sinister suggestion of certain adversaries of his, who pretended the peace of the university aforesaid to have been broken by the said Henry in his last lecture in the schools, did call him to answer before you; and for his not appearing (as forsooth he could not) did pronounce him contumacious and convicted of peace-breaking, and did also suspend the said Henry from his scholastical acts and lectures—by our writ did appoint you a day (now past) to appear and answer before our council touching the premises, and to do certain other things expressly contained in the writ aforesaid; whereupon, the matter aforesaid with its circumstances having been before our said council, in your presence, examined, investigated and fully understood, it was by our said council decreed and specially determined, that all your process against the said Henry on the occasions premised, with all the consequences thereof, was null, void, vain, and of none effect; and commandment was given that the aforesaid Henry should be restored and admitted again to the scholastic acts and customary lectures, and to his pristine state, as you fully know: To the intent therefore that the decree and determination aforesaid should be duly executed, we most strictly charge and command you, that you, speedily and entirely revoking all your process against the said Henry Crompe in the university

*Henry  
Crompe  
complains  
eth to the  
king's  
council  
of the  
secular  
masters  
of Oxford.*

Richard  
II.

A.D.  
1382.

Crompe,  
Stokes,  
and Pat-  
rington,  
restored  
to their  
scholasti-  
cal acts.

aforesaid, with all the consequences thereof, do admit the said Henry and cause him to be restored to his scholastic acts, his accustomed lectures, and pristine state without delay, according to the form of the decree and determination aforesaid: enjoining you, moreover, and your commissaries or deputies, and your successors, and all masters regent and non regent, and other secular presidents, officers, and ministers of the university aforesaid, upon the faith and allegiance wherein you are bound to us, that you do not in any manner privily or apertly let, molest, or grieve, or cause to be let, molested, or grieved, the said friar Henry for the causes aforesaid, or friar Peter Stokes, Carmelite, by occasion of his absence from the university aforesaid, or friar Stephen Patrington, Carmelite, or any other religious or secular person favouring them, by occasion of any deed or word in any way concerning the doctrine of Master John Wickliff, Master Nicholas Hereford, and Master Philip Reppyingdon, or the reproof and condemnation of their heresies and errors, or the blaming or correction of their favourers; but that you do procure, and with all diligence nourish, and to your utmost preserve, peace, unity, and quiet within the university aforesaid, and chiefly between the religious and secular persons: and that you in no case omit to do these things on forfeiture of all and singular the liberties and privileges of the university aforesaid, and of all else which you can possibly forfeit to us.

In testimony whereof we have caused these our letters patent to be made.  
Witness myself at Westminster, the fourteenth day of July.

Unto the aforesaid letters, received from the archbishop, diligent certificate was given accordingly, the tenor whereof was this:

<sup>see</sup>  
H. 1. c. 12.

### A Letter of Robert Rygge, Chaneellor of Oxford, to the Archbishop.

To the most reverend father in Christ and lord, William, by divine permission archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the apostolic see, Robert Rygge, professor of divinity and chancellor of the university of Oxford, the reverence and obedience due to so great a father with honour. Your letter directed to me I reverently received on the fourteenth day of July, the year of our Lord underwritten, commencing with the words, "William, by divine permission," &c.; by the authority whereof I have publicly and solemnly, in the church of St. Mary and in the schools of the university aforesaid, denounced, and caused to be denounced by others, according to the force, form, and effect of the same letters, Master Nicholas and Master Philip aforesaid to have been and to be excommunicated. Moreover, I have diligently sought for the aforesaid Master Nicholas and Master Philip as you commanded, to apprehend them by personal citation and to cite them; but I have not been able to find them in order to cite them, as you commanded. But touching the lurking place of Master Nicholas and Master Philip aforesaid, it was clear to me on diligent inquisition made by me that they did not lurk, nor do they lurk here now, as far as is known. The which I signify to your fatherhood by these presents signed with the seal of mine office, given at Oxford the twenty-fifth day of the month of July, A.D. 1382.

In the mean time, great search and inquisition was made for them, to cite and to apprehend them wheresoever they might be found; whereupon the archbishop of Canterbury, William Courtney, directed his letters to the bishop of London, named Robert Braybroke, charging him that the said excommunication be denounced, not only within his own jurisdiction, but likewise throughout all the dioceses of his suffragans; moreover, that diligent search and watch should be laid for them, both in London and elsewhere, that they might be apprehended; requiring, moreover, by them to be certified again what they had done in the premises. And this was written the thirtieth day of July, A.D. 1382.<sup>1</sup> Whereby may appear how

(1) Foxe dates this letter "the fourteenth day of July;" but in Wilkins it is dated "in manerio nostro de Oxiford penultimo die mensis Julii, anno Dom. MCCCCLXXXII et nostra translationis anno p. lxx." Wilkins, *Ed.* p. 168. The letter is as follows:—

busy this bishop was in disquieting and persecuting these poor men, whom rather he should have nourished and cherished as his brethren. But as his labour is past, so his reward will follow, at what day the great Archbishop of our souls shall judicially appear in his tribunal seat, to judge both the quick and the dead.

Richard  
II.A. D.  
1382.

In the meantime Nicholas Hereford and Reppyngdon being repulsed of the duke, and destitute, as was said, of his supportation, whether they were sent, or of their own accord went, to the archbishop, it is uncertain. This I find in a letter of the aforesaid archbishop, contained in his register, that Reppyngdon, the twenty-third day of October, the same year (A.D. 1382), was reconciled again to the archbishop, and also by his general letter was released, and admitted to his scholastic acts in the university; and so was also John Ashton, of whom (Christ willing) more shall follow hereafter.<sup>1</sup> Of Nicholas Hereford, all this while, I find no special relation.

Hereford  
and Rep-  
pyngdon  
repulsed  
by the  
duke.Reppyng-  
don re-  
leased,  
Ashton,  
recon-  
ciled, by  
the arch-  
bishop.See  
Appendix.

In the mean time, about the twenty-third of September in the said year, the king sent his mandate to the archbishop for the collecting of a subsidy, and to have a convocation of the clergy summoned against the next parliament, which should begin the eighteenth of November. The archbishop likewise, on the fifteenth day of October<sup>2</sup> (A.D. 1382), directed his letters monitory, as the manner is, to Robert Braybroke, bishop of London, to give the same admonition to all his suffragans, and to other of the clergy within his province, for the assembling of the convocation aforesaid. All which done and executed, the parliament began, being holden at Oxford the eighteenth of November, where the convocation was kept in the monastery of Frideswide, in Oxford. In the which convocation the archbishop, with the other bishops there sitting in their pontificalibus, declared two causes of that their present assembly: the one, said he, to repress heresies, which began newly in the realm to spring, and for correcting other excesses in the church; the other cause, said he, was to aid and support the king with some necessary subsidy of money to be gathered: which thus declared, the convocation was continued till the day following, which was the nineteenth of November.

A convo-  
cation  
summon-  
ed.Convoca-  
tion at St.  
Frides-  
wide's in  
Oxford.

At the said day and place, the archbishop with the other prelates assembling themselves as before, the archbishop, after the usual solemnity, willed the proctors of the clergy, appointed for every diocese, to consult among themselves in some convenient several

Nov. 19th

" Archiepiscopi Cantuar. mandatum episcopo London. ad denuncieand. magistros Nic. Hereford, et Philipp. Reppyngdon, excommunicatos per provinciam Cant.

" Wilhelmus, etc. venerabili fratri nostro domino Roberto, Dei gratia episcopo London. salutem et fraternam in Domino charitatem. Cum nos magistris Nicolao Hereford et Philippo Reppyngdon etc. [prout superius continetur usque "justitia exigente."] Vobis committimus et mandamus, quatenus prefatum Nicolaum et Philippum sic per nos fuisse et esse excommunicatos, in ecclesiis et locis insignibus vestrarum civitatis et diocesis cum populi multitudo conveniret, denunciari publice faciatis: citantes eosdem, citative facientes peremptorie, si valeant apprehendi, quod compareant eorum nobis aliquo competenti termino, per vos aut vestros auditores præfigendo eisdem, ubicunque nos infra provinciam nostram Cant. tunc esse contingeret; ad vidend. et audiend. per nos procedi contra eosdem, et eorum quemlibet, super dictis conclusionibus hæreticis et erroneis juxta formam retroactorum in hac parte habituram et negotii qualitatem. Injunctis insuper auctoritate nostra omnibus et singulis suffraganeis nostris, nostræ Cant. provincie episcopis, et confratribus, per literas vestras patentes, harum seriem continentes, quod ipsorum singuli eosdem Nicolaum et Philippum per suas civitates et diocesis. faciant modo simili denunciari; quodque citent eosdem, seu citari faciant peremptorie, si poterunt apprehendi, quod compareant coram nobis aliquo termino competenti, eis per dictos confratres nostros vel eorum aliquem præfigendo, ubicunque fuerimus infra provinciam nostram prædict., ad faciendum quod superius est expressum: et quod nos certificet, seu ille eorum certificet, qui ipsos vel eorum aliquem citaverit, aut citari fecerit, citra terminum hujusmodi, literis suis patentibus, habentibus hunc tenorem. Vosque de toto processu vestro in hac parte habendo nos citra festum exaltationis sanctæ crucis prox. futur. certificetis per literas vestras patentes, harum seriem continentes. Dat. in manerio nostro de Otteford penultimo die mensis Julii, anno Domini M.CCC.LXXXII. et nostræ translationis anno primo."—Wilkins, iii. pp. 167, 168.

(1) Wilkins, iii. p. 169.—Ed.

(2) Ibid. p. 172.—Ed.

*Richard II.* place, what they thought for their parts touching the redress of things, to be notified and declared to him and to his brethren.

*A. D. 1382.* Furthermore, forsomuch, saith he, as it is so noised through all the realm, that there were certain in the university of Oxford, who did hold and maintain conclusions (as he called them) heretical and erroneous, condemned by him, and by other lawyers and doctors of divinity; he therefore assigned the bishops of Sarum, Hereford, and Rochester, with William Rugge, then chancellor of the university of Oxford (for he-like Robert Rygge was then displaced), also with William Berton and John Middleton, doctors; giving them his full authority, with cursing and banning to compel them to search, and to inquire with all diligence and in all ways possible, over all and singular whatsoever, either doctors, bachelors, or scholars of the said university, who did hold, teach, maintain, and defend, in schools or out of schools, the said conclusions heretical (as he called them) or erroneous, and afterward to give certificate truly and plainly touching the premises. And thus, for that day, the assembly brake up to the next, and so to the next, and the third, being Monday, the twenty-fourth of November.<sup>1</sup>

Rygge displaced from the vice-chancellorship.

Inquisition made at Oxford.

On the which day,<sup>2</sup> in the presence of the prelates and the clergy in the chapter-house of St. Frideswide, came in Philip Reppyingdon, otherwise called of the brethren afterward ‘Rampyingdon,’ who there abjured the conclusions and assertions aforesaid in this form of words as followeth.

### Abjuration of Philip Reppyingdon.

In the name of God, Amen. I Philip Reppyingdon, canon of the church of St. Mary de Pré, Leicester, in the diocese of Lincoln, acknowledging the true catholic and apostolic faith, do curse and also abjure all heresy; and namely the heresies and errors under-written, condemned and reproved by the canonical decrees, and by you most reverend father, touching which hitherto I have been defamed; condemning, moreover, and reproving both them and the authors of them; and I do confess the same to be catholically condemned. And I swear, also, by God’s holy gospels which here I hold in my hand, and do promise, never for any persuasions of men, nor by any other means, to defend or hold as true, the said conclusions under-written or any of them; but that I do and will stand and adhere henceforth in all things, to the determination of the holy catholic church, and to yours, in this behalf. Over and besides, all such as contravene this faith, I do pronounce them, with their doctrine and followers, worthy of everlasting curse. And if I myself shall presume at any time to hold or preach any thing contrary to the premises, I shall be content to abide the severity of the canons.—Subscribed with mine own hand, and of mine own accord.

PHILIP REPPYNGDON.

*See Appendix.*

And thus the said ‘Rampyingdon’ was discharged, who afterward was made bishop of Lincoln, and became at length the most bitter and extreme persecutor of this side of all the other bishops within the realm, as in process hereafter may appear.

Philip Reppyingdon becomes a terrible persecutor. Abjuration of J. Ashton.

After the abjuration of this Reppyingdon, immediately was brought in John Ashton, student of divinity; who, being examined upon those conclusions, and willed to say his mind, answered, That he was too simple and ignorant, and therefore would not, and could not, answer any thing clearly or distinctly to those conclusions. Whereupon the archbishop assigned to him doctor William Rugge, the chancellor, and other divines, such as he required himself, to be

(1) *Ex. Regist. W. Courtney.*

(2) *Wilkins, ibid. p. 172.—Ed.*

instructed in the mystery of those conclusions against the afternoon;<sup>1</sup> who, then appearing again after dinner before the archbishop and the prelates, did in like sort and form of words abjure, as did Reppington before.

*Richard II.  
A.D.  
1382.*

Of this John Ashton we read, that afterwards, by Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, he was cited and condemned; but whether he died in prison, or was burned, we have yet no certainty to show. This is certain, by the plain words of the Chronicle of St. Alban's, that when the archbishop, with his doctors and friars, sat in examination upon this John Ashton, in London, the Londoners broke open the door of the conclave, "and did hinder the archbishop himself sitting in the city of London, when he would have made process against John Ashton."<sup>2</sup> (A.D. 1382.) And thus much of John Ashton.

*The Londoners broke open the door where the archbishop is sitting.*

As touching Nicholas Herford, during the time of this convocation he did not appear; and, therefore, had the sentence of excommunication, against which he put in his appeal from the archbishop to the king and his council. The archbishop would not admit it, but finding stays and stops, caused him to be apprehended and enclosed in prison. Notwithstanding, through the will of God, and good means, he escaped out of prison, returning again to his former exercise, and preaching as he did before, albeit in as covert and secret a manner as he could; whereupon the archbishop, thundering out his bolts of excommunication against him, sendeth to all pastors and ministers, willing them in all churches and on all festival days, to divulge the said excommunication against him to all men: he writeth, moreover, and sendeth special charge to all and singular of the laity, to beware that their simplicity be not deceived by his doctrine, but that they, like catholic children, will avoid him, and cause him by all others to be avoided.

*Herford, appeal'd from the archbishop, is cast into prison, but escaped.*

Furthermore, not contented with this, he addresseth his letter unto the king, requiring also the aid of his temporal sword to chop off his neck, whom he had already cast down. See and note, reader! the seraphical charity of these priestly prelates towards the poor redeemed flock of Christ. And yet these be they, who, washing their hands with Pilate, say and pretend, "Nobis non licet interficere quenquam:" "it is not our parts to kill any man." The copy of the letter written to the king is this:—

### A cruel Letter of the Archbishop to the King, against Nicholas Herford.

To the most excellent prince in Christ, &c.; William, &c., greeting in Him by whom kings do reign and princes bear rule. Unto your kingly celsitude by the tenor of these presents we intimate, that one Master Nicholas Herford, doctor of divinity, for his manifest contumacy and offence in not appearing before us, being called, at the day and place assigned, is therefore enwrapped in the sentence of the greater curse, publicly by our ordinary authority; and in the same sentence hath continued now forty days, and yet still continueth with obdurate heart, wickedly condemning the keys of the church, both to the great peril of his soul, and to the pernicious example of others. Forasmuch, therefore,

(1) A short time, my lord, for a man in one forenoon to learn a faith against his conscience!

(2) "Ipsumque archiepiscopum in civitate sedentem impediverunt, cum processum fecisset contra Johannem Ashton," &c. Ex Chron. Monast. Albani.

*Richard**II.**A. D.*  
*1382.*

as the holy mother the church hath not to do, or to proceed, any further in this matter, we humbly desire your kingly majesty to direct out your letters for the apprehending of the said excommunicate, according to the custom of this realm of England, wholesomely observed and kept hitherto; to the intent that such, whom the fear of God doth not restrain from evil, the discipline of the secular arm may bridle and pluck back from offending.<sup>1</sup> Your princely celsitude the Lord long continue.—From Lambeth, the fifteenth of January.

To this letter of the archbishop, might not the king, gentle reader, thus answer again, and answer well.

Prosopopœia.  
What the king might have answered again.

“ Your letters with your complaint and requests in the same contained, we have received and well considered : for the accomplishing whereof ye shall understand, that as we are readily bent to gratify and satisfy your mind in this behalf on the one hand, so we must beware again on the other, that our authority be not abused, either to oppress before we know, or to judge before we have tried. Wherefore, forasmuch as you, in your letters, do excite and sharpen the severe discipline of our secular sword against one Nicholas Herford, for his not appearing before you, and yet showing, in the said your letters, no certain cause to us what you have to charge him withal ; we, therefore, following the example of Alexander the Great, or rather the rule of equity, in opening both our ears indifferently, to hear as well the one part as the other, do assign both to him, when he may be found, and to you, when ye shall be called, a term to appear before us : to the intent that the controversy between you and him, standing upon points of religion, being tried by the true touchstone of God’s holy word, due correction indifferently may be ministered according as the offence shall be found. In the mean time, this we cannot but something marvel at in your said letters. First, to see you, men of the church and angels of peace, to be so desirous of blood. Secondly, to consider you again so fierce in prosecuting the breach of your law, and yet so cold in pursuing the breach of the express law of God and his commandments. Thirdly, to behold the unstable doubleness in your proceedings, who, pretending in your public sentence to become entreaters for them to us, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, that we will withdraw from them the rigour of our severity, yet, in your letters, you be they who most set us on. If not appearing before you be such a matter of contumacy in case of your law, that it is in no case to be spared, what should then our princely discipline have done to men of your calling ? Henry Spencer, bishop of Norwich, being at Canterbury, was sent for by our special commandment, to come at our call, who denied to come, and yet we spared him.<sup>2</sup> John Stratford, archbishop, your predecessor, being required of our progenitor king Edward III., to come to him at York, would not appear ; by reason whereof Scotland at the same time was lost, and yet was he endured. The like might be said of Robert Winchelsey, in the days of king Edward I., and of Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, in the days of king Henry III. Stephen Langton was sent for by king John to come ; he came not. The like contumacy was in Becket

Former bishops of Canterbury appeared not before their kings, and yet were they not persecuted.

(1) This is not to seek that which is lost, by the rule of Ezekiel (chap. xxxiv. 4.) ; “ The diseased have ye not strengthened, neither have ye healed that which was sick, neither have ye bound up that which was broken, neither have ye brought again that which was driven away, neither have ye sought that which was lost ; but with force and with cruelty have ye ruled them.”

(2) See *infra* p. 52.—Ed.



toward king Henry II. Also in Anselm, toward king Henry I. *Richard II.*  
 All these, for their not appearing before their princes, ye do excuse, A.D.  
 who, notwithstanding, might have appeared without danger of life : 1382.  
 this one man, for not appearing before you, you think worthy of  
 death, whose life you would have condemned notwithstanding, if he  
 had appeared. If the squirrel, climbing the tree from the lion's  
 claws, would not appear, being sent for, to be devoured—it is no  
 reason that the eagle therefore should seize upon him without any  
 just cause declared against the party. Wherefore, according to this  
 and to that aforesaid, when he shall appear, and you be called, and  
 the cause justly weighed, due execution shall be administered.”

And thus far concerning Nicholas Hereford, and the other aforesaid. But all this mean while, what became of John Wickliff, it is not certainly known ; albeit, so far as may be gathered out of Walden, it appeareth that he was banished and driven to exile.<sup>1</sup> In the mean time, it is not to be doubted, but he was alive during all this while, wheresoever he was, as by his letter may appear, which he about this time wrote to pope Urban VI. In the which letter he doth purge himself, that being commanded to appear before the pope at Rome, he came not ; declaring also in the same a brief confession of his faith : the copy of which epistle here followeth.

### An Epistle of John Wickliff to Pope Urban VI., A.D. 1382.

*See  
Appendix.*

Verily I do rejoyce to open and declare unto every man the faith which I do hold ; and especially unto the bishop of Rome : which, forasmuch as I do suppose to be sound and true, he will most willingly confirm my said faith, or, if it be erroneous, amend the same.

First, I suppose that the gospel of Christ is the whole body of God's law ; and that Christ, who did give that same law himself, I believe to be very God and very man,<sup>2</sup> and in that point, to exceed the law of the gospel, and all other parts of the Scripture. Again, I do give and hold the bishop of Rome, forasmuch as he is the vicar of Christ here on earth, to be most bound, of all other men, unto that law of the gospel. For the greatness among Christ's disciples did not consist in worldly dignity or honours, but in the near and exact following of Christ in his life and manners : whereupon I do gather out of the heart of the law of the Lord, that Christ, for the time of his pilgrimage here, was a most poor man, abjecting and casting off all worldly rule and honour, as appeareth by the gospel of St. Matthew, chap. viii., and the second epistle of the Corinthians, chap. viii.

Hereby I do fully gather, that no faithful man ought to follow, either the pope himself or any of the holy men, but in such points as he hath followed the Lord Jesus Christ ; for Peter and the sons of Zebedee, by desiring worldly honour, contrary to the following of Christ's steps, did offend, and therefore in those errors they are not to be followed.

Hereof I do gather, as a counsel, that the pope ought to leave unto the secular power all temporal dominion and rule, and thereunto effectually to move and exhort his whole clergy ; for so did Christ, and especially by his apostles. Wherefore, if I have erred in any of these points, I will most humbly submit myself unto correction, even by death, if necessity so require ; and if I could labour according to my will or desire in mine own person, I would surely present myself before the bishop of Rome ; but the Lord hath otherwise visited

(1) See the Appendix.

(2) “ I believe to be very God,” &c. The English editions have, “ I believe to be a very man.” This letter, given in the Latin edition, p. 16, and bearing date “ Anno 1384,” proceeds thus :—“ Christum autem, qui evangelium illud immediate dederat, eredo esse verum Deum, et verum hominem.” In Lewis's history, p. 284, as also in a MS. in the Bodleian Library, it is also correctly given : “ I believe that Jesu Christ, that gaf in his own persoun this gospel, is very God and very man, and be this it passes all other laws.”—ED.

*Richard II.*

A. D.  
1382.

me to the contrary, and hath taught me rather to obey God than men. Forasmuch then as God hath given unto our pope just and true evangelical instincts, we ought to pray that those instincts be not extinguished by any subtle or crafty device, and that the pope and cardinals be not moved to do any thing contrary unto the law of the Lord.

Wherefore, let us pray unto our God, that he will so stir up our pope Urban VI., as he began, that he with his clergy may follow the Lord Jesus Christ in life and manners; and that they may teach the people effectually, and that they, likewise, may faithfully follow them in the same. And let us specially pray, that our pope may be preserved from all malign and evil counsel, which we do know that evil and envious men of his household would give him. And seeing the Lord will not suffer us to be tempted above our power, much less then will he require of any creature to do that thing which it is not able; forasmuch as that is the plain condition and manner of Antichrist.

The pope so occupied in schismatical wars, that he hath no leisure for other matters.

Difference between the apostles and the popes, in striving for pre-eminence.

A. D. 1383.  
The pope, set on war.

Thus much wrote John Wickliff to pope Urban. But this Urbanus, otherwise termed 'Turbanus,' was so hot in his wars against Clement the French pope, his adversary, that he had no leisure, and less list, to attend to Wickliff's matters; by reason of which schism, God so provided for poor Wickliff, that he was in some more rest and quietness. Concerning these schismatical wars of the popes, forasmuch as we have here entered upon the mention thereof, it shall not be impertinent from the order of our story, digressing a little from the matter of John Wickliff, to say something of the tragical doings of these two holy popes, striving for the triple crown; to the intent that the christian reader, judging by their fruits and proceedings, may see and understand what difference there is between these popes, and Christ and his apostles. For though in the story of the gospel it is read, that certain of the disciples did strive which should be the greater; yet neither do we read that one of them ever took weapon against the other; and moreover, in the said story of the gospel it doth appear, that they, for so striving as they did, were sharply rebuked by our Saviour Christ, and were taught by him another lesson.

About the beginning of the year following, which was A. D. 1383, pope Urban setting all his study how to repress and conquer the contrary pope, his adversary, being then at Avignon, seeing all his other means to fail, and that his cross keys could do no good, took to him the sword of Romulus, and set upon him with open war. And first devising with himself whom he might best choose for his chief champion, he thought none meet for such affairs than Henry Spencer, being then bishop of Norwich, a young and stout prelate, more fitting for the camping cure, than for the peaceable church of Christ, as partly also might appear before by his acts done at Lynn, in striving for the mayor's mace, mentioned before.' Unto this bishop of Norwich the pope had sent his bulls about this time to croysie whosoever would go with him into France to destroy the antipope, who named himself Clement, and to make war against all those that took his part. Which bulls, for that they gave unto him so great authority, he caused to be published in the parliament house, and caused copies of the same to be sent all about, and to be set up and fastened upon all church doors and monastery gates, that all men might read them; in the which bulls these privileges were granted, the copy whereof here followeth.

Pope Urban's Bull to destroy Clement the Antipope.<sup>1</sup>Richard  
II.A.D.  
1383.The very  
fruits of  
Anti-  
christ.See  
Appendix.

Imprimis, That the said bishop of Norwich may use his sword against the antipope, and all his adherents, favourers, and counsellors, and with violence put them to death.

2. Item, That he may publish all processes which have been fulminated by the said Urban against the said antipope and his adherents.

3. Item, That he hath full power to inquire of all and singular such schismatics, and to put them in prison, and to confiscate all their goods, moveable and immoveable.

4. Item, That he hath power and authority to deprive all laymen that are such schismatics, of all manner of secular offices whatsoever, and to give their offices to other fit and convenient persons.

5. Item, That he may deprive all such clerks as be schismatics, and declare them so deprived and so on in this behalf, and to bestow their benefices, either with cure or without cure, their dignities, parsonages, or offices, on other persons more meet for the same.

6. Item, He hath power and authority over persons that are exempt, both lay and cleric, both secular and regular, yea although they be friars mendicant, or masters and professed of other houses, or of the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem or St. Mary of Flanders, or professed of any other orders whatsoever.

7. Item, He hath power to dispense with what secular clerk soever, being beneficed, either with cure or without cure, and also with such as have dignities, parsonages, or offices, regulars exempt or not exempt, that every one of them may be absent with him from their dignities and benefices, &c. under the standard of the cross, without license obtained of any of their prelates, and yet to receive and take the entire fruits of their benefices, as though they had been personally resident upon the same.

8. Item, There is granted to all that pass the seas in this quarrel, either at their own expense, or at the expense of any other, full remission of their sins; and as large privileges are granted to those that pass the sea with him, as to them that go to fight for the Holy Land.

9. Also, All such as from their proper goods and substance shall give sufficient stipend to able soldiers, at the discretion of the aforesaid lord bishop or of any other his deputy, although they themselves be not personally at this business aforesaid, yet shall have like remission and indulgence, as they who were personally with him in this expedition.

10. Item, All they are partakers of this remission, who shall give a suitable part of their goods to the said bishop to fight against the said schismatics.

11. Item, If any shall chance to die in the journey who are soldiers under the said standard of the cross, or else the quarrel meanwhile to be by some means made up, they shall fully and wholly receive the said grace, and shall be partakers of the aforesaid indulgence and remission.

12. Item, He hath power to excommunicate, suspend, and interdict, what persons soever be rebellious or disturbers of him in the execution of the power committed unto him, of what dignity, state, degree, pre-eminence, order, place, or condition soever they shall be: yea, although they be distinguished for regal, queenly, or imperial dignity, or any dignity else whatsoever, either ecclesiastical or mundane.

13. Item, He hath power to compel all religious persons whatsoever, and to appoint them, and send them over sea, if it seem good to him, yea, although they be professed of the friars mendicant, for the execution of the premises.

## Form of the Pope's Absolution pronounced by the Bishop.

By the authority apostolical to me in this behalf committed, we absolve thee A.B. from all thy sins confessed with thy mouth, and being contrite with thy heart, and whereof thou wouldst be confessed if they came into thy memory; and we grant unto thee plenary remission of sins, and we promise unto thee the recompense of the just, and an increase of everlasting salvation. And as many privileges as are granted to them that go to fight for the Holy Land, we grant unto thee; and we impart to thee a share in the suffrages of the prayers and good works of the universal synod of the church, and of the holy catholic church.

(1) The following Items have been collated with the Latin in Walsingham, and revised: the second Item, as here given, is omitted by Foxe, who gives but 12 Items.—ED.

Richard  
II.A. D.  
1383.See  
Appendix.O bloodi-  
ness of  
Anti-  
christ!

This courageous or rather outrageous bishop, armed thus with the pope's authority, and prompt with his privileges, in the year aforesaid (A. D. 1383), about the time of Lent, came to the parliament, where great consultation and contention, and almost no less schism, was, about the voyage of this popish bishop in the parliament, than was between the popes themselves; in which parliament many there were, who thought it not safe to commit the king's people and subjects to a rude and unskilful priest. So great was the diversity of judgments in that behalf that the bishop's voyage was protracted to the Saturday before Passion Sunday. On that Sunday was sung the solemn anthem, "Ecce crucem Domini, fugite partes adversæ;" that is, "Behold the cross of the Lord, fly away all you adversaries." After that Sunday the parties so agreed amongst themselves by common decree, that the bishop should set forward on his voyage, having given to him the fifteenth, which was granted to the king in the parliament before. These things thus concluded, this warlike bishop preparing beforehand all things in readiness, set forward on his pope-holy journey; who, about the month of May, came to Canterbury, and there, tarrying for a wind in the monastery of St. Augustine, received a writ from the king that he should return to him, to know further of his pleasure. The bishop fearing, that if he turned again to the king, his journey should be staid, and so all his labour and preparation lost, with great derision and shame unto him, thought better to commit himself to fortune with that little army he had, than, by tarrying, to be made a laughing stock to his adversaries. Wherefore he sent word back again to the king, that he was now ready prepared, and well forward on his journey; and that it was not expedient now to protract the time for any kind of talk, which, peradventure, should be to no manner of purpose; and that it was more convenient for him to hasten in his journey to God's glory, and also to the honour of the king. And thus he, calling his men unto him, entered forthwith upon the seas, and went to Calais, where he, waiting a few days for the rest of his army, on its arrival, took his journey first to the town of Gravelines, which he besieged so desperately, without any preparing of engines of war, or counsel of politic men skilful in such affairs, that he seemed rather to fly upon them, than to invade them. At length, through the superstition of our men trusting to the pope's absolution, he so harshly<sup>1</sup> approached the walls and invaded the enemies, that a great number of them were piteously slain with shot and wild-fire; till, in the end, the inhabitants being oppressed and vanquished, our men entered the town with their bishop, where they, at his commandment, destroying both man, woman, and child, left not one alive of all those who remained in the whole town. "And so it came to pass by the virtue of the cross, that the enemies of the cross were so utterly destroyed, that not one of them remained alive."<sup>2</sup>

From Gravelines this warlike bishop set forward to Dunkirk, where, not long after, the Frenchmen meeting with him, joined with him in battle; in which battle, if the story be true, twelve thousand of the Frenchmen were slain in the chase, and of our men only seven

(1) "Harerishly," edition 1570; "harishly," the subsequent editions: it means, "harshly," in the sense of "violently." See Todd's Johnson.—Ed.

(2) "Sicque crucis beneficio factum, ut crucis hostes ita delerentur, quod unus ex eis non remansit."—Ex Chron. Mon. D. Albani, in Vita Ric. II.

were missing. It would require a long narration here to discourse of all things done in these popish wars; also it would be no less ridiculous to view and behold the glorious temerity of this new upstart captain. But certes, lamentable it is to see the pitiful slaughter and murder of Christ's people by means of these pitiless popes, during these wars in France; as when the bishop coming from Dunkirk to the siege of Ypres, a great number of Englishmen there were lost, and much money consumed, and yet nothing done effectually, to the great shame and ignominy of the bishop. Again, after the siege of Ypres, thus with shame broken up, the same bishop proceeding with a small power to fight with the French king's camp, contrary to the counsel of his captains, who counted him rash and unskilful in his attempt, was fain to break company with them; whereby part of the army went unto Burburgh, and the bishop with the other part returned to Gravelines; both which towns shortly after were besieged by the French army, to the great loss both of the English and French. In fine, when the bishop could keep Gravelines no longer, the said bishop with his croysies, crossing the seas, came home again as wise as he went. And thus, making an end of this pontifical war, we will return again from whence we digressed, to the story and matter of John Wickliff.

Richard  
II.  
A.D.  
1383

This John Wickliff returning again within short space, either from his banishment, or from some other place where he was secretly kept, repaired to his parish of Lutterworth, where he was parson; and there, quietly departing this mortal life, slept in peace in the Lord, in the end<sup>1</sup> of the year 1384, upon Silvester's day.<sup>2</sup>

See  
Appendix.

Here is to be noted the great providence of the Lord in this man, as in divers others, whom the Lord so long preserved in such rages of so many enemies from all their hands, even to his old age. For so it appeareth by Thomas Walden, writing against him in his tomes entitled "*De Sacramentis, contra Wiclevium*," that he was well aged before he departed, by that which the aforesaid Walden writeth of him in his epilogue, speaking of Wickliff in these words;<sup>3</sup> "so that the same thing pleased him in his old age, which did please him being young." Whereby it seemeth that Wickliff lived till he was an old man by this report. Such a Lord is God, that whom he will have kept, nothing can hurt.

This Wickliff had written divers and sundry works, which were

(1) Foxe says "the beginning;" for the reason of the alteration in the text, see Appendix.—Ed.

(2) There is a small tract freely circulated among the papists in Ireland, entitled "*A sure way to find out the true religion*." Dublin, sixth edition, 1833. The writer, following the steps of Alanus Copus, and others, attacks our author by a reference to his calendar of martyrs. Of this calendar Foxe thus speaks in the fourth edition, page 583, col. 1: "In my book of Acts and Monuments entreating of matters passed in the church these latter five hundred years, I did regulate out a calendar; not for any canon to constitute saints, but only for a table of them, who within the same time did suffer for the testimony of the word, whom I did, and do, take to be good and godly men." And again, in the same page, col. 2, speaking of Sir John Oldcastle and others, he says, "But this peradventure moveth your cholor, that in the calendar I named them for martyrs. And why may not I, in my calendar, call them by the name of martyrs, who were faithful witnesses of Christ's truth and testament, for which they were also chiefly brought unto that end?" The use of this term martyr, in cases of suffering short of death, is allowable by the authority of Dr. Johnson, who thus quotes from South: "To be a martyr, signifies only to witness the truth of Christ; but the witnessing of the truth was *then* so generally attended with persecution, that martyrdom *now* signifies not only to witness, but to witness by death." Notwithstanding Foxe's explanation of his meaning of this word martyr, we read in the tract above referred to, at page 51, "John Wickliffe, martyr; this is another of Foxe's lies, for Wickliffe was never put to death, nor yet so much as imprisoned for his heresy, but died in his bed at Lutterworth, in Leicestershire." Let the reader compare this jesuitical insinuation of an untruth on the part of Foxe, with the above detailed account of Wickliff's death, "quietly departing," and sleeping "in peace in the Lord," and a more deliberate deception on the part of his adversary can hardly be conceived.—Ed.

(3) "Ita ut eam placeret, quod juveni complacebat," &c.—Waldenus 2. tomo de Sacramentis, contra Wiclevium.

*Richard II.*  
*A. D.*  
*1384.*  
 The number of Wickliff's books.

burnt at Oxford A.D. 1410, the abbot of Shrewsbury being then commissary, and sent to oversee that matter.<sup>1</sup> And not only in England, but in Bohemia likewise, the books of the said Wickliff were set on fire by Sbinko Lepus, archbishop of Prague, who made diligent inquisition for the same, and burned them. The volumes which he is said to have burned, most excellently written, and richly adorned with bosses of gold, and rich coverings (as Eneas Silvius writeth), were about the number of two hundred.

\*I would to God, that our destinies had not so much envied us, as to have deprived us of the felicity and commodity of so great a treasure. Albeit, in this behalf, John Bale hath deserved not a little praise, through whose exquisite labour and diligence it is brought to pass, that not only certain titles and arguments of his books, but also certain monuments,<sup>2</sup> as I do hear, are recovered out of darkness; a man who, not in this respect alone, hath well deserved of good students.\*<sup>3</sup>

Johannes Cocleus,<sup>4</sup> in his book 'De historia Hussitarum,' speaking of the books of Wickliff, testifieth, that he wrote very many books, sermons, and tractations. Moreover, the said Cocleus, speaking of himself, recordeth also, that there was a certain bishop in England, who wrote to him, declaring, that he had yet remaining in his custody two huge and mighty volumes of John Wickliff's works, which, for the quantity thereof, might seem to be equal to the works of St. Augustine.

Among other of his treatises, I myself also have found out certain, as 'De sensu et veritate Scripturæ;' 'De Ecclesia;' 'De Eucharistia confessio Wicklevi,' which I intend hereafter, the Lord so granting, to publish abroad.

As concerning certain answers of John Wickliff which he wrote to king Richard II., touching the right and title of the king and of the pope, because they are but short, I thought here to annex them. The effect whereof here followeth:—

### The Substance of John Wickliff's Answer to King Richard II., touching the Right and Title of the King and the Pope.

A.D. 1377. It was demanded "whether the kingdom of England may lawfully in case of necessity, for its own defence, detain and keep back the treasure of the kingdom, that it be not carried away to foreign and strange nations, the pope himself demanding and requiring the same, under pain of censure, and by virtue of obedience." Wickliff, setting apart the minds of learned men, and what might be said in the matter, either by the canon law, or by the law of England, or by the civil law, saith:

"It resteth now only to persuade and prove the affirmative part of this doubt, by the principles of Christ's law. And first, I prove it thus: Every natural body hath power given by God to resist against its contrary, and to preserve itself in due estate, as philosophers know very well; insomuch, that bodies without life are endued with such kind of power, as it is evident, unto whom hardness is given to resist those things that would break them, and coldness to withstand the heat that dissolveth them. Forasmuch then, as the kingdom of England, after the manner and phrase of the Scriptures, ought to be one body,

(1) In the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum, No. 419, Art. 50, is an old document containing, amongst other matters, the history of the condemnation and search after Wickliff's books.—Ed.

(2) Wharton observes, "We have as many of the works of Wickliff yet extant, as, if printed together, would make four or five volumes in folio."—Ed.

(3) See the edition 1563, p. 98.

(4) See Appendix.

and the clergy, with the commonalty, the members thereof, it seemeth that the same kingdom hath such power given it of God; and so much the more apparently, by how much the same body is more precious unto God, adorned with virtue and knowledge. Forasmuch then as there is no power given of God unto any creature for any end or purpose, but that he may lawfully use the same to that end and purpose, it followeth that our kingdom may lawfully keep back and detain their treasure for the defence of itself, in what case soever necessity doth require the same.

Secondly, The same is proved by the law of the gospel: for the pope cannot challenge the treasure of this kingdom, but under the title of alms, and consequently under the pretence of works of mercy, according to the rule of charity.

But in the case aforesaid, the title of alms ought utterly to cease: Ergo, the right and title of challenging the treasure of our realm, shall cease also, in the presupposed necessity. Forasmuch as all charity hath its beginning of itself, it were no work of charity, but of mere madness, to send away the treasures of the realm unto foreign nations, whereby the realm itself may fall into ruin, under the pretence of such charity.

It appeareth also by this, that Christ, the head of the church, whom all christian priests ought to follow, lived by the alms of devout women [Luke vii. and viii.] He hungered and thirsted, he was a stranger, and many other miseries he sustained, not only in his members, but also in his own body, as the apostle witnesseth [2 Cor. viii.] "He was made poor for your sakes, that through his poverty you might be rich:" whereby, in the first endowing of the church, whatsoever he were of the clergy that had any temporal possessions, he had the same by form of a perpetual alms, as both writings and chronicles do witness.

Hereupon the blessed Bernard, declaring in his second book to Eugenius, that he could not challenge any secular dominion by right of succession, as being the vicar of St. Peter, writeth thus; "But let it be so, that you do challenge it unto you by some other ways or means; but, truly, by any right or title apostolical you cannot so do: for how could he give unto you that which he had not himself? That which he had, he gave you; that is to say, care over the church; but did he give you any lordship or rule? Hark what he saith, 'Not bearing rule as lords over the clergy, but behaving yourselves as examples to the flock.' And lest thou shouldst think it to be spoken only in humility, and not in verity, mark the word of the Lord himself in the gospel, 'The kings of the people do rule over them, but you shall not do so.' Here lordship and dominion are plainly forbidden to the apostles. Go to then, and usurp (if thou darest), either (if thou wilt be a lord) the apostleship, or (if thou wilt be an apostle) the lordship; for thou art plainly debarred the one or the other. If thou wilt have both together, thou shalt lose both; or else think thyself to be of that number, of whom God doth complain, saying, 'They have reigned, but not through me; they are become princes, and I have not known it.' Now if it do suffice thee to rule without God,<sup>1</sup> thou hast thy glory, but not with God. But if we will keep that which is forbidden us, let us hear what is said, 'He that is the greatest amongst you,' saith Christ, 'shall be made as the least, and he which is the highest shall be as the minister;' and for example he set a child in the midst of them. So this, then, is the true form and institution of the apostolic calling, lordship is forbidden, ministration is commanded."

By these words of this blessed man, whom the whole church doth reverence and worship, it doth appear that the pope hath no power to hold in possession the goods of the church, as lord thereof, but as minister and servant, and proctor for the poor. And would to God, that the same proud and greedy desire of rule and lordship, which this see doth challenge unto it, were not a preamble to prepare a way for Antichrist; for it is evident by the gospel that Christ through his poverty, humility, and suffering of injury, begot unto him the children of his kingdom.

*Richard II.*

*A.D. 1381.*

The pope's riches, the alms of good men.

Necessity taketh away the pope's alms.

Note well, the saying of Bernard. If St. John himself should speak unto the pope as Bernard doth unto Eugenius, were it to be thought that he would take it patiently?

The pope must leave his lordship or else his apostleship; let him choose which.

The pope hath no power over church goods.

The way to obtain the kingdom of Christ.

(1) The Latin Edition of Foxe (p. 17) reads, "Jam si sine dominio regnare juvat," &c, which is not sense. The first English Edition reads rightly "without the Lord;" the rest, "with the Lord." The Basil edition of Bernard, col. 1528, and the Benedictine edition, col. 1490, read, "sine Deo." The translation of the passage from Bernard is improved.—Ed.

Richard  
II.

A. D.  
1381.

And moreover, as far as I remember, the same blessed man Bernard, in his third book, writeth also thus unto Eugenius, "No poison, no sword, do I dread more for thee, than the lust of dominion."<sup>1</sup>

This Wickliff, albeit in his lifetime he had many grievous enemies, yet was there none so cruel to him, as the clergy itself. Yet, notwithstanding, he had many good friends, men not only of the meaner sort, but also of the nobility, amongst whom these men are to be numbered, John Clenbon, Lewes Clifford, Richard Stury, Thomas Latimer, William Nevil, and John Montague, who plucked down all the images in his church. Besides all these, there was the earl of Salisbury, who, for contempt in him noted towards the sacrament, in carrying it home to his house, was enjoined by Ralph Ergom, bishop of Salisbury, to make in Salisbury a cross of stone, in which all the story of the matter should be written: and he, every Friday during his life, to come to the cross barefoot, and bareheaded in his shirt, and there kneeling upon his knees to do penance for his deed.<sup>2</sup>

Penance  
of the  
earl of  
Salisbury.

The Londoners at this time, somewhat boldly trusting to the mayor's authority, who for that year was John of Northampton, took upon them the office of the bishops, in punishing the vices, belonging to civil law, of such persons as they had found and apprehended in committing both fornication and adultery; for, first, they put the women in the prison, which, amongst them, was then named *Dolium*; and lastly, bringing them into the market-place, where every man might behold them, and cutting off their golden locks from their heads, they caused them to be carried about the streets, with bagpipes and trumpets blown before them, to the intent they should be the better known, and their companies avoided; according to the manner then of certain thieves that were named "*Appellatores*," accusers or impeachers of others that were guiltless, who were so served. And with other such like opprobrious and reproachful contumelies did they serve the men also that were taken with them in committing the aforementioned wickedness and vices. Here the story recordeth how the said Londoners were encouraged hereunto by John Wickliff, and by others who followed his doctrine, to perpetrate this act, to the reproach of the prelates of the clergy; for they said, that they did not only abhor to see the great negligence of those, to whom that charge belonged, but also their filthy avarice they did as much detest, who, for greediness of money, were choaked with bribes, and winking at the penalties due to such persons by the laws appointed, suffered such fornicators and incestuous persons favourably to continue in their wickedness. They said, furthermore, that they greatly feared, lest for such wickedness perpetrated within the city, and so apparently dissembled, God would take vengeance upon them, and destroy their city. Wherefore they said, that they could do no less than purge the same; lest, by the sufferance thereof, God should bring a plague upon them, or destroy them with the sword, or cause the earth to swallow up both them and their city.<sup>3</sup>

Fruits of  
good and  
true doc-  
trine.

(1) "*Nullum tibi venenum, nullum gladium, plus formido, quam libidinem dominandi.*" See this quotation *infra*, p. 71. Lewis (p. 51) and Dr. Vaughan (vol. i. pp. 361—365) inform us that the original of the foregoing document is in the Bodleian MS. Joh. Seldeni, B. 10: the latter, who examined it, gives an epitome of it, and says that it is a much more extensive and important paper than would appear from Foxe's representation of it. See Appendix.—Ed.

(2) *Ex Chron. Mon. D. Albani, in Vita Ric. II.*

(3) *Ibid.*



This story, gentle reader, although the author thereof, whom I follow, doth give it out in reproachful terms to the great discommendation of the Londoners for so doing, yet I thought not to omit, but to commit the same to memory; which seemeth to me rather to tend unto the worthy commendation both of the Londoners and the aforesaid John of Northampton, the mayor. \*<sup>1</sup>A notable and worthy example, doubtless, of a true magistrate; which man, if they that follow him now in like office, would also follow him in like severity and diligence, I doubt not but that it would be better with the city of London, for the good reformatiōs of the people: so that, we had not either fallen into this tempest of great misery, wherewith all the realm of England is now plagued, or else, we should yet the sooner shake off the plague, and put it away. But now, while the princes do attend and give ear to blind prophecies, the bishops play the tyrants,<sup>2</sup> the divines are drowned in ambition, the prophets slain, the noblemen fall into all kinds of lascivious wantonness, the magistrates wink at vice unpunished, the common people run into all kinds of lasciviousness; while prostitution, divorcements, adultery, avarice and covetousness, craft and deceit, drunkenness, contentions, usury and perjury, with all other kinds of vice and wickedness, overflow now the realm, what marvel is it, if all the joints and frames of the commonwealth being loosed asunder, all things run in heaps, to ruin and decay.<sup>3</sup>

Hitherto, it may be thought, that we are sufficiently instructed by the great scourges, plagues, and miseries which have happened; and except we be so, that nothing will teach us what it is to fall into the hand of the Lord, and what it is to abuse his holy gospel. Time it is, yea, and high time doth require it, that we now, forsaking and waxing weary of our old corruptions and evils, may at the length convert and turn the wrath and displeasure of God into his mercy and favour; the which thing we shall soon do, if that we first of all ourselves do correct and amend our lives, and change our vice into virtue: but of this matter (God willing) we will find another place to intreat of. Now we will return again to the favourers of Wickliff, amongst whom the lord Cobham is to be accounted, who is reported openly to have confessed (as Walden writeth) that he did never with his heart hate sin, before he was instructed and taught by Wickliff. All these were noble men: yet was there no want amongst the meanest sort of such as, with all their diligence, did defend his doctrine; and specially amongst the Oxford men. Of the which number there was not one, that scaped free without some kind of mark; for either they were most shamefully forced unto recantation, or else most cruelly judged to the fire.\* After these things thus declared, let us now add the testimonial of the university of Oxford in favour of John Wickliff.

The Public Testimony given by the University of Oxford, touching the great Learning and good Life of John Wickliff.<sup>4</sup>

Unto all and singular the children of our holy mother the church, to whom

(1) See edition, 1563, p. 100. Also the Lat. edition, p. 18.—Ed.

(2) "Play the tyrants." "Episcopi tyrannizontes, ambitione insaniant theologi." Lat. edition, 1559, p. 18.—Ed.

(3) "What marvel," &c. "Quid mirum, si luxatis undique reipublice compagibus, ruinam ædum ac πανολεθριαν spectare omnia videantur." Lat. ed. 1559, p. 18.—Ed.

(4) The enemies of Wickliff have endeavoured to overthrow the authenticity of this valuable

*Richard*  
*II.*

*A.D.*  
*1384.*

this present letter shall come, the chancellor of the university of Oxford, with the whole congregation of the masters, wish perpetual health in the Lord. Forsomuch as it is not seemly, that the acts and monuments of valiant men, nor the praise and merits of good men, should be passed over and hidden with perpetual silence, but that true report and fame should continually spread abroad the same in strange and far distant places, both for the witness of the same, and the example to others; forsomuch also as the provident discretion of human nature, well weighing the cruelty of mankind, hath devised this way of narrative as a buckler of defence against such as do blaspheme and slander other men's doings, that whensoever testimony by word of mouth cannot be present, the pen by writing may supply the same:—

Great  
learning  
joined  
with good  
life and  
godliness.

Hereupon it followeth, that the special good will and tender care which we bear unto John Wickliff, sometime a son of this our university, and professor of divinity, moving and stirring our minds (as his good manners required no less), with one heart, voice, and testimony, we do witness all his conditions throughout his whole life to have been praiseworthy; whose honest manners and conditions, profoundness of learning, and most redolent renown and fame, we desire the more earnestly to be notified and known unto all the faithful, for that we understand the ripeness of his conversation, and his assiduous labours, to tend to the praise of God, the good of others, and the profit of the church.

Wherefore we signify unto you by these presents, that his conversation, even from tender years unto the time of his death, was so excellent and honest, that never at any time was there any note or spot of suspicion reported of him. But, in his answering, reading, preaching, and determiniing, he behaved himself laudably. As a stout and valiant champion of the faith, he catholically vanquished by the sentences of holy Scripture all those, who by their wilful beggary blasphemed and slandered Christ's religion. Neither was the said doctor convicted of any heresy, nor burned of our prelates after his burial.<sup>1</sup> God forbid, that our prelates should have condemned for a heretic a man of such probity; who had written in logie, philosophy, divinity, morality, and the speculative arts, without his peer (as we believe) amongst all the rest of the university. The which we are delighted to produce to the knowledge of all and singular to whom these presents may come, to the intent that the fame and renown of the said doctor may be the more spread abroad. In testimony whereof, we have caused these our letters testimonial to be sealed with our common seal.

Given at Oxford, in our congregation-house, the fifth day of October, in the year of our Lord, 1406.<sup>2</sup>

### The Testimony and Judgment of Master John Huss, touching Master John Wickliff.<sup>3</sup>

Motives  
of John  
Huss to  
under-  
take  
Wickliff's  
defence.

Verily, as I do not believe, neither grant, that Master John Wickliff is a heretic, so do I not deny, but firmly hope, that he is no heretic; forasmuch as in all matters of doubt, I ought, as near as I can, to choose the better part. Wherefore I hope, that Master John Wickliff is one of them who should be saved. The words of Christ move me thereunto, saying [Matt. vii.] "Do not ye judge, that ye be not judged," and [Luke vi.] "Do not condemn, and ye shall not be condemned;" and the words of the apostle [1 Cor. iv.] "Do not ye judge before the time, until the Lord do come, who shall both open those things that are hid in darkness, and manifest the secrets of the hearts."

Secondly, The charity which I ought to bear unto my neighbour, loving him as myself, doth move me thereunto. [Luke x.]

Thirdly, His good fame and report moveth me, which he hath of the good

document: for the particulars of this controversy the reader is referred to Lewis's History, p. 183 to 192. Dr. Wordsworth remarks upon this subject (Ecc. Hist. Vol. I. p. 94 in the note): "As to the practical value and importance of this testimonial, we have ample evidence of the popularity at Oxford of Wickliffe's person and his cause in the concessions and the complaints of his adversaries." Foxe gives the writings of John Huss, as the source from whence he derived this document, and it stands at p. 24, in the Latin edition of his Acts and Monuments.—Ed.

(1) The bones of Wickliff were not yet commanded by the council of Constance to be burned. (2) Ex 2. tono operum Joa. Huss. fol. ult. [See *infra*, p. 64, note 3. Foxe's translation has been revised according to the Latin.—Ed.]

(3) This testimony forms part of a small piece by Huss, intitled "Replica Magistri Joannis Huss contra Anglicum Joannem Stokes, Wickliffi calumniatorem, celebrata die Dominica post Nativitatem Marie, A.D. 1411." It is printed in Huss's works, edit. 1558, tom. i. fol. 108, and Foxe's translation has been thence revised.—Ed.

priests, and not of the wicked; of the university of Oxford; and commonly of the vulgar sort, although not of the wicked, covetous, proud, and lecherous prelates and priests.

*Richard II.*

Fourthly, His own writings do stir me thereunto, by which he goeth about with his whole endeavour to reduce all men unto the law of Christ, and especially the clergy, that they should forsake the pomp and dominion of this world, and with the apostles lead the life of Christ.

*A.D. 1381.*

Fifthly, His protestations, which he doth use in his sentences, very often repeating the same, do not a little move me.

Sixthly, His affection which he had unto the law of Christ doth not a little move me thereunto, asserting the verity thereof, which cannot fail in any one jot or tittle. Whereupon he made a book "concerning the verity of holy Scripture," approving, even unto the uttermost, the truth of God's law.<sup>1</sup>

Therefore, it were too foolish a consequence to say, that because the multitude of the prelates and clergy in the realms of England, France, and Bohemia, do count Master John Wickliff for a heretic, that therefore Master John Wickliff is a heretic. For so Jesus Christ were not God, because the Turks and the Jews so judge, &c. The like reasoning would apply to the burning of his books; for it is written in the first book of Maccabees, the first chapter, that "They did burn the books of the Lord, tearing them in pieces, and whosoever was found to have kept any books of the Testament of the Lord, or which observed and kept the law of the Lord, he was, by the king's commandment, put to death." If then the burning of books by wicked men did argue or prove evil of the books, then were the law of God evil and naughty. So likewise the burning of St. Gregory's books, and those of divers other saints and good men, should argue and prove that they were evil and naughty men.

*Burning of his books no proof of his being heretical.*

Whereupon as it doth not follow, that because the chief-priests, scribes, and pharisees, with the elders of the people, condemned Christ Jesus as a heretic, that therefore he is a heretic; so likewise doth it not follow of any other man, that because the bishops, and masters of divinity, with the monks and prelates, condemned that man as a heretic, therefore, he is a heretic. For this consequence is reproved in the blessed John Chrysostome, who was twice condemned as a heretic by the bishops and the whole of the clergy. Likewise St. Gregory, in his books, was condemned by the cardinals.

*False consequence reproved by Chrysostome.*

By like proof also, as they affirm Master John Wickliff to be a heretic, John duke of Lancaster, a man of worthy memory, and progenitor of Henry, king of England that now is, should be a heretic: because the said duke defended, cherished, and greatly loved Master John Wickliff; ergo, the said duke is or was a heretic. The consequence is good; for the minor is well known to Englishmen, the major appeareth in the canon law, where it is said (*Causa 24. quæst. ult.*), "He who defendeth a heretic, is not only a heretic, but a heresiarch."

*Duke of Lancaster a defender of Wickliff.*

But, these things set apart, I demand of the adversary, whether Master John Wickliff be damned for ever or no? If he say, that he is damned because he is a heretic, I propound this unto him: whether Master John Wickliff, whilst he lived, held any false doctrine contrary to the holy Scriptures? If he do affirm it, let him then show what doctrine that is, and afterwards show that he held it obstinately. But he shall find that in his books he always wrote commendable protestations against obstinacy.

*Wickliff proved no heretic.*

Further, Master John Stokes in his "Intimation" saith, that Master John Wickliff in England is counted for a heretic. This seemeth also false by the letter testimonial of the university of Oxford, to which there is more credit to be given than unto him. And if any one shall dare to say that the letter is forged, let him be bound under a penalty to prove it: to do which he must prove the Englishmen falsifiers, for the seal and the letter on parchment are clearly English.

*See Appendix.*

Now as we have declared the testimony of the university of Oxford, and of John Huss, concerning the praise of John Wickliff, it followeth, likewise, that we set forth and express the contrary censure and judgments of his enemies, blinded with malicious hatred and corrupt

(1) *Lib. de sensu et veritate Scripturæ per J. Wicklev.*

*Richard II.*

A.D.  
1384.

affections against him; especially of the pope's council gathered at Constance, proceeding, first, in condemning his books, then his articles, and afterward burning his bones. The copy of their sentence given against him by that council here followeth.

The Sentence given by the Council of Constance, in condemning the Doctrine and Forty-five Articles of John Wickliff. A.D. 1415.<sup>1</sup>

The holy and sacred synod of Constance, making a general council and representing the catholic church, being lawfully gathered together in the Holy Ghost for the extirpation of this present schism and of the errors and heresies springing under the shadow of the same, and for the reformation of the church, for the perpetual memory of the thing :—

We are taught by the writings and acts of the holy fathers, that the catholic faith, "without which," as saith the apostle, "it is impossible to please God," hath often been attacked by false worshippers, or rather perverse impugnors, of the said faith; who, through their proud curiosity, affected to be wiser than they ought to be, and, through their desire of worldly glory, have gone about to overthrow the same faith; the which hath been as often defended against them with the shield of faith by the faithful and spiritual soldiers of the church. These kind of wars were prefigured to us in the carnal wars of the Israelites against the idolatrous nations. In these spiritual wars, then, the holy catholic church, being enlightened in the true faith with the beams of the heavenly light, by the providence of God, and with the help of the saints, always continuing immaculate, and the darkness of error as her most cruel enemy being put to flight, hath most gloriously triumphed. But in these times, that old and envious enemy hath raised up new contentions, that the elect of this age might be made manifest, whose captain and prince in time past was one John Wickliff, a false christian; who, during his lifetime, obstinately asserted and dogmatized many articles contrary to the christian religion and the catholic faith, forty-five whereof we have thought good here to set down, and they are as followeth.

The spiritual wars of holy church prefigured by the carnal wars of the Israelites.

Dialogue and Trialogue of Wickliff.

And the same John Wickliff composed certain books which he called "Dialogue" and "Trialogue," and many other treatises, volumes, and small works, in which he inserted and dogmatized the aforesaid and many other damnable and execrable articles; the which his books, for the more publication of his perverse doctrine, he did set forth openly for every man to read. Whence great scandal, damage, and peril to souls hath ensued in divers regions, but especially in the kingdoms of England and Bohemia. Against which the masters and doctors of the universities and schools of Oxford and Prague rising up in the truth of God, within a while after did formally condemn the said articles.

His books condemned to be burned.

Moreover, the most reverend fathers, the archbishops, for the time being, of Canterbury, York, and Prague, legates of the apostolic see in the kingdoms of England and Bohemia, did condemn them. And the said archbishop of Prague, commissary of the apostolic see in this behalf, did moreover judge the books of the said Wickliff to be burnt, and forbade the reading of any of those books which might remain unburned.

Words of authority without due probation.

And again, those things being brought to the knowledge of the apostolic see and of the general council, the bishop of Rome in the last council celebrated at Rome condemned the said books, treatises, and small works, commanding them to be burned; most straitly forbidding that any one bearing the name of Christ should dare either to read, or expound, or keep any of the said books, volumes, treatises, or works; or in any way use them; or else allege them publicly or privily, but to their reprobation. And, to the intent that this dangerous and most filthy doctrine should be utterly banished out of the church, he gave commandment that diligent inquisition should be made every where by the ordinaries of the places, by apostolic authority and ecclesiastical censure (with the addition, that, if need be, proceedings should be instituted against recusants as against fautors of heresy), after all such books, treatises, volumes,

(1) The original Latin is in Labbe's Conc. Gen. tom. xii. col. 4, whence Foxe's translation has been revised. The sentence was passed on Saturday, May 4th, A.D. 1415, in the eighth session, at the same time in fact with the decree given at p. 94, for disinterring and burning Wickliff's bones.—Ed.

and works, and that the same being found, should be publicly burned with fire.

And this holy synod caused the aforesaid forty-five articles to be examined and oftentimes perused by many most reverend fathers of the church of Rome, cardinals, bishops, abbots, masters of divinity, and doctors of both laws, besides a great number of other learned men; which articles being so examined, it was found (as in truth it is no less) that some, yea and many of them, were and are notoriously heretical, and for such long ago condemned by the holy fathers; other some not catholic, but erroneous; other some scandalous and blasphemous; certain of them offensive unto godly ears; and many of them rash and seditious. It is found, also, that his books do contain many other articles of like quality, and that they do induce into the church of God unsound and unwholesome<sup>1</sup> doctrine, inimical both to faith and morals. Wherefore, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, this synod, ratifying and approving the sentences and judgments of the aforesaid archbishops and council of Rome, do by this decree for evermore reprove and condemn the aforesaid articles and every one of them, his books which he entituled "Dialogue" and "Trialogue,"<sup>2</sup> and all other books, volumes, treatises, and works, of the same author, by what name soever they be entituled, which we will to be here sufficiently expressed and named. Also, we forbid unto all faithful Christians the reading,<sup>3</sup> learning, exposition, and alleging of the said books or any of them, but for the reprobation of the same; and we forbid all and singular, under pain of curse, that they never from henceforth presume openly to preach, teach, or hold, or by any means allege the said articles or any of them, except, as is aforesaid, for the reprobation of them; commanding all those books, treatises, volumes, and works aforesaid, to be openly burned, as was decreed in the synod at Rome,<sup>4</sup> and as is before expressed. The execution and observance whereof the aforesaid sacred synod doth charge the ordinaries of the places vigilantly to intend, according as it appertaineth to every man's duty, by the laws and holy canons.

*Richard II.*

A.D.  
1384.

Ask my fellow if I be a thief. So we hear you say.

So thought the soldiers perpetually to keep down Christ from rising. Though the sepulchre be watched, Christ will rise.

O marvellous sacred synod!

What these articles were, here condemned by the council, collected out of all his works, and exhibited to the said council, to the number of forty-five, the copy of them here following declareth.

Certain Articles gathered out of Wickliff's Books by his Adversaries, to the Number of Forty-five in all, exhibited up to the Council of Constance after his Death, and in the same Council condemned.

NOTE.—Besides the twenty-four articles above mentioned<sup>5</sup>, there were others also gathered out of his books, to the number of forty-five in all, which his malicious adversaries, perversely collecting and maliciously expounding, did exhibit up to the Council of Constance; which to repeat all, though it be not here needful, yet to recite certain of them as they stand in that council, it shall not be superfluous.<sup>6</sup>

25. All such as engage to pray for others on condition of their providing for them in temporals, are guilty of simony.

26. The prayer of a reprobate availeth no man.

27. All things happen from absolute necessity.<sup>7</sup>

(1) "Unwholesome," because they teach against the pomp of the pope.

(2) Because this "trialogue" tearth the pope's triple crown. [The ancient crown or "tiara" (mentioned at page 172 of vol. ii.) was a round high cap. Pope John XXIII. first encircled it with a crown; Boniface added to it a second crown, and Benedict XII. added the third. This covering for the head of the pope, which has increased in splendour, as his church has increased in pride, is the badge of his civil right, as the keys are of his spiritual jurisdiction; for as soon as the pope is dead, his arms are represented with the tiara alone, without the keys.—Ed.]

(3) Upon this injunction against Wickliff's works Foxe observes, "Rub a galled horse on the back, and he will wince." By which he means, that the church of Rome, having been once made to smart under the attacks of Wickliff, was anxious that old wounds should not be reopened, and therefore condemned and reprobated his writings.—Ed.]

(4) At Rome, "nether barrel, better herring."

(5) See above, pp. 21, 22.—Ed.

(6) Foxe's translation of the following articles has been revised from the Latin.—Ed.

(7) This article, omitted in all the English editions of Foxe, is here restored to its place from the Latin edition of 1559, p. 36. "Omnia de necessitate absolute eveniunt." To this our author adjoins a side note; "Et hic forte calumnia." The reader will also find the article in Orthuinus Gratius, fol. 144, and Cochleus, p. 10; it is likewise amongst those which follow, collected by

Richard

II.

A.D.

1384.

28. The confirmation of young persons, ordination of clerics, and the consecration of places, be reserved to the pope and bishops for the sake of temporal lucre and honour.

29. Universities, schools [studia], and colleges, and the degrees and master-ships used in the same, were introduced from a vain affectation of Gentilism, and no more profit the church than the devil himself doth.

30. The excommunication of the pope or any other prelate is not to be feared, because it is the censure of Antichrist.

31. Such as found monasteries do sin, and all such as enter the same be members of the devil.

32. To endow the clergy is against the rule of Christ.

33. Sylvester, the pope, and Constantine, the emperor, erred in endowing the church.

34. Any deacon or presbyter may lawfully preach the word of God without the authority of the apostolic see or that of a bishop.<sup>1</sup>

35. Such as enter into any order or religion [monastical] are thereby disabled for the observance of God's commandments, and by consequence for the attaining the kingdom of heaven, except they forsake the same.

36. The pope with all his clerics, having those great possessions which they have, be heretics for so having, as also are all secular lords and other laics who consent to them.

37. The church of Rome is the synagogue of Satan; nor is the pope the immediate and proximate vicar of Christ and of the apostles.

38. The decretal epistles be apocryphal, and tend to seduce from the faith of Christ; and the clerics that study them be fools.

39. The emperor and secular lords were seduced by the devil, that they endowed the church with temporal goods.

40. It is not necessary to salvation to believe the church of Rome to be supreme head over other churches.

41. It is infatuation to believe in the indulgences of the pope.

42. Oaths which be made for any contract or civil bargain betwixt man and man, be unlawful.

43. Augustine, Benedict, Bernard, with all such as have held endowments, and such as have instituted or entered into [private] religion, except they repented them thereof, be damned; and so all from the pope to the lowest novice be heretics.

44. All [private] religions, without distinction, were not introduced by Christ.<sup>2</sup>

45. That all in the order of mendicants be heretics, and all who give them alms be excommunicate.<sup>3</sup>

Besides these articles, to the number of forty-five, condemned, as is said, by the council of Constance, other articles also I find diversely collected, or rather wrested, out of the books and writings

William Woodford; and unless it is retained here with articles 44 and 45, inserted from the Latin edition, the number mentioned in the heading would be contradicted by the text, and the frequent and important references to the articles would be incorrect. The variations which occur in these copies of the conclusions of Wickliff are accounted for in the following extract from the first edition of the Acts and Monuments, p. 107: "As concerning John Wickliff's conclusions which were condemned in the council of the earthquake, we have spoken before. Now, forso much as the slander of the adversaries doth further move me, it remaineth that we gather the articles exhibited and condemned in the council of Constance; albeit that I do not find all men to accord and agree, neither in the order, neither in the number of them. For William Wiford [Woodford] in his 'Impugnacion' [see *infra*, p. 64, note (1).] which he dedicated unto Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, numbereth them after one sort, and John Huss after another."

"And, again, the copy of Colen, which here we do follow, doth differ from them both, as the apology of John Huss doth declare, where the 14, 15, 17 articles are placed after another order than they be set forth in other books, as it shall appear by his defence, which we will annex immediately upon the articles, forso much as it is most evident that there were 45 articles put up unto the council of Constance, and in the catalogue of Colen is found but 44 articles."—Ed.

(1) The words "vel episcopi autoritate" are not translated in the English editions, though found in the Latin; where is a note also, "De pontificis sentit episcopis."—Ed.

(2) This article is only found in the Latin edition, p. 27.—"Omnes religiones privatæ, indifferenter, introductæ non sunt à Christo." But in Gratian (fol. 148) and Cochlaeus (p. 10) it stands thus:—"Omnes religiones indifferenter introductæ sunt à diabolo."—Ed.

(3) This last is not mentioned here by Orthuinus Gratius (fol. 148), who gives it as article 14, see p. 22 *suprà*, and consolidating 11 and 12 reckons but 44 articles; it is also omitted by Cochlaeus, who however introduces the following between Foxe's 39 and 40: "Electio papæ à cardinalibus est à diabolo introducta."—Ed.

of Wickliff, some by William Woodford, and some by Walden, friar Tissington, and others; which they, in their books, have impugned rather than confuted; in the number of whom William Woodford especially findeth out these articles, and writeth against the same, to the number of eighteen, as hereunder follow.

*Richard II.*

*A.D. 1384.*

### Articles against Wickliff collected by William Woodford.<sup>1</sup>

1. The substance of the bread remaineth after the consecration thereof upon the altar, and ceaseth not to be bread.

2. As John was figuratively Elias, and not personally, so the bread is figuratively the body of Christ, and not naturally the body of Christ. And without all doubt it is a figurative speech, "This is my body," as when Christ said, "This John is Elias."

3. The sacrament of the Eucharist is naturally true bread, speaking as before of material bread, white and round: and so hath the court of Rome determined in the chapter, "Ego Berengarius."

*See Appendix.*

4. They who do affirm that the infants of the faithful, departing without the sacrament of baptism, are not saved, be presumptuous and fools in so affirming.

5. The administration of the sacrament of confirmation is not reserved to the bishops.

6. In the time of St. Paul, two orders of clerks did suffice the church, priests and deacons. Neither was there in the time of the apostles any distinction of pope, patriarchs, archbishops: but it sufficeth according to Scripture that there be presbyters and deacons; the emperor's pride did invent the others.

7. Such as marry in old age either for covetousness of temporal lucre, or in hope of mutual succour, or in order to excuse their lust, although they have no hope of issue, are not coupled together by true matrimony.

8. Causes of divorce on account of consanguinity or affinity be unwarrantable human ordinances.

9. These words, "I will take thee to wife," are rather to be used in contracting of matrimony, than the words, "I do take thee to wife." And the contract with any party by the words of the future tense, "I will take thee to wife," ought not to be frustrated by a contract by another party afterwards made by the words of the present time, "I do take thee to wife."

10. These twelve are the proctors of Antichrist, the pope, the cardinals, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, officials and deans, monks and bifurcate canons, the false friars last introduced, and collectors.

11. In the Book of Numbers, chap. xviii., and in Ezekiel, chap. xlv., it is simply commanded negatively, that neither priests of the family of Aaron, nor the Levites, should have any part of the inheritance with the other tribes, but should live merely by tithes and oblations.

12. There is not a greater heretic or Antichrist than the clerk who teacheth that it is lawful for the priests and Levites of the law of grace to be endowed with temporal possessions. And if any be heretics, apostates, or blasphemers through handling the word of God deceitfully, such be the clerks who so teach.

13. Not only can the lords temporal take away the goods of fortune from a church habitually delinquent, that is, not only is it lawful for them so to do, but also they are bound so to do under pain of eternal damnation.

14. He that is the more humble and more devoted in the love of Christ, and more loving toward the church, is the greater in the church militant, and the nearest vicar of Christ.

15. If corporal unction [or anoyling] were a sacrament (as is now feigned), Christ and his apostles would not have passed in silence the institution thereof.

16. Unto true secular dominion is requisite the virtuous life [justitia] of him that claimeth the dominion, so that no man who is in mortal sin is really lord of anything.

17. All things that are to happen will so happen absolutely and of necessity.

18. Whatsoever the pope or his cardinals can deduce clearly out of holy Scripture, that only is to be believed or to be done at their monition; and

(1) Foxe's translation has been revised from the Latin in Orth. Gratius's 'Fasciculus,' fol. 95.

*Richard* whatsoever they presume [to require] beyond this is to be contemned as  
*II.* heretical.

A.D. Besides this William Woodford aforementioned,<sup>1</sup> divers other  
1384. there were who wrote against these articles of Wickliff aforesaid, maintaining the pope's part, as seemeth, for flattery, rather than following any just cause so to do, or showing forth any reason or learning in disproving the same. Notwithstanding, on the contrary part, some there were again both learned and godly, who, taking the part of Wickliff, without any flattery, defended the most of the said articles openly in schools and other places.

\*<sup>2</sup> Thus you have the whole sum of Wickliff's articles, containing his whole doctrine, described and set forth; albeit not as he hath uttered them, but as his froward adversaries have compiled and collected them out of his writings. Wherefore, if some of them seem hard or strange, I think it rather to be imputed to their evil will, than to his good meaning; as it might soon appear, if his books had been now extant to testify of his doctrine. But this is certain; howsoever his articles were taken of the wicked and evil disposed, with all good men he was highly favoured, and had in such estimation for his profound knowledge and great learning, that also foreign nations were moved with his authority. Amongst all other, the Bohemians had him in such reverence for the opinion of his singular learning, that John Huss, the greatest doer in the university of Prague, not only took profit of his doctrine, but also openly defended his articles. Insomuch that in his public disputation and solemn acts after the manner of schools, he took upon him the public defense of divers of the said articles; namely, upon the fourteenth, fifteenth, and seventeenth, with other more; whose disputation upon the same matter, if it shall not seem tedious to the reader to understand, it shall not seem grievous to me to declare; not only for the antiquity of the matter, but also for the utility of the same.\*

THE PUBLIC DEFENCE OF CERTAIN ARTICLES OF JOHN WICKLIFF, IN THE FIRST ACT, BEFORE THE WHOLE UNIVERSITY OF PRAGUE, IN CHARLES'S COLLEGE, A.D. 1412.<sup>3</sup>

The Determination of John Huss upon the Fourteenth Article of Wickliff, touching the Preaching and Hearing of the Word of God, made in the Year of our Lord 1412.

Forsomuch as to condemn the truth wittingly, or without reasonable examination, doth tend to great danger of salvation, as the Lord saith [Luke vi.], "Do

(1) Tractat. frat. W. Woodford contra Trialogum Wicklevi. [See the Appendix.—Ed.]

(2) See edition 1563, p. 108. The reader's attention is particularly directed to this passage, as it accounts for the "hard and strange things," which are set forth in Wickliff's articles. They seem, indeed, in some cases, to be isolated passages extracted from his writings, or casual expressions falsely reported, to suit the malicious intentions of his enemies. It is needless to add, that the Romish church has never ceased to adduce these adulterated articles, as proofs of the dangerous doctrines of the reformer; and this, too, in such strong terms as would well nigh shake our confidence in the general soundness of Wickliff's views, were it not that we possess abundance of his other writings to refute the slander, and to confirm us in the opinion of his piety and sincerity. One of his greatest works was the translation of the New Testament into the vulgar tongue, of which Foxe very singularly takes no particular notice; the following is its title:—"The New Testament, with the Lessops taken out of the Old Law, read in churches according to the use of Sarum; translated into English from the vulgar Latin by John Wicklif, D.D., rector of Lutterworth. 1380."

(3) Foxe derived the following defence of some of Wickliff's articles by John Huss from a work which he cites in the note (2) at p. 58 *suprà*; the title of the work is "Johannis Huss et Hieronymi Pragensis confessorum Christi Historia et Monumenta, &c.," printed in two vols. folio at Nuremberg, 1558, and again, with a copious index, in 1715. Extensive corrections have been thence made in Foxe's translation. The references to the Canon Law were very often corrupt.—Ed.



not ye condemn, and ye shall not be condemned :” therefore, to avoid this great danger, the university of Prague, and the whole commonalty thereof, the rector, masters, doctors, bachelors, and students, in general congregation, not agreeing to the condemnation pronounced by the doctors in their council-house, require of the said doctors a justification of their condemnation, and that they should by Scripture, authority, or infallible reason, prove the falsehood of every those five and forty articles; the which being once done, the said university will agree to the said condemnation as just. For the university doth well know, that, as Augustine saith, at the end of his second book of Christian Doctrine, “ Whatsoever a man doth learn besides the holy Scriptures, if it be hurtful, there it is condemned; if it be profitable, there it is found. And when a man hath found all things therein which he hath profitably learned elsewhere, he shall much more abundantly find those things which are found in no place else, but are learned in the marvellous depth and marvellous profoundness of those most sacred Scriptures only.”

*Richard II.*

A.D.  
1384.

The whole university of Prague is against the judgment of the doctors who condemned the forty-five articles.

Thus writeth Augustine. And Gregory, in his twenty-third book of Morals, saith thus: “ God in the holy Scripture hath comprehended whatsoever thing may happen unto any man, and in the same hath by the examples of those who are gone before taught those who are to come, how to reform their lives.”

Hence it appeareth, that if every of the five and forty articles containeth in it wholly the thing that is false and untrue, the same is either explicitly or implicitly condemned in the holy Scriptures.

Secondly, it followeth by the sentence and mind of this holy man, that if the condemnation of the five and forty articles be profitable, the same is found in the holy Scriptures. And whereas again St. Augustine writeth unto St. Jerome in his eighth epistle, as cited in the ninth Distinction, “ I,” saith he, “ have learned to attribute this honour and reverence unto those writers only who are called canonical, that I dare affirm none of them to have erred in their works or writings. As for all other writers, I do so read them, that although they abound with never so much holiness, or excel in doctrine, I do not by-and-by think it true because they themselves do so judge; but if they can, by other authors, or canonical or probable reasons, persuade or prove that it doth not digress from the truth.”

Also, the said Augustine, in his book ‘ De Baptismo contra Donatistas,’ lib. ii. cap. 3, saith thus: “ Who doth not know the holy canonical Scripture to be contained in his own bounds and limits, and the same to be so preferred before all other letters and decrees of bishops, as that it must not be once doubted or questioned touching anything written therein, whether it be true and right. As for the letters of other bishops which have been written, or be written, since the settlement of the canon, they may lawfully be reprehended and reprovèd, both by the word of them that be more skilful in that matter, and also by the ancient authority of other bishops, or by the prudence and wisdom of such as be better learned, or more expert, or else by general councils, if it so chance that they in any point have erred and gone astray from the sincere truth.”

*See Appendix*

From these sayings of St. Augustine and others, &c., the university of Prague hath concluded and determined, that they will not receive the condemnation of the five and forty articles, made by the doctors in their council-house, as just and true, except they who condemned them will prove their condemnation by the holy Scriptures or probable reasons upon every of the five and forty articles.

Wherefore, for the due examination of the aforesaid condemnation, whether it be effectual or no, we will at this present take in hand the article numbered *fourteenth* of the five and forty; which article is this:

“ They who leave off preaching or hearing the word of God for fear of excommunication of men, are already excommunicate, and in the day of judgment shall be counted the betrayers of Christ.”

This article containeth: First, that priests, omitting the preaching of the word of God for fear of excommunication of men, are already excommunicated.

Secondly, It containeth that such as do omit the hearing of the word of God for fear of excommunication, are excommunicated.

Thirdly, It containeth that both these sorts of men in the day of judgment shall be counted traitors to Christ.

*Richard II.*

A. D.  
1384.

The preaching of the gospel commanded by God.

As concerning the first point, it is pre-supposed, that the preaching of the word of God is commanded unto the apostles and their followers, as it appeareth in Matt. x., where it is said, "Jesus sent his twelve disciples, commanding them, and saying, Go and preach that the kingdom of heaven is at hand." Also in the last of Matthew, and the tenth of Luke. Whereupon Peter, the apostle of Christ, acknowledging this precept and commandment for himself, and for the other apostles and successors, in Acts x., saith thus: "He commandeth us to preach and testify, that it is he which is ordained of God the judge both of the quick and the dead." This commandment, also, the other apostles did acknowledge, and especially the chosen vessel, pronouncing under a great threatening, [1 Cor. ix.] "Wo be unto me if I do not preach the gospel." And pope Nicholas, considering that great threatening in the forty-third Distinction, saith: "The dispensation of the heavenly seed is enjoined unto us; wo be unto us if we do not sow it abroad, or if we hold our peace. Which thing when the vessel of election did fear and cry out upon, how much more ought all inferiors to fear!" To the same purpose doth St. Gregory write in his 'Pastoral,' as cited in the same Distinction, cap. "Sit rector."<sup>1</sup> It is also evident by many other doctors and holy men, as by St. Augustine, Jerome, Isidore, Bernard, whose words it were too long here to rehearse.

The hearing of the word commanded by God.

As touching the second point, That the hearing of the word and law of God is commanded unto the people, it is evident both by the old and new law; for it is said in Proverbs [chap. xxviii.], "He that turneth away his ear, and will not hear the law of God, his prayer shall be cursed." And our Saviour argueth and concludeth thus unto the Scribes and Pharisees in John viii. "He that is of God, heareth God's word; but forso much as you are not of God, therefore you hear not his word."

Excommunication.

Excommunication double.

Thirdly, It is to be noted that excommunication is a separation from communion, Causa xi. quest. 3. cap., "Nihil," et cap. "Canonica;" and Causa xxvii. quest. 1. cap., "Viduas;" Causa xxxiv. quest. 3. cap. "Cum Sacerdos." And this excommunication is double, that is to say, either secret or manifest. The secret excommunication is, whereby a man is separated from the mystical body of Christ, and so from God, through mortal sin, according unto the 59th of Isaiah, "Your iniquities have made separation between your God and you." And with this excommunication doth the apostle excommunicate every man who doth not love the Lord Jesus Christ; saying in the first epistle to the Corinthians, and the last chapter, "If any man do not love the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be accursed." The manifest excommunication may be divided into a manifest excommunication by God, which is spoken of in Matt. xxv., "Go, ye cursed," &c., and oftentimes elsewhere in the law of God: also a manifest excommunication by men, whereby a prelate or community doth either justly or unjustly cast out any man from participation with the community, or from the church: whereof let this suffice for the present.

The proofs of the first part of the article.

Then, as touching the first part of the article, it is thus argued, &c. Whosoever leave the commandment of God undone, they are excommunicate of God. But the priests who leave off the preaching of the word of God for fear of the unjust excommunication of men, do leave the commandment of God undone. Therefore, those priests who do leave off preaching of the word of God, are excommunicated of God. Ergo, the first part of the article is true.

The major appeareth by that in the Psalm, "Cursed be they which do decline from thy precepts." The minor is evident by the first supposition, which proveth that the preaching of the word of God is a commandment of God enjoined unto those priests. Whereupon the saying of our Saviour [Matt. xv.] is spoken unto them: "Wherefore do you transgress the commandment of God for your own tradition?" i.e. in not preaching of the word of God for fear of unjust excommunication; and so dishonouring your father, Christ, and your mother, holy church.

It is thus confirmed: All they who for fear of any excommunication of men do omit any manner of work, principally and straitly enjoined them by the Lord Jesu Christ, under the cloak of grace, are excommunicate. But priests, and especially curates, and such as be admonished by the Spirit of God, omitting the preaching of the word of God for fear of the excommunication of

(1) Greg. dist. 43, cap. 1, "Sit rector."

men, do omit for fear of the same excommunication a work principally and straitly enjoined them by the Lord Jesus Christ, under the cloak of grace : ergo, priests, and especially curates, and such as be admonished by the Spirit of God, omitting the preaching of the word of God for fear of excommunication, are excommunicate. The consequence is well known. The major appeareth by the Psalm, "Cursed be they which do decline from thy commandments." The minor is also evident again by the first supposition.

*Richard II.*  
A.D.  
1384.

Item, If the apostles of Christ had left off the preaching of the word of God for fear of the excommunication of men, which the Lord did foreshow unto them in John xvi., saying, "They shall excommunicate you out of their synagogues," they had been excommunicated of God : ergo, by like evidence, the priests and ministers of Christ, being inspired with the same Spirit to preach and declare the word of God, if they leave it undone for fear of the excommunication of men, are already excommunicate. The consequence dependeth upon a similitude, and the antecedent is evident ; for if the apostles had left off preaching for fear of excommunication, they had declined from the commandments of God, and consequently had been accursed. Wherefore they, willing to observe the commandment of God and to put off the excommunication of men, said unto the high priests, elders, and scribes at Jerusalem, to Annas, Caiphaz, John, and Alexander, and all others of the kindred of the priests who were gathered together, and who commanded them that they should not preach or teach in the name of Jesus, "If it be just in the sight of God, that we should rather obey you than God, that judge you." [Acts iv.] And in the fifth of the Acts they said unto them, "We ought rather to obey God than man." From this saying of the Holy Ghost it may be inferred, that the priests and ministers of Christ, inspired by the Holy Ghost to preach the word of God, ought rather to obey the Holy Ghost than those that, contrary to the Holy Ghost, prohibit them to preach, and patiently to suffer the excommunication of men. Whereupon pope Anacletus spake well, as it is written in Dist. 43 : "We know," saith he, that many do go about to molest the teachers to this end, that they may destroy them, and fulfil their own will and desires : yet, notwithstanding, the said teachers, as much as in them lieth, ought not on that account to go back from their good doings and intent, knowing assuredly that blessed are they who suffer persecution for righteousness' sake." Thus much saith he. And, upon these words, "Ye shall find an ass tied up, and a foal with her ; loose them, and bring them unto me ; and if any man say any thing unto you, say ye that the Lord hath need of them," the venerable Bede saith thus : "Here it is mystically commanded unto teachers, that if any adversity do let or hinder, or any man do prohibit or stop, that sinners be loosed from their bonds, and be brought unto the Lord by the confession of their faith, that they, notwithstanding, should not leave off preaching, but constantly affirm and say, that the Lord hath need of such to edify his church." So did the apostles ; the humble ministers of Christ therefore ought to do likewise. And St. Jerome, writing to Rusticus, the bishop of Narbonne, saith thus : "Let no bishop from henceforth be puffed up or enraged with the envy of devilish temptation, if presbyters now and then do exhort the people, or preach in the churches ; or (as is said) do bless the people ; for unto him who should deny unto me the doing hereof, I would say in this manner : He that willeth not that presbyters should do those things which they are commanded by God, let him say that he is greater than Christ." By which words St. Jerome doth openly declare, that presbyters are commanded to exhort the people, and to preach in the churches : Secondly, That a bishop, denying or forbidding them to do so, specially they being apt men thereunto, is extolled above Christ ; and, consequently, is not to be obeyed in such doings.

The apostles did not obey any wicked inhibition.

*See Appendix.*

Item, Suppose that the pope be a heretic, and teach doctrine contrary to the holy Scripture, and that the bishop be a catholic man, unto whom the pope giveth in commandment that he shall suffer no man to preach contrary to his opinion, as it happened in the case of pope Leo, and holy bishop Hilary : adding this also, that the bishop do execute the pope's commandment, under pain of the greater excommunication :—In such case, however, if the catholic priests, learned in the law of God, do leave off preaching against the pope's heresies for fear of excommunication of men, they are already excommunicate. The which thing is evident, forasmuch as they are accursed for the consent of

If the pope be heretic, the godly bishops may preach against him.

*Richard II.*

A.D.  
1384.

Though the chief priests be adulterers, yet ought the ministers to preach against adultery.

Example of Christ.

Obedience of christian priests towards their prelates.

Preaching of the gospel meant for

their silence, as St. Isidore saith, cited in Causa xi., quest. 3. : "He that doth consent unto sinners, or defendeth a sinner, he shall be cursed both before God and man, and shall be punished with a most severe rebuke." And in Distinction lxxxvi. cap. 6. "Facientis," it is said : "He that doth neglect to amend that which he may correct, doubtless committeth no less fault than he who actually offendeth ; for not only they who do commit offences, but also they who consent thereunto, are judged partakers thereof." In like case, priests who do not preach against the heresy which the pope teacheth, are dumb dogs, not able to bark against the wolf, which will kill the sheep of Jesus Christ : how then can it be otherwise, but they must needs be betrayers of their shepherd's sheep.

Item, Suppose that the bishop with the chief prelates be an advouterer, or otherwise an open offender, and that he, together with his prelates, do command that none, under pain of excommunication, do preach against adultery. In such a case, they who do forbear preaching against adultery for fear of excommunication of men, are already excommunicated of God : ergo, the first part of the article is true. The antecedent may be proved : for our Saviour, in Mark viii., saith thus : "He that shall confess me and my words in this wicked and adulterous generation, the Son of Man shall also confess him when he shall come in the glory of his Father, with his angels." Therefore he that shall confess Christ not to have been an adulterer, and these words of Christ [Matt. v.], "You have heard that it was said to them in old time, Thou shalt not commit adultery : but I say unto you, that every one which shall behold a woman to lust after her, hath already committed adultery with her in his heart:" he, I say, that shall confess these things before an adulterous bishop, with his chief prelates, who percase are the wicked and adulterous generation, the Son of Man shall also confess him, when he shall come in the glory of his Father, and so consequently is he blessed. Therefore, contrariwise, he who for the fear of excommunication of men will not confess Christ and his words before this sinful and adulterous generation, is accursed. The consequence holdeth by the words of Christ [Luke ix.], "He that is ashamed of me and my words, him shall the Son of Man be ashamed of, when he shall come in his majesty, and in the glory of his Father and of his holy angels;" pronouncing that which is spoken [Matt. xxv.], "Verily I say unto you, I know you not; go you cursed into everlasting fire."

Also, our Saviour Jesus Christ did not leave off the preaching of the kingdom of God for any pretended excommunication of the High Priests, Scribes, and Pharisees ; therefore, neither ought his true and humble priests to leave off their preaching for any pretended excommunication of men ; the consequence holdeth by that saying of Christ, [John xv.] "Be ye mindful of the word which I spake unto you, the servant is not greater than his master : if they have persecuted me, they will persecute you also." The antecedent is also apparent by the saying of St. John, chap. ix. : "Even now the Jews had conspired, that if any man did confess Christ, he should be put out of the synagogue." And likewise by John vii. : "Whether hath any of the princes or of the Pharisees believed in him? but this people which knoweth not the law are accursed."

Also, the humble and just priests of Christ ought not, under pain of sin, to cease from the fruitful preaching of the law of God for any unjust excommunication or unlawful commandment ; which may be proved thus : The humble and just priests of Christ ought only to obey their prelates in such things as are not contrary to God ; as all the holy doctors, such as are learned in the law of God, with one accord affirm. But, forso much as an unjust excommunication and unlawful commandment are contrary to God, therefore the humble and just priests ought not to obey such unlawful excommunication and commandments ; and, consequently, ought not to cease for them from the fruitful preaching of the gospel of Jesus Christ ; nay, they ought constantly and gladly to preach the same, forso much as the Lord doth comfort them in Matt. v., saying thus : "Blessed are ye when men curse you and persecute you, and speak all kind of evil against you, falsely, for my sake ; rejoice and be exceeding glad, for great is your reward in heaven."

Also, every priest having power given him by divine impulse to preach, hath the same given unto him for the edifying of the church, and not for the destruction of the same ; as the apostle saith in 2 Cor. x. But every

one ceasing from preaching for fear of any pretended excommunication of men, should frustrate that power as to the edifying of the church. And therefore, in so doing, he should sin against God and his church; and consequently ought rather to choose not to cease from preaching for fear of any such excommunication, lest that he be excommunicated of the Lord Jesus Christ.

Item, Suppose that the pope doth command that there shall be no preaching in any place; then the priests of Christ, leaving off their preaching for fear of the pope's excommunication, are already excommunicated of God. This is evident, forasmuch as they would be neglecting the commandment of God for the commandment of man. And this case is possible; for by what reason the pope may command, under pain of excommunication, that there shall be no preaching in some place, and namely in the parish churches; by the same reason he may command that no man should preach in any place. The first part is evident by the prohibition of pope Alexander, who in his bull did prohibit to preach the word of God unto the people in chapels, although the said chapels were confirmed by the privilege of the apostolic see; the which bull the lord Sbinco, archbishop of Prague, with his canons, obtained. From what hath now been said, the first part of the article is evident, viz. that priests omitting preaching for fear of the excommunication of men, are already excommunicate.

The second part of the article is this: that they who do omit the hearing of the word of God for fear of the excommunication of men, are already excommunicate. And it is proved thus: All such as omit the commandments of God are excommunicate: But they who omit the hearing of the word of God for the excommunication of men, are omitting a commandment of God: Therefore they who omit the hearing of the word of God for the excommunication of men, are excommunicate. The major is apparent by Psalm cxviii., "Cursed be they which decline from thy commandments;" and the minor is evident by the second supposition, which saith, that the hearing of the word of God is commanded unto the people. It is confirmed thus: All such as omit the means necessary unto salvation are excommunicate: But, such as omit the hearing of the word of God for the excommunication of men, are omitting the means necessary unto salvation: Therefore, in so doing, they are excommunicate. The consequence is plain. The major is evident by this, that all such as do omit the means necessary unto salvation, do also neglect their salvation, and so are out of the way of salvation, and so be excommunicate of God. The minor appeareth hereby, that to hear the word of God is a means necessary unto salvation, as the apostle doth prove in Romans x.; "How," saith he, "shall they believe on him, of whom they have not heard? and how shall they hear without a preacher?" And afterwards the apostle inferreth to our purpose, "Therefore faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God."

Item, Whatsoever is done contrary to conscience, doth tend to eternal damnation; as it is said in the Decretals (lib. ii. tit. 13. "de restitutione spoliatorum," cap. 13. "Literas"): But to omit the hearing of the word of God for fear of excommunication of men, is a thing which is done against conscience: Therefore, to omit the hearing of the word of God for excommunication of men, doth tend to eternal damnation, and consequently ought not to be done, for fear of any excommunication. Wherefore a woman being adjudged to a man, whom she knoweth to be within the degrees of consanguinity which God's law hath prohibited, ought not to obey that judgment, lest she offend against God; but rather meekly to suffer excommunication, as appeareth in the chapter before alleged. So likewise, all true Christians, rather than offend against God, ought meekly to suffer the excommunication of men, and not to omit the hearing of the word of God. To this purpose serveth that which is spoken in Causa xi. quest. 3. cap. 95, "He that feareth the omnipotent God, will not presume by any means to do any thing contrary unto the gospel, nor the apostles, neither contrary to the prophets, nor the institutions of the holy fathers." From these premises the second part of this article is manifest, viz. that such as do omit the hearing of the word of God for fear of excommunication of men, are already excommunicate.

And forasmuch as all adult Christians finally impenitent shall be counted in a manner as traitors to Christ in the day of judgment, because they were un-

Richard  
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A.D.  
1384.

edifica-  
tion, not  
for de-  
struction.

The  
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gospel is  
not to be  
left off for  
all the  
pope's  
prohibi-  
tions.

The  
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cond part  
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article.

Means  
necessary  
unto sal-  
vation are  
not to be  
omitted.

A man  
ought to  
do no-  
thing  
against  
his con-  
science.

Richard  
II.A.D.  
1381.The  
proofs of  
the third  
part of  
the ar-  
ticle.Chrysos-  
tome, al-  
though he  
was ex-  
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preach.

faithful servants of Christ,—therefore, they who through fear omit the preaching and hearing of the word of God for the excommunication of men, shall be counted as traitors to Christ, and shall render account thereof unto the Lord. Whereupon Chrysostome touching both those sorts, in his 41st homily, showing how the Lord would have some to be teachers, and others to be disciples, saith thus: “For unto those whom he would have to be teachers, he speaketh thus by his prophet Isaiah: ‘Ye priests speak to the hearts of the people. For if the priests do not manifest all the truth unto the people, they shall render account thereof at the day of judgment: and likewise, if the people do not learn the truth, they shall also give account thereof at the day of judgment.’” It is also more expressly declared by him where, writing on Matt. x., he saith (cited also in *Causa xi. quest. 3. cap. “Nolite timere”*), “Do not fear those which kill the body, lest through the fear of death you do not freely speak that which you have heard, neither boldly preach that unto all men which you alone have heard in the ear. So that from these words it is evident that, not only he is a betrayer of the truth, who, transgressing the truth, doth openly speak lies instead of the truth; but he also who doth not freely pronounce, or doth not freely defend, the truth, which he ought freely to pronounce or defend, is also a traitor unto the truth. For like as the priest is a debtor freely to preach the truth which he hath heard of the Lord, even so the layman is a debtor boldly to defend the truth which he hath heard proved of the minister by the Scriptures: which if he do not, then is he a traitor to the truth; for with the heart man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation.” Thus much writeth Chrysostome, who, together with the people under his jurisdiction, meekly bearing the excommunication of the bishops, freely preached the truth, and the people heard him; and so in word and deed he freely taught the truth, lest he should be a traitor to the truth, and consequently be counted as a traitor to the Lord Jesus Christ in the day of judgment. And thus the third part of the article aforesaid is manifest.

### The Defence of the Fifteenth Article of John Wickliff by John Huss.<sup>1</sup>

“It is lawful for any deacon or presbyter to preach the word of God without the authority of the apostolic see, or of a catholic bishop.”

First, by ‘the authority of the apostolic see’ is meant properly his special consent authorizing. And, likewise, by ‘authority of a bishop’ is meant a special consent of the bishop authorizing the said deacon or presbyter to preach.

Confir-  
mation  
of the  
fifteenth  
article.  
Every  
man be-  
ing law-  
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by the  
church,  
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preach  
the word  
of God  
without  
the pope’s  
license.

Now as touching the truth of this article, I thus argue: like as after matrimony once consummated, the man and wife may lawfully, without any special license of pope or bishop, procreate carnal children, so likewise deacons or presbyters, by the motion of God through the gospel of Jesus Christ, may lawfully, without any special license either of pope or bishop, generate spiritual children. Ergo, the article is true; and the antecedent is thus proved. For as it is an acceptable work unto God for man and wife, without the special license of pope or bishop, lawfully to generate carnal children; so it is acceptable unto him, that deacons or presbyters, by the motion of God through the gospel of Jesus Christ, should generate spiritual children, without the special license of pope or bishop: ergo, the assumption is true.

But if any man will deny this similitude, let him show the diversity. Yea, as it is worse not to receive or to choke the seed of God’s word, than carnal seed, so contrariwise, it is better to sow abroad and receive that seed of the word of God whereby children of God may be raised up, than to receive or give seed whereby carnal children may be raised up. Hence the Saviour in Matthew x. saith: “Whosoever shall not receive you, neither hear your words, shake off the dust from your feet: verily I say unto you, that it shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom and Gomorrah in the day of judgment, than for that city.”

Also a deacon or presbyter, being stirred by the Spirit of Jesus Christ, may preach the word of God without the special license of pope or bishop. Ergo,

(1) “Hist. et Mon. Joh. Huss, &c.” tom. i. fol. 113.—Ed.

it is lawful for him so to do. The consequence is manifest ; because the Spirit of Jesus Christ, moving the deacon or presbyter unto the preaching of the gospel, is of greater virtue than any prohibition of pope or bishop invented by man : ergo, they ought rather to obey the Spirit of Christ which doth infallibly move them thereunto, according to the apostolic rule [Acts v.], "We ought rather to obey God than man." Also, by like reason as Eldad and Medad, upon whom the Spirit of God did rest, did lawfully prophesy without requiring any license at Moses' hands, as it is written Numb. xi. ; for the same reason may an humble priest of Christ, upon whom the Spirit of the Lord doth rest, without requiring leave of pope or bishop, lawfully preach the word of God unto the people. And would to God in this behalf all prelates had the spirit of Moses ; for it is said, Numb. xi., that when Eldad and Medad were prophesying in the camp, a child ran and told Moses, saying, "Eldad and Medad do prophesy in the camp ;" and by and by Joshua the son of Nun, the servant of Moses, whom he had chosen out amongst many, said, "My master Moses, forbid them : " but he said, "Why enviest thou for my sake ? Would God that all the people could prophesy, and that the Lord would give them his Spirit !" O would to God the pope and bishops now had the affection of that holy man, the friend of God ! for then would they not prohibit the humble deacons and priests of Christ to preach the gospel of Jesus Christ. The like affection had the blessed Gregory, who, in his twenty-second book of *Morals*, writing upon these words of Job [xxxi. 39], "And I have not afflicted the soul of his husbandmen," saith thus : "The husbandmen of this earth are those who, being set in a lower place, with as fervent desire and with as great labour as they can, do co-operate by the preaching of grace to the erudition of holy church ; which husbandmen of this world not to afflict, is, not to envy their labours : neither ought the ruler of the church, albeit he do challenge unto himself alone the right of preaching, through envy to gainsay others who do preach aright. For the pious mind of a pastor, who seeketh not his own glory from men, desireth to be holpen, that the truth (which thing also the faithful preacher doth wish, if it might by any means be brought to pass) which he alone cannot sufficiently express, all men's mouths might declare. Wherefore, when Joshua would have resisted the two who were remaining in the camp and prophesying, 'Why dost thou envy,' said he, 'for my sake ?' for he did not envy that good in others which he himself had." Thus writeth St. Gregory.

Richard II.

A.D. 1384.

God grant that all the people may prophesy.

St. Gregory.

Also humble priests of Christ have, by a special gift of God, knowledge and mind to preach the gospel ; but it is lawful neither for pope nor bishop, nor any other man, to hinder them, lest thereby they should impeach that word of God, that "the word of Christ should have free course." Ergo, this article is true : for the king doth not so much rule over the temporalities of his subjects, no not of his own sons, but that they may give alms to whom they will : much more then a bishop hath not so great authority over the knowledge of an humble presbyter, and his other gifts of God, but that he may freely, under the title of spiritual alms, preach the gospel without charge unto the people. Ergo, forasmuch as it would seem strange, that a bishop should forbid any man to give corporal alms to the poor that are an-hungered ; so and much more strange would it be, if he should prohibit an humble and learned priest of Christ to give spiritual alms, by the preaching of the word of God.

The course of the word of God ought not to be stopped.

Item, no catholic man ought to doubt, but that a man able for the purpose is more bound to teach the ignorant, to counsel the perplexed, to correct the unruly, to forgive those that do them wrong, than to do any other works of mercy : Forasmuch then as he that hath sufficient to minister corporal alms is bound thereto, under pain of damnation, as appeareth in Matthew xxv., much more he who is able, is bound to minister spiritual alms. And this alms St. Bernard, in the third book of his treatise addressed to Eugenius, perceived to be necessary for the bishop of Rome, where he said : "I fear no poison, no sword, for thee, more than the lust of dominion."<sup>1</sup> With what face, then, could the faithful priest withhold spiritual alms either for the pope or any other, even without the special license of pope or from bishop ; which license, through the long distance, priests cannot so easily obtain or come by ? For if a prohibition of any prelate be broken through necessity, it is not to be blamed, according

St. Bernard.

(1) This passage is quoted by Wicliff, *suprà*, p. 56.—Ed.

*Richard II.* to Causa xi., quest. 3. cap. 104., "Antecessor," and also in the chapter following.

A.D.  
1384.

Item, The authority to preach given unto deacons and presbyters in their consecration were but vain, unless in case of necessity they might preach the gospel without special authority. It is evident, because (according to our opponents) it is not lawful for them to use that authority, without special license: ergo, it was given them in vain. The consequence is evident by the common saying of the philosopher, that "power is but vain, whereof proceedeth no use of action." But forsomuch as this article is, as it were, a corollary of the preceding article, therefore let this suffice to be spoken thereof.

Objection.

But, against the affirmations of both these articles, objection is raised out of Causa xvi., quest. 1, cap. 41: "All faithful people, and especially all presbyters, deacons, and all others of the clergy, ought to take heed that they do nothing without the license of their bishop." It is also objected out of the fifth book of Decretals, title "De hæreticis," cap. 11. "Cum ex injuncto," where it is said, no man ought to usurp to himself indifferently the office of preaching, forsomuch as the apostle saith, "How shall they preach, except they be sent?" Whereas, also, Innocent doth show, that it is not sufficient for a man to say, that he is sent of God to preach, except he do show the same. To the first passage cited the Gloss doth sufficiently answer upon this word, "without license;" "that is to be expounded," saith he, "without general license; which is obtained and given, when a bishop doth appoint any priest to govern the people; for thereby," saith he, "the bishop seemeth to give him general power to minister unto the people, and to officiate in the church." Thus much the Gloss. And to the same end and purpose it is said in Causa vii. quest. 1. cap. 38, "Episcopi:" "Bishops or priests, if they come to the church of another bishop to visit the same, let them be received in their degree (as it is said in Gloss 1. 'in honore suo,') and desired as well to preach the word, as to consecrate the oblation."

Answers  
to the  
objection.

What it  
is falsely  
to usurp  
the office  
of a  
preacher.

Who is a  
true  
minister  
of the  
church.

On the second passage that is to be noted, which is therein well said, "No man ought to usurp unto himself the office of preaching indifferently." For to usurp, is unlawfully to use any thing: ergo, that deacon or priest doth then usurp the office of preaching indifferently, who, living viciously, contrary unto the law of Christ, or being ignorant of the law of God, doth preach either for temporal gain, or for ostentation, or for dainty life, or for vain glory: But he who doth live conformably unto the law of Christ, and being moved with the affection of sincere charity, intendeth purely the honour of God and the salvation of himself and his neighbours, and doth preach no lies, nor vain jests, or things not authorized [apocrypha], but only the law of Christ and the minds of the holy doctors;—he that doth so preach, necessity occasioning him thereunto, in case both pope and bishop fail, or peradventure to withstand the preaching of heretics or false preachers, in so doing doth not usurp the office of preaching; and in such case there is no doubt but he is sent of God.

And this doth also answer unto that which followeth in the Decretal, "But if any man should peradventure craftily answer, that such preachers are invisibly sent of God, although not visibly of men, when the invisible sending of God is much better than the visible sending of men; it may reasonably be answered thereunto, that forsomuch as that internal sending is secret, it is not sufficient for a man barely to assert that he is sent of God, forsomuch as any heretic may so say; but he ought to prove the same, his invisible calling, by the working of some miracle, or by some special testimony of the Scripture."

Four  
kinds of  
sending  
or calling  
according  
to St. Au-  
gustine.

The canon  
law.

Here it is to be noted, that according to St. Augustine, in his book of 65 Questions to Orosius, there are four kinds of sending. The first is from God only, whereof we read in Moses and others, who were inspired by God. And this kind of sending looseth from the obligation of any statute law; so that he whom the Spirit of God doth inspire, his prelate giving leave, may proceed unto a better life. Whereupon pope Urban saith, Causa xix. quest. 2. cap. 2, "There be two laws, the one public, the other private. The public law is that which is confirmed in writing by the holy fathers, such as is the canon law, which is only given because of transgressions. For example, it is decreed in the canons, that none of the clergy shall go from one bishopric to another, without the letters commendatory of his bishop; the which was ordained only for offenders, that no infamed persons should be received of any bishop; for they



were wont, when they could not celebrate their offices in their own bishopric, to go to another; which is rightly forbidden by laws and precepts. The private law is that, which by the motion of the Holy Ghost is written in the heart, as the apostle speaketh of some who have the law of God 'written in their hearts;' and in another place, 'Forsomuch as the Gentiles have not the law of God, but naturally do those things which are of the law, they are laws unto themselves.'" And afterward he saith, "The private law is much more worthy than the public law. For the Spirit of God is a law; and they who are moved by the Spirit of God are led by the law of God. And who is he, that can worthily resist against the Holy Ghost? Whosoever therefore is led by the Spirit of God, albeit his bishop do say him nay, let him go freely by our authority; for 'the law is not appointed for the just man,' but 'where the Spirit of God is, there is liberty: and if ye be led by the Spirit of God, ye are not under the law.'"

*Richard II.*

A. D. 1384.

The private law.

Private law, that is, the secret and inward working of God's Spirit in the heart

Behold, here it is affirmed, that the sending by God alone through inspiration is not fettered by the obligation of statute law; for that law is more worthy than the public law. Secondly, that the statute law is made for transgressors and offenders, and not for the just. Thirdly, that whosoever is led by the Spirit of God, although his bishop say him nay, may proceed unto a better life. Whence it is evident, that a deacon or priest disposed to preach, and being led by the Spirit of God, can freely preach the gospel of Christ without the special license of his bishop. It is evident; forsomuch as it is good, that a deacon or priest do live well; still better that he live well, and preach fruitfully: ergo, he may proceed from idleness unto the labour of preaching, and so to a better life.

But whereas it is said before, that "forsomuch as the inward sending is secret, therefore it is not sufficient for a man barely to affirm only that he is sent of God, forsomuch as any heretic may so say; but it is necessary, that he prove that invisible sending by the working of some miracle, or by some special testimony of the Scripture:"—here is to be noted, that there are two kinds of preachers; those of the Saviour Christ, and those of the seducer Antichrist. The first sort, following their Master, Christ, teach the people in truth. The other sort, being of a corrupt mind, and reprobate touching the faith, resist against the truth; and through covetousness by their feigned words do make merchandize of the people. And these men do give, and shall give, miracles; as our Saviour saith [Matt. xxiv.], "There shall arise false Christs and false prophets which shall show great signs and wonders, insomuch that even the elect, if it were possible, should be brought into error." And the apostle [2 Thess. ii.] as touching their head, Antichrist, writeth thus:—"Whose coming shall be according to the operation of Satan, with all power and signs, and lying wonders, with every seduction of iniquity in those which do perish, because they did not receive the love of the truth, that they might be saved: therefore will the Lord send upon them the operation of error, that they shall give credit to a lie; that all such as have not believed the truth, but consented unto iniquity, should be judged." Behold how expressly the Saviour by himself and by his apostle doth teach us, that the disciples of Antichrist, with their head, shall be conspicuous for their great signs and wonders. But the true disciples of Christ shall not so do in the times of Antichrist: for, as St. Isidore saith in the first book, cap. 25, of his "De summo bono:" "Before Antichrist appear, all virtues and signs shall cease from the church, that he may the more boldly persecute the same, as being more abject. For this profit, shall all miracles and signs cease under Antichrist, that thereby the patience of the saints may be opened, and the lightness of the reprobate who are offended may be showed, and also that the boldness of the persecutors should be made more fierce."

Every man may pretend to be sent of God immediately. Two kinds of preachers.

Of the signs and wonders of Antichrist.

Thus writeth St. Isidore; and St. Gregory, in his thirty-fourth book of Morals, cap. 3, saith,<sup>1</sup> "For by a terrible ordering of God's secret dispensation shall all signs of virtue or power be withdrawn from the holy church, before that that Leviathan appear in that damnable man, whose shape he doth assume. For prophecy is hidden, the gift of healing is taken away, the virtue of long abstinence is diminished, the words of doctrine are put to silence, and the prodigies of miracles are extinguished. Which things the dispensation of God doth not indeed utterly withdraw, but doth not display them so openly and

Why true miracles shall cease under Antichrist.

(1) Commenting on Job xli. 13: "In collo ejus morabitur fortitudo, et faciem ejus præcedet egestas."—ED.

*Richard**II.*

A.D.

1384.

manifestly, as in times past. The which, nowever, is done by a marvellous dispensation, in order that by one single thing both God's love and justice should be fulfilled: for while, the power of miracles being withdrawn, the holy church appeareth the more abject, both the reward of good men doth remain in abeyance, who reverence the same for their hope of heavenly riches and not for any present sign; and the minds of evil men against the same are the sooner known, who neglect to follow the invisible things which the church doth promise, while they are occupied with visible signs. While therefore the humility of all the faithful is, as it were, deprived of the multitude and appearing of signs by the terrible working of God's secret dispensation, mercy is thence given unto the good, from whence just wrath is heaped upon the evil. Forsomuch, then, as before that Leviathan shall plainly and manifestly come the signs of power shall in a great degree cease in holy church, therefore it is rightly said, 'poverty shall go before his face;' for before that time the riches of miracles shall be taken away from the faithful: then shall that ancient enemy show himself against them by open wonders; that, as he is extolled through signs and wonders, so he may be the more stoutly and nobly vanquished of the faithful without signs and wonders."

The description of Antichrist out of St. Gregory.

Also in his fifteenth book, cap. 58, upon these words, Job xxi. 31. "Who shall reprove his way before him, or who shall cast in his teeth what he hath done?"—the same Gregory saith: "The blessed Job, while speaking of the body of all evil, suddenly converteth his speech unto the head of all the wicked; for he did see that in the end of the world, Satan should enter into a man, whom holy Scripture calleth Antichrist; and should be extolled with such pride, rule with such power, be exalted with such signs and wonders under a show of holiness, that his doings cannot be reprov'd of man, forsomuch as signs and wonders are joined in him with power and terror, and with a show of holiness. Wherefore he saith, 'Who shall reprove his ways before him?' i. e. what man is he that dare once reprove him? whose countenance is he afraid to bear? But, notwithstanding, not only Enoch and Elias, who are brought forward for his reprobation, but also all the elect, do reprove his way, while they do contemn him, and by the power of their minds resist his malice. But forsomuch as they do this by God's grace and not by their own strength, therefore it is well said: 'Who shall reprove his ways before him?' who, but only God? by whose help the elect are supported, that they be able to resist." And a little after Gregory saith, "Therefore, in that holy men do withstand his iniquity, it is not they themselves who do reprove his way, but it is He by whose grace they are strengthened."

The proof of holiness.

Also in the twentieth book, cap. 7, he saith, "Now holy church doth despise the miracles of heretics, even if they do any; forsomuch as the church doth sufficiently understand, that they imply no sort of holiness: for the proof of holiness is not the working signs and wonders, but to love every man as thyself, to think truly of the true God, and to think better of thy neighbour than of thyself: for true virtue consisteth in love, and not in showing of miracles. This the Verity declareth, saying, 'Hereby shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another.' Whereas he saith, 'hereby men shall know that ye are my disciples'—not, 'if ye work miracles,' but—'if ye have love one to another;' he plainly declareth thereby, that it is not miracles, but the love of God only which maketh us the servants of God. Wherefore the highest testimony of discipleship is the gift of brotherly love." This throughout doth St. Gregory write, and very often in other places he speaketh of miracles, how they shall cease amongst the just, and abound amongst the wicked.

Signs common and indifferent to the ministers of Christ and Antichrist. The principal miracles.

Also Chrysostome, in his fifty-fifth homily, saith thus:<sup>1</sup> "To cast out devils is a work common to the ministers of God and the ministers of the devil; but to confess the truth, and to work righteousness, is the peculiar work of saints only. Therefore, whomsoever thou dost see casting out devils, if he have not the confession of the truth in his mouth, neither righteousness in his hands, he is not a man of God: but if thou dost see a man confessing the truth, and working righteousness, although he do not cast out devils, yet is he a man of God." And it followeth, "Let us know, that like as at the coming of Christ, before him the prophets, and with him the apostles, wrought miracles through the Holy Ghost; for such as the thing is, which is stirred, such scent and

(1) The Editor has not been able to trace this passage in Chrysostome's works.—Ed.

savour will proceed from the same." He writeth also upon the beginning of Matthew, "The whole world did marvel and wonder at three things,—that Christ rose again after his death; that flesh ascended into heaven; and that he did convert the whole world by his eleven apostles. Hereof there were four causes; that is to say, contempt of money; despising of glory; separation from worldly occupations; and patient suffering of torments." Thus much writeth Chrysostome.

*Richard II.*

A.D. 1381.

Also St. Isidore, in the first book and twenty-fifth chapter of his "De summo bono," writeth thus: "Like as in the apostles, the marvellous virtue of works was more commendable than the virtue of signs; even so now in the church, it is much better to live well, than to work signs. And the cause why the church of God doth not at this present work miracles, as it did in the time of the apostles, is this, that then it was expected that the world should believe miracles: but now it is expected that every faithful believer shine with good works; for to this end were signs then outwardly wrought, that faith might be inwardly strengthened: for whosoever professing to be in the faith yet seeketh to work miracles, he seeketh vain-glory to be praised of men; for it is written, 'Miracles are a sign to unbelievers, and not to the faithful.'" Thus much writeth Isidore. Item, St. Augustine, in his book of Confessions, saith thus, "There is no greater miracle in human affairs, than for a man to love his enemies."

Cause why the church now worketh not miracles.

A great miracle, to love a man's enemy.

From these sayings of holy men it may be gathered, that, both in our own times, and in the times to come, the disciples of Antichrist both do and shall shine by miracles more than the disciples of Christ, according to the saying of Christ: "There shall arise false prophets, and shall work great signs." Secondly, it is proved that they are great, yea greater, miracles, to confess the truth and to work righteousness, than to work any other kind of miracle. Thirdly, it is gathered thereby, that whatsoever priest or deacon loveth his enemies, contemneth riches, despiseth the glory of the world, avoideth occupation in secular things, and meekly sustaineth terrible threatenings, yea and strokes, for the gospel's sake, he worketh miracles, having thereby a testimony that he is the true disciple of Jesus Christ. The same is evident by the saying of our Saviour Jesus Christ in Matt. v., "Let your good works so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven." And likewise by John x. 38, "Believe the works." And to the same purpose St. Gregory in his first book of Dialogues saith thus: "The estimation of a true life consisteth in the virtue of works, and not in a display of signs." And fourthly it is concluded from what hath been said, that to confess the truth, and follow Christ in the aforesaid virtues, is a more effectual testimony to a deacon or presbyter that he is sent of God, than to cast out devils, or to work any other miracle; as is evident by the saying of Chrysostome before alleged:<sup>2</sup> "Whomsoever thou dost see casting out devils, if the confession of the truth be not in his mouth, neither righteousness in his hands, he is not a man of God." This is also confirmed by the words of Christ in Matt. vii., "Many shall say unto me in that day, Lord, Lord, did we not prophesy in thy name, and in thy name cast out devils; and did we not work many miracles in thy name? Then I will confess unto them; Forsomuch as I never knew you, depart from me, ye that work iniquity." And as touching the second part, Chrysostome, as before alleged,<sup>3</sup> saith; "If you see a man confessing the truth and working righteousness, although he do not cast out devils, he is a man of God."

The true miracles of Christ's ministers.

Hereby it appeareth,<sup>4</sup> that every deacon or priest, confessing the truth and working righteousness, hath an effectual testimony that he is sent of God, and that it is not necessary for him to prove his mission by the working of any miracle, beyond the working righteousness; neither by any Scripture, which should expressly declare him by name, that he was sent of the Lord to preach the Gospel.

The testimony of a true priest.

The first part appeareth manifest by that which is already spoken, that miracles in the time of Antichrist shall cease in the elect.

(1) "Operibus credite." Latin edition, p. 37, and "Hist. et Mon." tom. i. fol. 116. The English editions most absurdly render this, "Trust unto your good works."—Ed.

(2) See before, p. 74.—Ed.

(3) Ibid.—Ed.

(4) Here John Huss begins a recapitulation of the whole subject.—Ed.

*Richard*  
*II.*

A.D.  
1384.

The second part is also evident; forsomuch as none of the present preachers can show by the Scripture of the law of God, that he is specially named thereunto. And likewise I say, as touching all preachers who shall come hereafter, who are not named by name. Neither let any man here object touching Enoch and Elias, for they were ancient preachers, and prophesied by the Holy Spirit.

It appeareth also, that like as it is not a cause sufficient to prove any particular priest or deacon sent of God to preach, that he worketh miracles; so is it not a cause sufficient to prove him not sent of God to preach, that he worketh no miracles; but to confess the truth, to work righteousness, to condemn the world with the glory thereof, meekly to suffer rebukes, is a sufficient testimony for any priest or deacon, having knowledge of the law of God, freely to preach the gospel of Jesus Christ, forsomuch as, in such case, he is sent of God. And this is the sending which the apostle speaketh of in Romans x., "How shall they preach, except they be sent?" Whereupon the Gloss of St. Augustine saith thus; "These things serve to set forth God's grace, that thereby all our goodness may be shewn to be by grace prevenient.<sup>1</sup> For it saith, 'belief cometh of hearing, hearing cometh of preaching, and preaching by the sending of God;' so that the whole cometh down out of the fountain of grace, and preaching truly cometh of sending." This hath the Gloss. How shall they then preach, except they be sent of God?

Also, it is evident, that the first sending is from God alone, as appeareth in the case of Moses.

The second sending is both from God and man; as appeareth by the example of Joshua and others, who were sent both by God and their superior to preach.

The third sending is from man alone; the which is not founded on the law of God, but on men's traditions, which they more esteem.

The fourth sending, which hath but the name only, is proper to them, who of themselves unworthily usurp the office of preaching, as those false prophets of whom God speaketh in Jeremy xxiii., "I did not send them, and yet they ran; I spake not unto them, and yet they prophesied: if they had continued in my counsels, and had made known my words unto my people, I would have converted them from their evil way and from their wicked imaginations." And the Saviour spake of these prophets in Matthew xxiv., saying, "There shall arise false prophets." And Peter, his immediate vicar, in his second epistle and second chapter, prophesying unto the faithful believers in Christ, speaketh thus of them: "There were amongst the people false prophets, as there shall be amongst you also masters of lies, through whom the truth shall be slandered:" and that he might the better instruct the people to know them, he addeth, "They shall go about with feigned words, for covetousness' sake, to make merchandize of you!"

Wherefore every faithful man, diligently weighing these things in his mind, may now easily perceive how great a number of false prophets there be, through whom the way of Christ's truth is blasphemed, and all covetous dealing is exercised, and they freely preach lies. But the humble and true priests of Christ, wheresoever they do appear, by-and-by are persecuted; whereby the prophecy of the apostle is verified, which is written in the second epistle to Timothy, chap. iii.; "All men," saith he, "which desire to live godly, shall suffer persecution; but evil men and seducers shall grow worse and worse, erring and leading into error." But they now are gone so far in error, that they do preach lies, making heretics of faithful Christians; neither is there any man that will stop their lying, so long as they do not preach against the vices of the prelates. How then can it be said, that Antichrist is not now exalted above all that is called God, suppressing the members of Christ in their office, but indulging and fortifying his own members in lying? Therefore the true and hearty disciples of Christ ought to stand with their loins girt, and their feet shod in the preparation of the gospel, taking the sword, which is the word of God [Ephes. vi.], and to fight against the crafts of Antichrist, who is endeavouring to extinguish the preaching of the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Difference between the ministers of Christ and Antichrist.

Ministers of Antichrist do cloak the vices of their prelates.

(1) 'Prevenient,' going before.—Ed.

The<sup>1</sup> Second Disputation of John Huss, in the University of Prague, made in the second Act, the same Year, upon the Seventeenth Article of John Wickliff, most fruitful to be read; proving, by four and twenty reasons out of the Scriptures, that Princes and Lords Temporal have lawful Authority and Jurisdiction over the Spirituality and Churchmen, both in taking from them, and in correcting their Abuses according to their doings and deserts.

Richard  
II.  
A.D.  
1384.

To the honour of Almighty God, and our Lord Jesus Christ, both for the trying out of truth, and the profit of holy mother church, according to the congregation of our university of Prague, which, avoiding always to do that which shall be prejudicial to the truth, hath deferred to consent unto the condemnation of the forty-five articles, wishing, even unto this present time, a reason to be given of the condemnation of the aforesaid articles, and of each one of them in particular. Yea, and the said university doth always require a reason, forso much as pope Damasus, in Distinction lxviii. cap. 5, "Chorepiscopi," saith thus; "That whatsoever thing wanteth a reason, must needs be rooted out." Whence it appeareth, that the condemnation of the five-and-forty articles, if it wanteth reason for every article, is necessarily to be rooted out.

Condemnation of the forty-five articles, and wherefore it is not to be allowed.

But, if any man will object and say, that to require a reason for every thing is to derogate from the divine power: unto this objection Master William doth answer in his philosophy, the first book, near the end, where he, treating of the place in Genesis ii., "God made man of the clay of the earth," &c., hath these words; "For in what point," saith he, "are we contrary to the holy Scriptures, if we seek to explain wherefore any thing is done, which is said in the Scriptures to be done? For if one wise man should say that a thing is done, and not declare how it is done, but another should speak the self-same thing, and explain how it is done, what contrariety is there herein? But, forso much as they themselves know not the force of nature, to the intent that they might have all men partakers with them of their own ignorance, they would have no man to inquire into them; but they would have us as rude rustics believe, and not seek any reason of our belief, that the prophecy may be fulfilled, 'The priest shall be as the people.'" But we say, that in all things a reason is to be sought, if any can be found: but then, if any man do stay at any thing which the divine page affirmeth, he should commit the same unto the Holy Ghost and unto faith. For Moses saith, "If the lamb cannot be eaten, let it not be by-and-by consumed in the fire; but let him first call his neighbour which dwelleth in the next house unto him; and if they also be not sufficient to eat the lamb, then let it be burned in the fire." So likewise, when we go about to inquire any thing as touching the Godhead, and be not able to comprehend the same, let us call our neighbour who dwelleth in the next house unto us; that is to say, let us seek out such a one as abideth in the same catholic faith with us: but if then neither we, nor yet he, be able to comprehend the same, let it then be burned with the fire of faith. But these men, albeit they have many neighbours dwelling near unto them, yet for very pride they will not call any man unto them; choosing rather to continue still ignorant, than to ask any question. And if they do know any man to inquire for his neighbour in such case, by-and-by they cry out upon him as a heretic; presuming more upon their own head, than having confidence in their wisdom. But I exhort you to give no credit unto their habit, for already it is verified in them which the satirical poet saith, 'Fronti nulla fides,' i. e. 'No credit is to be given unto the outward show;' for which of them doth not abound with sad and detestable vices? And in another place he saith: 'They are very dainty of their speech, and have great desire to keep silence.'" And thus much hath Master William.

Allowable to seek to declare by reason, why things recorded in Scripture are done.

An allegory upon the Paschal Lamb.

Let all such hear whom this parable may touch; for I, with the masters, bachelors, and students of our university, considering how hard a matter the condemnation of the forty-five articles, and how grievous a thing it were,

(1) "Hist. et Monum. Joh. Huss, &c." tom. i. fol. 117. There are five-and-twenty reasons alleged; but perhaps Foxe intended, that there were only "four-and-twenty reasons out of the Scriptures."—Ed.

*Richard II.*

A.D.  
1384.

A protestation, whereby he giveth light unto the reader, how the proposition aforesaid is to be understood; and addeth, that the goods of the clergy are not utterly to be taken away, but in case the clergy do abuse the same. First reason. Solomon.

without a reason why we ought to consent thereunto, do call together my neighbours, the doctors of our university, and all others who would object any thing against the same, that we might find out now the reason of the condemnation of this article, concerning the taking away the temporalities from the clergy.

Notwithstanding, I protest that it is not my intention, like as it is not the intention of the university, to persuade, that princes or secular lords should take away goods from the clergy when they will, or how they will, and convert them to what use they list. But it is our intention diligently to search out, whether this article, as touching the taking away of temporalities from the clergy, may have in it a true sense, in which it may be defended without reproof. Wherefore the article, numbered the seventeenth among the forty-five, is propounded under this form: "Lords temporal may at their own will and pleasure, take away temporal goods from ecclesiastics habitually delinquent." It is thus proved: the kings of the Old Testament took away temporal goods at God's commandment from ecclesiastics, that is, from the priests, offending. Therefore the kings also of the New Testament, at God's commandment, may do the like, when the priests of the new law do offend. The consequence dependeth upon a similitude; and the antecedent is evident. First, it is proved by Solomon, 1 Kings ii. 27; which Solomon deposed Abiathar the high priest, because he took part with Adonijah, the brother of Solomon, that he should be king, without the advice either of David, or of Solomon himself, who ought to reign; and set up Zadoc as priest in the place of Abiathar, because he did not consent with Abiathar unto Adonijah, as it is written, 1 Kings i. 5—8; where it is said, "Adonijah, the son of Haggith, exalted himself, saying, I will reign; and made unto himself chariots and horsemen, and forty men which should run before him; neither did his father rebuke him at any time, saying, Wherefore hast thou done this? But moreover he was very comely, and was the next in age to Absalom; and his talk was with Joab the son of Zeruiah and Abiathar the priest, which took part with Adonijah. But Zadoc the priest, and Benaiah the son of Jehoiada, and Nathan the prophet, and Shimei, and Serethi, and Phelethi, and the power of David's host, were not on Adonijah's part."

This was the cause of the deposing of Abiathar from the priesthood, because he took part with Adonijah, that he should be king, against Solomon, the eldest son of king David: wherefore it is written, 1 Kings ii. 26; "The king said unto Abiathar the priest, Go your ways unto Anathoth thine own field, for thou art a man of death; but this day I will not slay thee, because thou hast carried the ark of the Lord God before my father David, and didst labour in all things wherein my father laboured. Therefore Solomon cast out Abiathar, that he should not be the priest of the Lord; that the word of the Lord might be fulfilled, which he spake concerning the house of Eli in Shiloh."

Behold, the most wise king Solomon, according to the wisdom which was given him of God, did exercise his power upon the aforesaid priest, deposing him from the priesthood, and setting in his place Zadoc as priest. But this was a greater matter than to take away the temporalities. If, then, in the law of Christ now current a bishop should likewise rebel against the heir of the kingdom, wishing to set up another for king, why should not the king or his heir have power to take away the temporalities from him so offending?

Item, it is also evident in the instance of king Nebuchadnezzar, who had power from God to lead away the children of Israel, with their priests and Levites, into the captivity of Babylon, as it is written in 2 Kings xxv.

Item, We read in 2 Kings xii., how that Josiah, the most devout king of Judah, according to the wisdom which God had granted him, "took away all the consecrated vessels which Jehoshaphat, Jehoram, and Ahaziah, his forefathers, kings of Judah, had consecrated, and those which he himself had offered, and all the silver that could be found in the treasury of the temple of the Lord and in the king's palace, and sent it unto Hazael, king of Syria, and he departed from Jerusalem." Mark how this holy king exercised his power, not only in taking away the temporalities of the priests, but even those things which had been consecrate in the temple of the Lord, to procure unto the commonwealth the benefit of peace.

Item, In 2 Kings xviii., we read, how that the holy king Hezekiah took all the silver that was found in the house of the Lord, and in the king's

Second reason. Nebuchadnezzar.

Third reason. Jehoash.

Fourth reason. Hezekiah.

treasury; and brake down the doors of the temple of the Lord, and all the plates of gold which he himself had fastened thereupon, and gave them unto the king of the Assyrians; yet was he not rebuked of the Lord for it, as he was rebuked for his other sins, as appeareth in 2 Chron. xxxii. Forsomuch, then, as in time of necessity all things ought to be in common among Christians, it followeth that the secular lords, in case of necessity, and in many cases which may occur, may lawfully take away temporal goods from the clergy, when they do habitually offend.

*Richard II.*

*A.D. 1384.*

Item, It is confirmed, for that we read in Matthew xii., that the disciples of Jesus, to slake their hunger, pulled ears of corn and did eat them on the Sabbath, and the Pharisees upbraided and rebuked them for it; unto whom Christ answered, "Have ye not read what David did when he was hungry, and those that were with him; how he entered into the house of the Lord, and did eat the shewbread, which it was not lawful for him, neither for them that were with him, to eat, but only for the priests?" This story is written in 1 Sam. xxi., and the commandment in Deuteronomy xii.<sup>1</sup> Whereby it appeareth, that it is lawful in time of necessity to use any thing, be it never so much consecrate. Otherwise, children by giving all their temporals to the consecration of the temple, should not be bound to help their parents; which is contrary and against the gospel of St. Matthew [chap. xvi.], where our Saviour sharply rebuked the Pharisees, that for their own tradition they did transgress the commandment of God.

*Fifth reason. Matthew.*

*David.*

*Case of necessity.*

Item, Titus and Vespasian, secular princes, had power given them by God, twenty-four years after the Lord's ascension, to take away the temporalities from the priests who had offended against the Lord's Holy One, and in fact also bereft them of their lives: and, as it seemeth unto many, they did, and might do, the same meritoriously and according to God's good pleasure. Therefore, forsomuch as the priests of these days may offend as much or more against the Lord's Christ, it followeth, that, by the good pleasure of God, secular lords may inflict on them like punishment for their offence.

*Sixth reason. Titus and Vespasian.*

Item, our Saviour, being King of kings and high pontiff, with his disciples did give tribute unto Cæsar, as it appeareth in Matthew xvii., and commanded the Scribes and Pharisees to give the like unto Cæsar [Matt. xxii.]; whereby he gave example unto all priests that should come after him to render tribute unto kings. Whereupon blessed Ambrose, in his fourth book on St. Luke, § 73, upon those words in Luke v. 4., "Cast your nets," speaketh thus; "There is also another apostolic kind of fishing, after which the Lord commanded Peter only to fish, saying, 'Cast thy hook, and that fish which cometh first up, take him.'" And then to our purpose he saith; "It is truly a great and spiritual proof, that christian men are taught that they ought to be subject unto the higher powers, and that no man ought to think that the statute of an earthly king is to be broken. For if the Son of God did pay tribute, who art thou that thou thinkest it ought not to be paid? He also payed tribute who had no possessions; but thou who daily seekest after the worldly lucre, why dost thou not acknowledge the worldly duty? Why dost thou carry thyself above the world with a certain haughtiness of mind, whereas through miserable covetousness thou art subject to the world?" Thus writeth Ambrose, and it is put in Causa xi. quest. 1. cap. 28., "Magnum quidem." He also writeth in the ninth book, §. 35, upon these words in Luke xx. 24., "Show me a penny; whose image hath it?" thus; "If it had not the image of Cæsar, why did Christ pay tribute? He gave it not of his own, but rendered unto the world that which was the world's; and if thou wilt not be subject to Cæsar, possess not the things of the world; but if thou hast riches thou art subject to Cæsar." If thou wilt owe nothing unto any earthly king, forsake all thou hast, and follow Christ." If, then, all ecclesiastical ministers having riches ought to be under subjection to kings, and give them temporal things; it followeth that kings may lawfully, according to the authority given them, take away temporal things from them.

*Seventh reason. The example of Christ paying tribute. St. Ambrose's mind.*

*Christ commanded tribute to be paid unto the emperor.*

Hence Paul, acknowledging himself to be under Cæsar's jurisdiction, appealed unto Cæsar, as appeareth in Acts xxv. 10.; "I stand," saith he, "at Cæsar's judgment seat; there I ought to be judged." Whereupon, in the eighth Distinction, chapter "Quo jure," St. Ambrose allegeth, that all things are lawful

*Eighth reason. Paul appealeth to the emperor St. Ambrose.*

(1) Or rather, in Lev. xxiv. 9.—Ed.

Richard  
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St. Am-  
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clergy.  
Twelfth  
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unto the emperor, and all things are his. For the confirmation whereof it is said [Daniel ii. 37, 38], "The God of heaven hath given unto thee a kingdom, strength, empire, and glory, and hath given into thy hand all places wherein do dwell the children of men, and the beasts of the field, and the fowls of the air, and hath set all things under thy subjection."

Also, in Causa xi. quæst. 1. cap. 27, St. Ambrose saith, "If the emperor require tribute, we do not deny that the church lands should pay tribute; if the emperor have need of our lands, he hath power to challenge them, let him take them, if he will; I do not give them unto the emperor, but neither do I deny them." This writeth St. Ambrose, expressly declaring that the secular lord hath power at his pleasure to take away the church lands; and consequently the secular lords have power at their pleasures, to take away temporal goods from ecclesiastical ministers when they do habitually offend.

Also, St. Augustine writeth, "If thou sayest, 'What have we to do with the emperor?' But now, as I said, we speak of human law. The apostle would have us be obedient unto kings, and honour them, and said, 'Reverence the king.' Do not then say, 'What have I to do with the king?' What hast thou then to do with possessions? Thy possessions are possessed by the king's law, and yet thou sayest, 'What have I to do with the king?' Do not talk then of thy possessions, seeing thou hast renounced those human laws whereby possessions are held." Thus writeth St. Augustine, as cited in the eighth Distinction; from whose words it is manifest, that the king hath power over the church goods, and consequently may take them away from the clergy habitually offending.

Item, in his thirty-third epistle to Boniface, he saith, "What sober man will say unto our kings, 'Care not you in your kingdom, by whom the church of the Lord is maintained, or by whom it is oppressed; it pertaineth not unto you, who will be either a religious man, or who will be a church-robber.' Unto whom it may be answered, 'Doth it not pertain unto us in our kingdom, who will be a chaste man, or who will be unchaste?'" Behold, this holy man sheweth here how it is the duty of kings to control such as are robbers of churches, and consequently insolent clerics, by taking from them their temporalities when they do offend habitually.

Item, he writeth in Causa xxiii. quæst. 7, cap. 2, "Si de rebus," "The secular lords may lawfully take away temporal goods from heretics; and forso-much as it is a case greatly possible, that many of the clergy are simoniacs, and thereby heretics, therefore the secular lords may very lawfully take away their temporalities from them." "For what is there unworthy in it," continueth St. Augustine, "if catholics do possess, according unto the will of the Lord, those things which heretics held? forso-much as this is the word of the Lord unto all wicked men [Matt. xxi.], 'The kingdom of God shall be taken away from you, and shall be given unto a nation, which shall work his righteousness.' Is it written in vain in the Book of Wisdom [chap. xi.], 'The just shall eat the labours of the wicked?'"

And whereas it may be objected as touching the desire of other men's goods, St. Augustine answereth, "That by that evidence the seven nations, which did abuse the Land of Promise and were driven out from thence by the power of God, might object the same unto the people of God occupying the same;" and the Jews themselves, from whom according to the word of the Lord the kingdom was taken away, and given unto a people working righteousness, might object the same unto the church of Christ, as touching the desire of other men's goods: but St. Augustine's answer is this; "We do not desire other men's goods, forso-much as they are ours by the commandment of Him whose all things are become." By like evidence, when the clergy do habitually offend, their temporal goods become the goods of others, for the profit of the church. To this purpose also serveth Causa xiv. question 4, saying, according to St. Augustine, "Unto an unbeliever it doth not matter a halfpenny; but to a believer it is a whole world of riches." Do we not then convict all who seem to have gathered great riches together, and know not how to use them, of possessing what is another's; for certainly that is not another's, which is possessed by right; but that only is rightfully possessed, which is justly possessed; and that only is justly possessed, which is well possessed. Ergo, all that which is ill possessed, is another man's; and he doth ill possess, who doth ill use.



If then the clergy do habitually abuse their temporal goods, the temporal lords may, at their own pleasure, according unto the rule of charity, take away the said temporal goods from the clergy so offending. For then, according to the allegation aforesaid, the clergy do not justly possess those temporal goods; but the temporal lords, proceeding according to the rule of charity, do justly possess those temporalities, forasmuch as all things belong to the righteous. "All things," saith the apostle [1 Cor. iii. 21—23], "are yours; whether it be Paul, or Apollos, or Cephas; either the world, or life or death, or things present, or things to come: for all things be yours, you be Christ's, and Christ is God's." Also in Causa xxiii. quest. 7, cap. 1, "Quicunque," it is written: "Jure divino omnia sunt justorum." \*The words of St. Augustine in that place, "Ad Vincendum," be these: "Whosoever," saith he, "upon the occasion of this law of the emperor doth persecute you, not for love and charitable correction, but only for hatred and to do you mischief, in so doing incurreth our displeasure. And although there is nothing here in this earth, that any man may possess assuredly, but either he must hold it by God's law, by which 'cuncta justorum esse dicuntur,' that is, 'all things pertain to the just:' or else by man's law, which it standeth in the power of the kings of the earth to ordain," &c. By the words of St. Augustine here alleged, ye see all things belong to the possession of the just, by God's law.\*

Richard II.

A. D. 1381.

By God's law, Cuncta justorum esse dicuntur.

Item, Forasmuch as the clergy by reason of their possessions are subject to the emperor and king, it followeth, that if they do habitually offend, the emperor or king may lawfully take away their possessions from them. The consequent holdeth, forasmuch as, otherwise, they would not be subject to the emperor or king: and the antecedent is manifest by Causa xi. quest. 1. cap. 26, parag., "His ita respondetur," where it is said: "Clerici ex officio episcopo sunt suppositi, ex possessionibus imperatori sunt obnoxii: ab episcopo unctionem, decimas, et primitias accipiunt; ab imperatore vero possessiones nanciscuntur: quia ergo, ut prædicia possideantur, imperiali lege factum est, patet, quòd clerici ex prædiorum possessionibus imperatori sunt obnoxii:" that is to say, "The clergy by reason of their office are under the bishop: but by reason of their possessions they be subject unto the emperor: of the bishop they receive unction, tithes, and first-fruits; but of the emperor they receive possessions. That lands therefore are possessed by them, happeneth by the imperial law; and thence it is evident, that the clergy by the possession of their lands are subject to the emperor," [for him to take away from them, or to correct them, according to their deservings, and to have the controlment of them, as it shall seem good unto him.]<sup>2</sup>

Thirteenth reason. The clergy subject unto the emperor and king by means of their possessions.

Item, Secular lords may take away temporal goods from such as use simony, because they are heretics. Ergo, this article is true. The antecedent is manifest, forasmuch as the secular lords may reject such as use simony, and punish them except they do repent. For, by the decree of pope Pascal, in Causa i. the last question and last chapter, it appeareth, that "all such as used simony were to be rejected of all faithful people, as prime and chief heretics; and if they did not repent after being admonished, they were to be punished by the extern power. For all crimes in comparison of simony be counted as nothing." Whereupon the Gloss saith, that by this word 'extern' is understood the laity, who have this power apart from the church of the clergy, as appeareth in the 17th Distinction, cap. 4, "Nec licuit," and Causa xxiii. quest. 5, cap. 20, "Principes." Whereby it is evident, that temporal lords may take away temporal goods from the clergy when they do offend.

Fourteenth reason. Users of simony are punished by the civil magistrate.

See Appendix.

Item, the blessed Gregory, in the seventh book and ninth chapter of his Register, writeth thus to the queen of the French: "Forasmuch as it is written that 'righteousness exalteth a nation, and sin maketh them miserable;' then is a kingdom counted stable, when the offence which is known is soon amended. Therefore, forasmuch as wicked priests are a cause of the ruin of a people (for who shall offer himself to be intercessor for the sins of the people, if the priest who ought to entreat for the same, have committed greater offences), and under your dominions the priests do live unchastely and wickedly; therefore we ought earnestly to seek the punishment of the same, that the wickedness of the few may not prove the destruction of the many." And it followeth, "If

Gregory writeth to the French queen. Wicked priests the destruction of the people.

(1) This passage is not in the Latin edition, nor in the "Hist. et Mon." tom. i. fol. 119.—Ed.

(2) The words between brackets are not in "Hist. et Mon.," nor in the decree.—Ed.

Richard  
II.A. D.  
1384.

you desire, we will send a person, with the consent of your authority, whose duty it shall be, together with other priests, diligently to seek out, and according unto God's word, amend these things. For these things which we have spoken of ought not to be winked at, for he that can correct any thing, and doth neglect to do it, without all doubt maketh himself a partaker of the sin. Therefore, provide for your own soul; provide for your grandsons, whom you do desire to reign; provide for your country, and with diligence devise the correction of this wickedness, before our Creator do make bare his hand to strike."

Gregory  
to the  
French  
King.

And in the next chapter he writeth unto the king of the French; "Whatsoever you do perceive to pertain either to the reverence of our God, to the reverence of the church, or to the honour of the priests, do you diligently cause to be decreed, and in all points to be observed. Wherefore, once again we do move you, that you command a synod to be congregated, and that, as we wrote lately unto you, you cause the carnal vices which reign amongst your priests, and the wickedness of simoniacal heresy among all your bishops, which is most hard to be condemned and reproved, to be controlled within your kingdom; and that you do not suffer them to possess any more substance there than God's commandments do allow."

Behold, how carefully blessed Gregory doth exhort the queen and the king to punish the vices of the clergy, lest through their negligence they should be partakers of the same; and in what way they ought to correct their subjects. Therefore, as they study to be careful against outward enemies, even so, likewise, ought they to be against the inward enemies of souls. But, forso much as in just war against outward enemies it is lawful to take away their goods, so long as they continue in their malice; so also it is lawful to take away the goods of the clergy, being the inward enemy. The consequence holdeth, because the domestic enemies are the most hurtful.

Sixteenth  
reason.

Item, It is thus argued; if God be, temporal lords can meritoriously and lawfully take away temporal goods from the clergy, if they do habitually offend. For this point let us suppose that we use the term "*can*" as the true and authentic Scripture doth use it in Matt. iii. 9, "God *can* even of these stones raise up children to Abraham." Whereupon it is thus argued: If God be, he is omnipotent; and if so, he can give such a power unto secular lords; and so consequently they can meritoriously and lawfully exercise such a power.

But, lest any man object, that this proof is far-fetched and impertinent, it is therefore declared, that temporal lords have power to take away their alms bestowed upon the church, the church abusing the same, as shall be proved hereafter;<sup>1</sup> but for the present thus: It is lawful for kings, in cases limited by the law, to take away temporalities from ecclesiastics habitually abusing them; which is thus proved: Temporal lords are most bound unto the works of greatest mercy, and most easy for them: but it might be the case, that it would be greater alms and easier temporal dominion, to take away their alms from such as build therewithal unto eternal damnation through the abuse thereof, than to give the said alms for bodily relief: Ergo, the assumption is true.

Whereupon, First, this doctrine is laid down agreeably to the law of Christ, as stated in 2 Thess. iii., where the apostle writeth thus: "When we were amongst you, we declared this unto you, that if any would not work, neither should he eat." The law of nature, therefore, doth license such as have the governance of kingdoms to correct any abuses of the temporalities, which would be the chief cause of the destruction of their kingdoms; whether it were temporal lords, or any other, who had endowed the church with those temporalities. It is lawful for them in some cases to take away the temporalities medicinally, to prevent sin, notwithstanding any excommunication or other ecclesiastical censure; forso much as they are not bestowed, but under an implied condition.

When  
and how  
the title  
of any  
gift is  
lost.

The which appeareth by this, that the effect naturally [*per se*] consequent upon an endowment or gift of goods to the church, is, that God should be honoured: and if this effect be wanting, the contrary taking place, the title of the gift is plainly lost; and consequently the lord who gave the alms ought to correct what is amiss. But excommunication ought not to hinder the fulfilling of justice.

Secondly, this doctrine is laid down agreeably to the canon law, Causa xvi. question 7. par. "Filiis," where it is thus spoken as touching the children,

(1) See below, p. 88.—Ed.

nephews, and the most honest of the kindred of him who hath builded or endowed any church: "That it is lawful for them to foresee, that if they perceive the priest do defraud any part of that which is bestowed, they should either gently admonish him, or else complain of him to the bishop, that he may be corrected. But if the bishop himself attempt to do the like, let them complain of him to his metropolitan; and if the metropolitan do the like, let them not defer to report it in the ears of the king." Mark, the canon saith, "Let them not defer to report it in the ears of the king." To what end, I pray you, but that he should apply correction? neither is it to be doubted, but that the king's correction in this behalf would be more wholesome and pertinent, viz. a subtraction of the goods, whereof he is lord *in capite*, proportional to the offence.

Richard  
II.A. D.  
1384.

Item, It is thus argued: It is lawful for secular lords, by their power, to do correction upon the clergy by some kind of fearful discipline pertaining to their secular power. Ergo, by like reason it is lawful for them by their power to do such correction by all kind of fearful discipline pertaining to their secular power. Forsomuch, then, as the taking away of temporalities is a kind of fearful discipline pertaining to the secular power, it followeth, that it is lawful for them thereby to do such correction: and, consequently, the truth which was to be proved followeth. The consequent is evident; and the antecedent is proved by Isidore, cited in Causa xxiii. question 5. cap. 20. "Principes;" where it is thus written: "Secular powers would not be necessary within the church, but only for this purpose, that what the priest cannot effect by preaching or teaching, the secular powers may accomplish by the terror of discipline. For, oftentimes, the heavenly kingdom prevaieth by the earthly kingdom, that they who are in the church, and do any thing contrary to its faith and discipline, are suppressed by the rigour of the princes, and that the power of the prince layeth that discipline upon the necks of the proud, which the meekness of the church cannot exercise."

Seven-  
teenth  
reason.  
Lawful  
for the  
civil  
rulers to  
correct  
the  
clergy.

Item, Every thing that by power ought to effect any end by means reasonably commensurate thereto, may lawfully make by power the subtraction of the excess and the addition of the defect of those means, according as shall be suitable to render them commensurate. Forsomuch, then, as the secular lords ought by their power to provide for the necessary sustentation of the christian clergy by a reasonable proportion of temporalities, which they are bound to bestow upon the christian clergy; it followeth, that they may lawfully, by their power, make a deduction from, or addition to, those temporalities, according as is suitable for making that reasonable proportion.

Eight-  
teenth  
reason.

Item, It is lawful for the clergy, by their power, to withhold the sacraments of the church from laymen habitually offending, forsomuch as it doth pertain to the office of the christian clergy, by their power, to minister the same unto the lay-people. Wherefore, forsomuch as it doth pertain unto the office of the laity, according to their power, to minister temporalities to the clergy of Christ, as the apostle saith 1 Cor. ix.; it followeth, that it is also lawful for them, by their power, to withhold the temporalities from the clergy habitually offending.

Nine-  
teenth  
reason.

Item, By like power may he who giveth a stipend, withdraw the same from unworthy labourers, as he hath power to give the same to worthy labourers. Forsomuch then as the temporalities of the clergy are the stipends of the laity, it followeth that the lay-people may, by as good authority, withdraw them from the clergy who will not worthily labour, as they might by their power bestow the same upon those who would worthily labour, according to the saying of the gospel [Matth. xxi.], "The kingdom shall be taken away from you, and given unto a people which shall bring forth the fruits thereof."

Twen-  
tieth  
reason.

Item, It is lawful for the secular lords, by their power, to chastise lay-people when they do offend, by taking away their temporalities according to the exigence of their offences, forsomuch as the lay-people are subjected to their dominion. Wherefore, the clergy being also subject to the dominion of the secular lords, as appeareth from Rom. xiii. and many other places, it followeth that it is lawful for them by their power to chastise the clergy by taking away their temporalities, their offence so requiring.

Twenty-  
first  
reason.

Item, The most easy reformation of the clergy to the life of Christ and his apostles, and the most pertinent to the laity, so that the clergy should not live contrary unto Christ, seemeth to be the withdrawing of their alms, and the

Twenty-  
second  
reason.

Richard  
II.

A.D.  
1381.

See  
Appendix.

Twenty-  
third rea-  
son.

Twenty-  
fourth  
reason.

Twenty-  
fifth rea-  
son.

taking away of those things which had been bestowed upon them. It is thus proved: that medicine is rather to be applied, whereby the infirmity might soonest be cured, and which would be most handy to the physician; such is the taking away of the temporalities. Ergo, this article is true. The minor appeareth by this, that from abundance of temporalities the worm of pride is produced, whereupon lust is inflamed, and gluttony and lechery are generated. This is evident, forso much as the temporalities being once withdrawn, every one of those sins is taken away, or at the least diminished, and the opposite virtue induced. It seemeth also most pertinent to the laity, forso much as they need not for this end lay violent hands upon the priests, nor cast away the priestly dignity, neither judge the clergy in their judicial court. It seemeth, also, by the law of conscience to pertain unto the lay-people, forso much as every man who doeth any work of mercy, ought diligently to have respect unto the meetness of them that he bestoweth his alms upon; else, by nourishing loiterers, he would be partaker of their sin. Whereupon, if a priest do not minister in spiritual things, as Hostiensis teacheth in his third book, 'De Decimis, Primitiis, et Oblationibus,' the people ought to withdraw the alms of their tithes from them.

Item, It is confirmed with respect to Rents appropriate unto the church, by the last chapter in *Causa xvii. quæst. 4, cap. "Quicumque,"* where the case is put thus: That a certain man having no children, and not hoping to have any, gave all his goods to the church, reserving to himself the usufruct thereof: it happened afterwards, that he had children, and the bishop restored again his goods unto him, not expecting it. The bishop had it in his power, not to render him again those things which he had given; but that was by the law of the courts, and not by the law of heaven. If then, by the decree of the most subtil and holy doctor Augustine, in his sermon "*De vita clericorum,*" St. Aurelius, bishop of Carthage, had not power by God's law to restore that which was bestowed upon the church for the necessity of the children; by what law do the wanton, proud, and unstable clergy, and superabundantly possessed and enriched, detain temporalities to the detriment of their own state and of the whole church militant, the secular patrons being thereby so impoverished, that they are compelled by penury to steal, to oppress their tenants, to spoil others, and oftentimes are necessitated to beg?

Item, Suppose that a clergyman as grievously as possible do offend, by what kind of offences soever, as it was in the case of bishop Judas Iscariot, of the religious monk Sergius, of pope Leo the heretic, and many other priests of whom the Scripture and Chronicles make mention, and daily experience doth teach us the same: it is evident, that the priests in the kingdom of Bohemia, as is supposed, offending enormously, it is the king's part, forso much as he is supreme lord of the kingdom of Bohemia next after God, to correct those priests. But, forso much as the gentlest correction of such as be obdurate in their wickedness, is, the taking away of their temporal goods, it followeth, that it is lawful for the king so to take away temporalities. Wherefore it would be very marvellous, if priests, riding about, should spoil virgins, and violently defile honest matrons, that in such case it were not lawful to take back from them their armour, horses, guns, and swords. The like reason were it, as if they had unlawfully conspired the death of the king, or that they would betray the king to his enemies.

Item, Whatsoever the clergy ought to require of the secular arm, according to the law of Christ, the secular arm ought to perform the same. But the clergy, being hindered by riches, ought to require help of the secular arm for the dispensation of the said riches. Ergo, the secular arm ought, in such case, by the law of Christ, to take upon it the office of getting, keeping, and distributing, all such riches. The minor is hereby proved, that no man ought to have riches, but so that they be helps to the performance of the office which is appointed him of God. Therefore, in case secular possession should hinder the clergy from their duty, the secular power ought to take it away; for so did the apostles, Acts vi., saying, "It is not lawful for us to leave the word of God, and to minister unto tables."

And thus, hitherto, hath John Huss prosecuted Wickliff's articles with long arguments and reasons; and it were too long a travail,

neither agreeable for this place, to allege all the whole order of his reasons and proofs which he used in that disputation, about the number of eighteen more, besides the testimonies of all the writers before recited, the which he allegeth out of the Scriptures, the Decretals, St. Ambrose in his fifth book of offices, St. Augustine, cited in the fifth Causa and fifth question, and also in his third Epistle to Macedonius, Isidore, the council of Nice, Gregory cited in the eleventh Causa and the third question, Bernard in his third book to Eugene, and out of Lincolnensis, the sixty-first epistle, besides many other more: the sum of all which testimonies tendeth unto this end, that he might utterly take away all earthly rule and dominion from the clergy, and bring them under the subjection and censure of kings and emperors, as it were within certain bounds; the which is not only agreeable unto equity and God's word, but also profitable for the clergy themselves. He teacheth it also to be necessary, that they should rather be subject under the secular power, than be above it; because that else it were dangerous, lest that, they being entangled with such kind of business, they should be an easier prey to Satan and sooner trapped in his snares; and thereby it should come to pass, that the governance and principality of all things being at the length brought into the hands of the clergy, the lawful authority of kings and princes should not only be given over unto them, but in a manner, as it were, grow out of use; specially forsomuch as already, in certain kingdoms and commonwealths, the ecclesiastical power is grown to such a height, that not only in Bohemia, but also almost throughout all the commonwealths, they did occupy the third, or at least the fourth, part of the rents and revenues. And, last of all, he allegeth the example of Gregory writing to the emperor Maurice, and afterwards the prophecy of Hildegard, writing in this manner.

Richard II.

A D. 1384.

Ambrose, Augustine, Isidore, council of Nice, Gregory, Bernard, and others.

See Appendix.

### The Second Disputation of John Huss, continued.<sup>1</sup>

As ecclesiastics do willingly receive praise of kings and rulers for their well-doing, so ought they, when they do offend, willingly to suffer punishment from them for their evil-doing. The consequent holdeth, forsomuch as punishment meekly received for any offence doth more profit a man, than the praise received for any good work: whereupon the blessed Gregory writeth thus unto Maurice the emperor, who did persecute him, saying, "I believe that you do please Almighty God the more, the more you afflict me, who serve him so ill." If then that holy pope did so meekly, and without offence, suffer affliction of the emperor, why should not the clergy, when they do offend, meekly sustain punishment from the king or rulers to whom they are bound to be subject, when the immediate vicar of Christ saith [1 Pet. ii.]. "Be ye subject unto every creature for God's sake, whether it be unto the king, as most excellent, or unto the rulers, as sent of God for the punishing of the wicked, and to the praise of the good: for so is the will of God?"

Forty-second reason.

Whereupon pope Leo, leaning to this rule, submitted himself to Louis, the emperor, as it is written in Causa ii. quæst. 7, cap. 41, in these words, "If we have done any thing incompetently, and have not observed the path of justice and law amongst our subjects, we will amend the same, by your own judgment, and by that of those whom you shall commission. For if we, who ought to correct other men's faults, do commit worse ourselves, certainly we shall not

Pope Leo submit-teth himself unto the emperor Louis.

{1} Foxe here takes up Huss's 42nd reason. "Hist. et Mon." tom. i. fol. 124.—Ed.

*Richard II.*

A.D.  
1381.

then be the disciples of the truth, but (with sorrow we speak it) we shall be above all others the masters of error."

And, in the tenth Distinction, he writeth thus unto the emperor touching obedience: "As concerning your imperial precepts and commandments, and those of the pontiffs (where the Gloss saith, 'i. e. emperors, who are anointed after the manner of the pontiffs') your predecessors, to be kept and observed unbroken, we do profess ourselves ready by all means possible, as far as we are now or shall be able, by the help of Christ, to observe them both now and ever. And if, peradventure, any man do, or hereafter shall, inform you otherwise, know you for certain that he is a liar."

Tyranny  
and pride  
of the  
clergy.

Mark how that devout pope, calling the emperors 'pontiffs,' submitted himself, according to the rule of Peter the apostle, under the obedience and also punishment of the emperor. Why, then, should not the clergy of the kingdom of Bohemia so submit themselves to their king, for God's sake, both in obedience, and also, if they do offend, in punishment; nor only to the king, but also to the rulers; nor only to the rulers, but also to every human creature? For by how much they should so humble themselves in this world for God's sake, so much the more should they be exalted with him. But what is the hindrance thereof, but only pride, whereby Antichrist doth exalt himself above the most meek Lord Jesus Christ?

Forty-  
third  
reason.  
Prophecy  
of Hilde-  
gard.

See  
Appendix.

Also, the aforesaid opinion concerning the right of taking away the temporalities, seemeth to appear by the prophecy of Hildegard, the virgin, which she writeth in her books approved under pope Eugene III. in the council of Treves, many bishops of France, Italy, and Almain being there present, where also the blessed Bernard was present. The virgin prophesying, spake in this manner: "The kings and other rulers of the world, being stirred up by the judgment of God, shall vehemently oppose themselves, and rushing upon them shall say, 'We will not have these men to reign over us with their estates and lands and other secular possessions, over the which we are ordained lords. And how is it comely that those shavelings, with their stoles and chisils,<sup>1</sup> should have more soldiers, or more or richer armour, than we? So is it not convenient that a cleric should be a soldier, or that a soldier should be a cleric. Wherefore, let us withdraw from them that, which they do, not rightly, but wrongfully possess.'"

Just di-  
vision in-  
tended by  
God be-  
tween the  
spiritual  
and the  
secular  
people.

And, afterward, she saith thus: "The Omnipotent Father rightly divided all things; that is to say, the heavens he gave unto the heavenly creatures, and the earth unto the earthly. And in like wise let there be a just division made among the children of men, so that the spirituality should have such things as pertain to them, and the secular people such things as are meet for them, so that neither of these two sorts should oppress the other by violence. For God did not command, that the one son should have both the cloak and the coat, and the other should go naked; but he would that the one should have the cloak, and the other the coat. Wherefore the secular sort ought to have the cloak, for the greatness of their secular cares, and for their children, which continually increase and multiply: but the coat he giveth unto the spirituality, that they should not lack clothing, and that they should not possess more than is necessary. Wherefore we judge and think it good, that all things be divided on the aforesaid principle; and that where the cloak and the coat are found together, the cloak should be taken away, and given unto the needy, that they do not perish for want." These things spake the above-mentioned virgin Hildegard, plainly foreshowing the taking away of the temporalities from the clergy by the secular lords; and showing for what cause they should be so taken away, and what sort of division should be made of those things that are taken away, that they be not spent unprofitably.

Forsomuch as mention is here made of Hildegard, it shall not seem impertinent, moved by the occasion hereof, to give forth unto the reader such things as we have found in certain old volumes, touching

(1) "Cum stolis et castulis."—Ed.

her prophecy of the coming of certain false prophets, only meaning, as it seemeth, the begging-friars, who sprang up shortly after her time. The tenor whereof is this, word for word, as we find it written.

*Richard II.*

A. D.  
1384.

### Hildegard's Prophecy respecting Friars and Monks.

In those days there shall rise up a people without understanding, proud, covetous, untrusty, and deceitful, that shall eat the sins of the people, holding a certain order of foolish devotion, under the feigned cloak of beggary; preferring themselves above all others, by their feigned devotion, arrogant understanding, and pretended holiness; walking without shamefacedness, or the fear of God; inventing many new mischiefs, being strong and stout: but this order shall be accursed of all wise men and faithful Christians; they shall cease from labour, and give themselves over unto idleness; choosing rather to live through flattery, and by begging. Moreover, they shall together study, how they may perversely resist the teachers of the truth, and slay them together with the noble men; how to seduce and deceive the nobility, for the necessity of their living and the pleasures of this world. For the devil will graft in them four principal vices; that is to say, flattery, envy, hypocrisy, and slander: flattery, that they may have large gifts given them: envy, when they see gifts given unto others, and not unto them: hypocrisy, that by false dissimulation, they may please men: detraction, that they may extol and commend themselves, and backbite others, for the praise of men, and the seducing of the simple.

Four principal vices in the friars.

Also, they shall instantly preach without devotion or example of the martyrs, and shall traduce the secular princes, taking away the sacraments of the church from the true pastors, receiving alms of the poor, diseased, and miserable, and also associating themselves with the common people, having familiarity with women, instructing them how they shall deceive their husbands and friends by their flattery and deceitful words, and rob their husbands to give it unto them: for they will take all these stolen and evil-gotten goods, and say, "Give it unto us, and we will pray for you;" so that they, being curious to hide other men's faults, do utterly forget their own: and alas, they will receive all things of rovers, pickers, spoilers, thieves, and robbers; of sacrilegious persons, usurers, and adulterers; of heretics, schismatics, and apostates; of noblemen, perjurers, merchants, false judges, soldiers, tyrants, princes; of such as live contrary to the law, and of many perverse and wicked men: following the persuasion of the devil, the sweetness of sin, a delicate and transitory life, and fulness even unto eternal damnation.

All these things shall manifestly appear in them unto all people, and they, day by day, shall wax more wicked and hard-hearted; and when their wickedness and deceits shall be found out, then shall their gifts cease, and then shall they go about their houses hungry, and as mad dogs looking down upon the earth, and drawing in their necks as doves, that they might be satisfied with bread. Then shall the people cry out upon them, "Woe be unto you, ye miserable children of sorrow. The world hath seduced you, the devil hath bridled your mouths; your flesh is frail, and your hearts without savour; your minds have been unsteadfast, and your eyes delighted in much vanity and folly; your dainty bellies desire delicate meats; your feet are swift to run unto mischief." Remember when you were apparently blessed yet envious, poor but rich, simple, mighty devout flatterers, unfaithful betrayers, perverse detractors, holy hypocrites, subverters of the truth, overmuch upright, proud, unshamefaced, unsteadfast teachers, delicate martyrs, confessors for gain, meek slanderers, religious, covetous, humble, proud, pitiful, hard-hearted, liars, pleasant flatterers, peace-breakers, persecutors, oppressors of the poor, bringing in new sects newly invented of yourselves, merciless, wicked, lovers of the world, sellers of pardons, spoilers of benefices, unprofitable orators, seditious conspirators, drunkards, desirers of honour, maintainers of mischief, robbers of the world, insatiable, preachers, men-pleasers, seducers of women, and sowers of discord. For Moses, the glorious prophet, spake very well of you in his song: "A people without counsel or understanding; would to God they did know, understand, and foresee the end."

You have builded up on high, and when you could ascend no higher, then

*Richard*  
*II.*  

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*A.D.*  
*1384.*

did you fall, even as Simon Magus whom God overthrew, and did strike with a cruel plague; so you, likewise, through your false doctrine, naughtiness, lies, detractions, and wickedness, are come to ruin. And the people shall say unto you, "Go! ye teachers of wickedness, subverters of the truth, brethren of the Shunamite, fathers of heresies, false apostles, who have feigned yourselves to follow the life of the apostles, and yet have not fulfilled it in any part: sons of iniquity! we will not follow the knowledge of your ways, for pride and presumption have deceived you, and insatiable concupiscence hath subverted your erroneous hearts; and when ye would yet ascend higher than was meet or comely for you, by the just judgment of God you are fallen back into perpetual opprobrium and shame."<sup>1</sup>

This blessed Hildegard, whose prophecy this is, flourished about the year of our Lord, 1146, as it is written in Martin's Chronicle.

*See*  
*Appendix.*

Hugo,<sup>2</sup> also, in his second book of Sacraments, part ii. chaps. 3 and 7, saith, "The laity, forso much as they intermeddle with earthly matters necessary unto an earthly life, are the left part of the body of Christ. But the clergy, forso much as they do dispense those things which pertain unto a spiritual life, are, as it were, the right side of the body of Christ." And, afterward, interpreting both these parts himself, he saith, "A spiritual man ought to have nothing but God and such things as pertain unto God; unto whom it is appointed to be sustained by the tithes and oblations which are offered unto God; but unto the christian and faithful laity the possession of earthly things is granted; and unto the clergy the whole charge of spiritual matters is committed, as it was in the Old Testament." And in his seventh chapter he declareth, how that "certain things are given unto the church of Christ by the devotion of the faithful, the right and authority of the secular power being withal reserved, lest there might happen any confusion; forso much as God himself cannot allow any disorderly thing. Whereupon, sometimes worldly princes do grant the bare use of the church, and sometimes the use and power of exercising justice (which the clergy cannot exercise by any ecclesiastical minister, or any person of the clergy: notwithstanding they may have certain lay-persons ministers unto that office); but in such sort," saith he, "that they do acknowledge their having such power to come from the secular prince or ruler, and that they do understand their possessions can never be so alienated away from the king's power, but that, if necessity or reason do require, the same possessions, in all such ease of necessity, do owe him suit and service. For, like as the king's power ought not to withdraw the patronage which he oweth to the church, so, likewise, the possessions obtained by the clergy cannot by right deny the duty and homage which are due unto the patronage of the king's power." Thus much writeth Hugo.

The Third Disputation of John Huss, upon the Eighteenth Article of Wickliff, made in the third Act, the same Year, after the Feast of St. Vitus, touching 'Tithes, &c.<sup>3</sup>

"Tithes are pure Alms."

Alms  
mercy.

Two  
kinds of  
misery.

Upon this article it is to be noted, First, that forso much as alms is a work of mercy, as St. Augustine, St. Chrysostome, and others unanimously affirm; and forso much as mercy, according to Lincolnensis' mind, for the present, is a love or desire to help the miserable out of his misery; and forso much as the misery of mankind is twofold, viz. spiritual and bodily, the which is the want or privation

(1) The foregoing passage, commencing above at "Forso much as mention is here made of Hildegard," &c. (p. 86), is not in Huss, but introduced by Foxe parenthetically, and, we may add, superfluously, inasmuch as the whole passage has been already given at vol. ii. p. 354.—Ed.

(2) The ensuing paragraph is printed in all the editions of Foxe in large type, as though it were a piece of his own writing; whereas it is the conclusion of John Huss's argument, and pieces on with the passage ending "spent unprofitably," toward the bottom of p. 86. It is therefore printed in small type, revised from the original. See "Hist. et Mon. Joh. Huss," &c. Noribergæ, 1558, fol. 125.—Ed.

(3) "Hist. et Mon." tom. i. fol. 125.—Ed.



of good; and the good of man is either the good of the soul or of the body; and the good of the soul is twofold, viz. the enlightening of the mind, and rectitude of affection:—therefore the misery of the soul is also twofold; viz. the darkness of ignorance, and the swerving of the will from rectitude. But both kinds of the soul's good are wont to be comprehended under one name, that is to say, 'wisdom:' and both kinds of the soul's misery, under the name of 'folly.' Whereupon the whole good of the soul is wisdom, and the whole misery thereof is ignorance. But the miseries of the body are lack of meat, that is to say, hunger; and lack of drink, called thirst: and, briefly, all misery is the privation of some thing which is desired. Also, these are bodily miseries: nakedness, lack of harbour, sickness, and imprisonment. All the miseries therefore being numbered together, are but one of the soul, which is folly and lack of wisdom; and six of the body, which the Lord himself in Matthew xxv. doth plainly ennumerate. There are also commonly stated seven bodily alms; that is to say, to feed the hungry, to give drink unto the thirsty, to clothe the naked, to harbour the stranger, to visit the sick, to redeem the captive, and to bury the dead; the which all together are contained in this verse:

Richard  
II.A.D.  
1384.Two  
kinds of  
goodness.  
The mis-  
eries of the  
mind and  
body.See  
Appendix.

"Visito, poto, cibo, redimo, tego, colligo, condo."

The which verse is thus Englished, word for word:

Visit the sick, the hungry feed,  
Give drink to the thirsty, clothe the naked,  
Bury the dead, the captive redeem,  
The harbourless receive to thy lodging.

There be also beside seven spiritual alms, viz., to teach the ignorant; to counsel him that is in doubt; to comfort him who is in heaviness; to correct the sinner; to forgive him who offended thee; to bear with those who are burdensome and grievous; and to pray for all men: which are also contained in this verse following:

What  
alms is.

"Consule, castiga, solare, remitte, fer, ora."

The which verse is thus Englished, word for word:

Instruct the ignorant, the weak confirm,  
Comfort the heavy heart, and correct sin:  
Forgive the offender, bear with the rude,  
Pray for all men both evil and good.

So, notwithstanding, that under the same be comprehended counsel and doctrine. Thus writeth Thomas [Aquinas] in his second part, second division, question xxxii. art. 2.

Secondly, it is to be noted that in this present article our intent is only to treat of bodily alms; the which, as Thomas writeth in his second part, second division, question xxxii. art. 1, according to some is thus to be defined: "Alms is a work whereby any thing is given unto the needy, out of compassion, for God's sake." And forsomuch as this definition serveth as well for spiritual as for corporal alms, therefore, for our present purpose, 'Alms is a work, whereby anything is given unto the needy in body out of compassion, and for God's sake; or, that is given out of compassion unto the bodily needy, for God's sake.'<sup>1</sup>

Whence it is manifest that alms, as Augustine and other holy men say, is a work of mercy, as also to give alms. And this appeareth by the very name; for as in the Latin the word 'misericordia,' which signifieth 'pity,' is derived from 'misericordia,' which is 'mercy;' so in the Greek the word 'eleemosyna,' which signifieth 'alms,' is derived from the Greek word 'elemosia,' which is to say 'mercy,' and from the word 'sina,' which is to say 'commandment,' as if it were a commandment of mercy: or otherwise, better from the word

(1) "Eleemosyna est opus, quo datur aliquid indigenti in corpore, ex compassione, propter Deum; vel quod datur, vel datum est, ex compassione indigenti corporaliter propter Deum."—See the Latin edition, 1559, p. 48.—Ed.

*Richard*  
*II.*

A.D.  
1384.

Tithes.

'elinomia,' with an 'i;' which is to say 'God,' and the word 'sina,' which is 'commandment:' and then it is derived from the word 'eli,' as if it were 'the commandment of God;' as Januensis in his book entitled 'Catholicon' affirmeth.<sup>1</sup> For our Saviour doth command, in Luke xi., to give alms, saying, "Give alms, and behold all things are clean unto you." Lest then there should be any equivocation about the term, it is now supposed, that the alms given by men is corporal alms, given by a man simply under the name of 'alms.' Secondly, it is to be supposed, that tithes, in this case, are the tenth part of the goods of fortune, given by a man simply under the name of 'alms' for God's sake.

These two things being noted and supposed, it is thus argued for the article: Every gift of fortune, or temporal gift, simply given under the name of alms, is alms: But some tithes are the gift of fortune, or a temporal gift under the name of alms: Therefore, some tithes are alms. This consequence is manifest of itself. The major appeareth by the first supposition; and the minor by the second.

Item, Every gift given by a man, for the sake of relieving the miserable from his misery, is an alms. But the tenth part of the goods of fortune given by a man, simply under the name of alms, for God's sake, is given by the same man for the sake of relieving the miserable from his misery; therefore the tenth part of the goods of fortune, being given by any man simply under the name of alms for God's sake, is alms. The consequence is manifest. The major appeareth by this, that every such gift is either a spiritual or bodily alms. The minor seemeth hereby true, forasmuch as many holy men have given, and do give, a tithe for the sake of relieving the miserable from his misery. Neither is it to be doubted but that such kind of tithes are alms; for St. Augustine upon these words of the Lord in the Gospel, "Woe be unto you Pharisees, which do tithe the mint and anise," writeth thus: "If they cannot be cleansed except they believe in Him who doth cleanse the heart by faith, to what purpose is it that He saith, 'Give alms, and behold, all things are clean unto you?'" Let us give ear, and peradventure He himself doth expound. They did take out the tenth part of all their fruits, and gave it for alms; which, notwithstanding, any christian man doth not lightly do. They therefore mocked Him, when He spake these words to them, as unto men who did no alms. This the Lord knowing said, 'Woe be unto you Pharisees, which tithe the mint and rue, and all kind of herbs, and pass over judgment and the love of God.' This is not to do alms; if thou dost understand it, begin with thyself; for how canst thou be merciful unto another, who art cruel unto thyself?" This writeth St. Augustine, expressly sayi<sup>g</sup>, that "tithes are alms."

Also in his *Euchiridion*, chap. lxxvi., upon these words of St. Luke, chap. xi., "Notwithstanding, that which is more than sufficient for thee give in alms, and all things shall be clean unto you," he saith thus: "When he had rebuked them, that they washed themselves outwardly but inwardly, were full of violence and iniquity, admonishing them how a man ought first to bestow a sort of alms upon himself and thus to cleanse himself inwardly, he saith, 'That which is over, give in alms; and behold, all things are clean unto you.' Afterward, that he might the better declare what he had admonished them of and what they neglected to do, that they should not judge him ignorant of their alms he saith, 'But woe be unto you Pharisees;'<sup>2</sup> as though he should say, 'I admonished you indeed that you should give alms, whereby all things might be clean unto you; but woe be unto you who tithe the mint, rue, and all kind of herbs (for these your alms I do know, that you may not think that I now admonished you touching them), and neglect and pass over judgment and the love of God, by which alms ye might be cleansed from all your inward filthiness, and your bodies also, which you do wash, should be clean. For this word 'all things' meaneth both inward and also outward; as it is said in another place, 'Cleanse that which is within, and that which is without shall be clean also.' But, lest he should seem to refuse those alms which are given of

(1) An extract from the Latin is here subjoined. "Et hoc apparet ex ipso nomine. Nam in Græco à misericordia derivatur, sicut Latine miseratio à misericordia: sic elemosyna ab elemonia, quod est misericordia, et sina, quod est mandatum, id est, mandatum misericordiæ: vel elinomia, per 'i,' melius; et tunc dicitur ab 'eli' quod est 'Deus,' et 'sina,' quod est 'mandatum,' quasi mandatum Dei, ut dicit Januensis in suo Catholicon." pp. 48, 49; and Hist. et Mon. Joh. Huss, fol. 126. Respecting the 'Catholicon,' see Appendix.—Ed.

St. Augustine  
proveth  
tithes to  
be pure  
alms.

the fruits of the earth; he saith, 'You ought to have done these things,' that is to say, judgment and the love of God, 'and not to leave the other undone,' that is to say, the alms of the fruits of the earth." This writeth St. Augustine, expressly calling the tithes, 'alms.'

Richard  
II.  
A.D.  
1381.

Item, Chrysostome, upon the same words in Luke xi., "That which is over give in alms," saith thus; "Whereas the discourse was of the Jewish fashion of cleansing, he wholly passed that by; but forso much as tithes is a certain alms, and the time was not yet come for expressly abolishing the ceremonies of the law, for this cause he saith, 'Ye ought to do these things, and not omit the other.'" And St. Thomas allegeth the same in his gloss upon St. Luke. But St. Chrysostome himself doth touch two points: first, that tithes are alms; secondly, that tithes are in a manner an institution of the law, which had not yet ceased to be given to the priests in the time of Christ.

Chrysos-  
tome.

Item, Augustine, in a certain sermon on giving alms, saith thus: "What meaneth 'Give alms, and behold, all things are clean unto you?' Let us give ear, and peradventure he doth expound it himself. When he had spoken these words, without doubt they mused within themselves, who did give alms. But how did they give them? They tithed all that they had, and took out the tenth part of all their fruits, and gave it for alms: which no Christian readily doth. Mark what the Jews did: they tithed, not only their wheat, but also their wine and oil; and not that only, but also vile things, at the commandment of the Lord, as cummin, rue, and anise; yea, every thing; *i. e.* they took the tenth part of them, and gave it for alms. I think, therefore, forso much as they called these things to mind, and thought that our Lord Christ spake foolishly to them as though they did no alms, when they knew their own works, that they tithed the smallest and vilest of all their fruits and gave alms thereof, therefore they mocked him, because he did speak in such sort unto them, as unto men that did no alms. This the Lord knowing, by and by added, 'Notwithstanding, woe be unto you Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, who tithe your mint, cummin, and rue, and all kind of herbs; that ye may be assured that I am aware of your alms. Truly, these are your alms, these are your tithes; you tithe even the least and vilest of your fruits, but have left the weightier matters of the law undone.'" Here Augustine repeatedly expoundeth that tithes are alms. Also he writeth the like in his book of Homilies, Homily the sixth.

Item, For the proof of this article, That tithes are pure alms, it is thus argued. For this proposition, Tithes are pure alms, is infinite; taking for a truth that which is really true only of many of its particulars. It is certain that it is not damnable, but most catholic, that Something is God; which being false for all other particulars, is only true for that alone which doth surmount all kind. Ergo, by like reason, this indefinite<sup>1</sup> is true, Tithes are pure alms: for it is thus proved; Those tithes of Peter a layman being wholly given by Paul a rector unto a needy layman according to a good intent, how can they be but pure alms, yea, and more pure than any alms given by a cleric who may be a fornicator? Of course, the case I have just put, I only put as a thing possible to have occurred; our opponents perhaps will doubt whether it ever really did occur.

Item, It is thus argued; Those tithes, and all other goods of fortune, are pure alms in respect of God, forso much as every man, emperor or king, is a beggar of God, as Augustine doth oftentimes assert; and, consequently, if he do receive fruitfully any such goodness at the hand of God, the same is pure alms in respect of God; neither is there any faithful man who will deny but that it simply followeth that the same is pure alms before God: ergo, it is pure alms.

Item, It is thus argued; All tithes are by themselves, and every part of them, alms; neither is there any reason contrary to this, that they are alms: ergo, they are pure alms; for they are by no other means or reason than as alms, if they be wholly in themselves alms; forso much as it followeth, if they be by any other means or otherwise than as alms, then they are otherwise than some alms; and forso much as they themselves are some alms, it followeth that they are otherwise than they themselves are; which is false.

But now to pass beyond the bounds of logic, it is to be enquired, whether before the church was endowed, or sustenance and clothing were given to the

(1) "Hæc indefinita." See the Latin edition, p. 50.—Ed.

*Richard II.*

A.D.  
1381.

Sustenance and clothing, given to the apostles, was alms, ergo tithes.

apostles, there were any pure alms, or whether alms were given by any other means by an obligation of human duty. And, forsomuch as no reason can be conceived, but that they were pure alms, so are they ever since, for the custom of the same thing according unto like reason doth not alter the kind of the reason; for so might beggars challenge by custom, beyond the purity of alms, the temporalities which they do beg. Neither doth duty before God utterly exclude the purity of alms; for every man duly giving alms, doth as he ought to do, as every man duly receiving his alms, ought so to receive it as before God; and simply to establish any human title upon the continuance of any such alms, it is altogether contrary unto the reason of alms. Therefore, they do continually observe and keep the reason of the purity of alms, which they had from the beginning, since an obligation conditioned doth not destroy the purity thereof.

Wherefore, there seemeth to be no cause why it should be denied, that tithes are pure alms, except that the proud should be marvellously extolled, contrary to the humility of Christ. For they do challenge, by the title of their lack so and so to be pleased for their tithes: yet so might the begging friar, by the daily continuance of his begging, challenge according to such and such quantity or circumstance. But it is no argument, that if the curate do perform his corporal ministry, that he ought, therefore, to challenge tithes by any civil title; because that as well on the part of him who giveth the tithe, as also on the part of the rector or curate, such ministry ought to be given freely, and not by any civil exchange; forsomuch as there is no exaction; nay, rather, the equivalence between the things so exchanged is repugnant to the notion of exaction, since no man freely giveth any sort of alms without expecting, by the law of heaven, a duty of recompense.

Item, All temporal goods bestowed upon the clergy by the lay-people on the ground of their being the goods of the church, are the alms of them who give them. It is proved thus, forsomuch as all those goods are the goods of the poor; as appeareth by many sayings of holy men and by the laws. But they were not the goods of the poor, after they were mere secular goods, but only by means of the work of mercy, whereby they were bestowed upon the poor: ergo, they were pure alms. The consequent dependeth upon the definition of pure alms.

Item, All things transferred to the use and power of another are transferred either by civil exchange or evangelical; but the church goods are so transferred: therefore it is by one of these ministries. But the civil exchange is not to be supposed, because it is not done either by buying or selling, or any other civil exchange. Therefore there doth only remain pure gift, in hope of a heavenly reward, which is merely, and so purely alms. And it seemeth to follow, in a way of corollary, that all the clergy receiving such alms are beggars, not only in respect of God, as all other men are, but in respect of men; for they would not so instantly require those alms except they had need of them: neither ought we to be ashamed thereof, or to be proud beggars, forsomuch as Christ, touching his humanity, became a beggar for us, because he declared his need unto God his Father, saying, &c.

The clergy beggars.

Item, When any king, prince, knight, citizen, or any other man, doth give unto the clergy or to the priests for their stipend, he giveth it unto the church of God, and to the private party, as a perpetual alms, that he should pray for the king, for the founder, and for his progenitors. But this kind of giving doth not suffice for the clergy to ground thereupon any secular dominion amongst the clergy: it followeth that the bare use remaineth to them, or the secular use without any secular dominion. The major appeareth hereby, forsomuch as, otherwise, alms should not be a work of mercy. Whereby it may also appear, that tithes are pure alms given to the church for the use of the poor.

And hence holy men do say, that tenths are the tributes of needy souls. Whence St. Augustine, in a sermon made upon the paying of tithes, saith, "The giving of tithes, most dear brethren, is the tribute of poor souls; therefore pay your tribute unto the poor." And afterward he saith, "Therefore whoso desireth either to get any reward, or to have any remission of sins, by giving tithes, let him study to give alms even of the ninth part: so that whatsoever shall remain more than a competent living and decent clothing, be not

Tithes are to be given of the ninth part of goods.

reserved for riot, but be laid up in the heavenly treasury, by giving it in alms to the poor. For whatsoever God doth give to us more than we have need of, he doth not give it us specially for ourselves; but doth transmit it by us to be bestowed upon others: if we do not give it, we invade another man's possessions." Thus much writeth St. Augustine, and it is cited in Causa xvi. question 1. cap. 66. "Decimæ."

Also St. Jerome in an epistle, cited in Causa xvi. question 1. chap. 68, "Quoniam quicquid," "Whatsoever the clergy have, it is the goods of the poor."

Also St. Augustine in his thirty-third epistle to Boniface, and it is alleged in Causa xii. question 11, and also in Causa xxiii. question 7, "If we do possess any things privately which do suffice us, they are not ours, but the goods of the poor, whose stewards we are, except we do challenge to ourselves the property by a damnable usurpation." The Gloss upon that part of the twenty-third Causa, question 7, saith, "The prelates are only the stewards of the church-goods, and not lords thereof."

St. Ambrose, also, upon this saying of the gospel (Luke xvi.), "Give account of your stewardship," saith, "Hereby then do we learn, that they are not lords, but rather stewards, of other men's substance."

And St. Jerome, writing to Nepotianus, saith, "How can they be clergymen? who are commanded to condemn their own property. To take away from a friend is theft; to defraud the church is sacrilege, and sequestering of that which should be given unto the poor."

And St. Bernard, in his sermon upon these words, "Simon Peter said unto Jesus" (John xix.), saith, "Truly, the goods of the church are the patrimony of the poor: and whatsoever thing the ministers and stewards of the same, not the lords or possessors thereof, do take unto themselves more than sufficient for food and raiment, the same is taken away from the poor by a sacrilegious cruelty."

And Eusebius, in his "De Transitu Hieronymi," writeth thus: "If thou dost possess a garment, or any other thing more than extreme necessity doth require, and dost not help the poor and needy, thou art a thief and a robber. Wherefore, dearly beloved children, let us be stewards of our temporalities, and not possessors."

And Isidore, in his treatise "De summo bono," chap. xlii., saith, "Let the bishop acknowledge that he is the servant of the people, and not their lord."

Also in the third book of the Decretals, "Extra de donationibus," under the name of Alexander III., bishop of Paris, it saith, "We believe that it is not unknown unto your brotherhood, that a bishop, and every other prelate, is but a steward of the church-goods, and not lord thereof."

By these sayings of these holy men it is showed, that not only tithes, but also all other substance which the clergy have by gift or work of mercy, are pure alms, which, after the necessity of the clergy is once satisfied, ought to be transported unto the poor.

Secondly, it is showed, how the clergy are not lords and possessors of those goods, but ministers or stewards thereof.

Thirdly, it is showed, that if the clergy do abuse the same, they are thieves, robbers, and sacrilegious persons, and except they do repent, by the just judgment of God they are to be condemned.

Richard  
II.

A.D.  
1381.

The clergy  
are  
stewards  
of the  
church-  
goods,  
and not  
lords  
thereof.

And thus, hitherto, I may peradventure seem to have made sufficiently long recital out of John Huss, but so notwithstanding, that the commodity of those things may abundantly recompense the prolixity thereof. Wherefore, if I shall seem unto any man, in the rehearsal of this disputation, to have passed very far the bounds of the history, let him think thus of me, that at what time I took in hand to write of these ecclesiastical matters, I could not omit these things which were so straitly joined with the cause of the church; neither that I

*Richard  
II.*

*A.D.  
1384.*

did make more account of the history which I had taken in hand, than of the common utility, whereunto I had chief respect.

There were besides these, certain other articles whereupon the said John Huss very wisely and learnedly disputed; but these shall suffice us for this present. And for the residue, we will pass them over, to the intent we may the more speedily return to where our story left, declaring what cruelty they used not only against the books and articles of John Wickliff, but also in burning his body and bones, commanding them to be taken up forty-one<sup>1</sup> years after he was buried; as appeareth by the decree of the said synod, the form whereof we thought hereunto to annex, as followeth.

*See  
Appendix.*

DECREE OF THE SYNOD OF CONSTANCE, A.D. 1415, TOUCHING THE TAKING UP OF THE BODY AND BONES OF JOHN WICKLIFF TO BE BURNED, [EXECUTED] FORTY-ONE<sup>1</sup> YEARS AFTER HE WAS BURIED IN HIS OWN PARISH AT LUTTERWORTH.

Forasmuch as by the authority of the sentence and decree of the council of Rome, and by the commandment of the church and the apostolic see, after due delays being given, proceedings were taken for the condemnation of the said John Wickliff and his memory; proclamations and summonses having been issued to call forth whosoever would defend the said Wickliff or his memory, if any such there were (but there did none appear, who would either defend him or his memory); and, moreover, witnesses having been examined by commissioners appointed by John the present pope and this council, upon the final impenitency and obstinacy of the said John Wickliff; and the rules having been observed which ought to be observed, as in such business the order of the law requireth; and his impenitency and final obstinacy having been lawfully proved by evident signs and tokens made good by lawful witnesses:—

Therefore, at the instance of the steward of the treasury this day having been appointed by proclamation for hearing the sentence, this holy synod declareth, determineth, and giveth sentence, that the same John Wickliff was a notorious heretic, and that he died obstinate in his heresy; cursing alike him and condemning his memory.

This synod also decreeth and ordaineth that his body and bones, if they might be discerned from the bodies of other faithful people, should be taken out of the ground, and thrown away far from the burial of any church, according as the canons and laws enjoin.

These things were done at Constance, Saturday the fourth day of May, in the eighth public session, A.D. 1415.<sup>2</sup>

Which determination and sentence definitive being read and pronounced, and it being demanded and asked of the lord president, and the aforesaid presidents of the four nations, whether it did please them or no, they all answered, and first the bishop of Ostia, the president, and after him the presidents of the nations, that it pleased them very well: and so they allowed and confirmed all the premises. \*This<sup>3</sup> wicked and malicious sentence of the bishop, would require here a diligent apology, but that it is so foolish and vain, and no less barbarous, that it seemeth more worthy of derision and disdain, than by any argument to be confuted. For what will it prevail to talk with reasons and arguments, against him

(1) The following decree was passed 30 years and 4 months after Wickliff's death, but it was not executed till the 40th or 44th year after his death: see the Appendix. Foxe's translation has been revised from Labbe's Conc. tom. xii. See *supra*, p. 60, note.—ED.

(2) Ex actis concilii Constan.

(3) See the edition of 1563, p. 105, and the Latin edition of 1559, p. 23.—ED.

who followeth neither reason nor argument? except, peradventure, thou wouldst seem to play Parmenio's part in the comedy, that is, to join perfect reason and mad folly together. First, under many glorious and bragging words, they pretend here a great colour of the catholic faith, and yet bring no reason at all to declare the catholic faith. If the catholic faith consist in men's seats, and not in the men; in words and not in deeds, then would I grant that the see of Rome might seem catholic. Next, they pretend here, the authority of the holy synod; and that, in the name of our Lord, when they bring forth no Scripture of our Lord. "Lawfully" say they "congregated together:" I hear it very well! and to the intent that this authority may be of greater force and effect, the consent also of the synod of Rome is annexed and joined unto this council; for these be their words: "As it was decreed," say they, "in the synod of Rome," &c. Which synod of Rome, how lawfully it was gathered together, the owl did sufficiently declare, which oftentimes (as Clemangis<sup>1</sup> doth witness) flying into the council of Rome whereas pope John did sit, she could sooner put him out from his catholic seat (and so did), than she could be driven away from him by any kind of weapon. Whereof, Christ so willing, more shall be declared, when we come to the place to speak of the council of Constance severally. In this synod, being thus gathered together, the works and forty-five articles of Wickliff were condemned, and he himself, forty-one years after his death, was taken out of his grave and burned. And what was the cause? For that only he, with most firm and strong reasons, enterprised and went about to control and rebuke their life, errors, filthiness, and pride, which was now grown unto that point, that it was not any longer to be suffered. But how much rather ought they in this behalf to have rendered thanks unto Wickliff, for his most godly and wholesome admonition, unto whose good counsel, if they had any thing framed themselves, much more truly had that seat seemed catholic. Now, if it shall be sufficient to condemn men or their books, whatsoever the pope's treasurer, or the four presidents of the four nations shall say, or pleasure is, and so we, standing upon the same, will defend the liberty of sin, that we will neither amend ourselves, nor yet will suffer ourselves to be controlled or corrected by others, to what end then faith, godliness, conscience, learning, or the knowledge of holy Scripture doth serve, I do not greatly perceive. Wherefore, seeing the decree of this council hath nothing in it that can be revinced with argument, beside only bare names and authority of cardinals, archbishops, abbots, masters of divinity, and doctors of the law, we have, on the contrary part, against the witness of these seditious persons, alleged the testimonies of certain good men; first of all the testimonial of the whole university of Oxford, and afterwards the testimony of John Huss, which, if it hath been read, with equal and indifferent ears of the readers, I doubt not, but that it hath made as much for the defence of Wickliff, as these men's witnesses shall do to the contrary.\*

What Heraclitus would not laugh, or what Democritus would not weep, to see these so sage and reverend Catos occupying their heads to take up a poor man's body, so long dead and buried before, by the space of forty-one years<sup>2</sup>; and yet, peradventure, they were not able to

*Richards  
II.*

A. D.  
1381.

The  
council  
of Rome  
began by  
the good  
sign or  
token of  
an owl.

(1) See the passage of Clemangis translated at length, at p. 415 of this volume.—ED.

(2) See the note (1) in page 91.—ED.

*Richard*  
*II.*

*A. D.*  
*1384.*

find his right bones, but took up some other body, and so of a catholic made a heretic ! Albeit, herein Wickliff had some cause to give them thanks, that they would at least spare him so long till he was dead, and also give him so long respite after his death, forty-one years to rest in his sepulchre before they ungraved him, and turned him from earth to ashes ; which ashes they also took and threw into the river. And so was he resolved into three elements, earth, fire, and water, thinking thereby utterly to extinguish and abolish both the name and doctrine of Wickliff for ever.<sup>1</sup> Not much unlike the example of the old Pharisees and sepulchre-knights, who, when they had brought the Lord unto the grave, thought to make him sure never to rise again. But these and all others must know, that as there is no counsel against the Lord, so there is no keeping down of verity, but it will spring up and come out of dust and ashes, as appeared right well in this man ; for though they digged up his body, burnt his bones, and drowned his ashes, yet the word of God and the truth of his doctrine, with the fruit and success thereof, they could not burn ; which yet to this day, for the most part of his articles, doth remain, notwithstanding the transitory body and bones of the man were thus consumed and dispersed, as by this picture here set forth to thine eyes (gentle reader) may appear.

Martyrs  
and  
exiles.

These things thus finished and accomplished, which pertain to the story and time of Wickliff, let us now, by the supportation of the Lord, proceed to treat and write of the rest, who either in his time or after his time, springing out of the same university, and raised up, as ye would say, out of his ashes, were partakers of the same persecution : of whom speaketh Thomas Walden in his book, “*De Sacramentis et Sacramentalibus*,” cap. liiii. where he saith, that after Wickliff many suffered most cruel death, and many more did forsake the realm ; in the number of whom were William Swinderby, Walter Brute, John Purvey, Richard White, William Thorpe, and Reynold Peacock, bishop of St. Asaph, and afterwards of Chichester.

*See*  
*Appendix.*

To this catalogue also pertaineth (mentioned in ancient writers) Lawrence Bedman, master of arts ; David Sautre, a divine ; John Ashwarby, vicar, as they call him, of St. Mary's church at Oxford ; William James, an excellent young man, well learned ; Thomas Brightwell, and William Hawlam, a civilian ; Rafe Greenhurst, John Scut, and Philip Norise ; who, being excommunicated by pope Eugene IV., A. D. 1446, appealed unto a general or œcumenical council. \*Many<sup>2</sup> more did forsake the realm, but what they were, or what kind of punishment they suffered, Walden left no mention. But we will not suffer their names to be blotted out with silence, which we might by any means pick out ; but sure we are greatly sorry that there came nothing else into our hands but only their bare names. Would to God that the constant diligence of our prede-

(1) Upon this subject a modern Romish writer observes, “ A spirit of candour, would have led you to the discovery of something like toleration, in the conduct of your illustrious founder Wickeham, and his brethren ; who, whilst they condemned Wickliff's errors, left his person unpunished and unmolested during the whole of his life ; and an impartial view of the dreadful effects of his doctrine, in this and other countries, would have made you see, in the ordinance of the council against his memory and remains, not an act of vengeance, but a wise and salutary instruction to mankind.”—See *Letters to a Prebendary*, p. 74 ; by the Rt. Rev. J. Milner, D. D. The reader may judge by these remarks, how far the church of Rome that now is, differs from the church of Rome in 1415.—Ed.

(2) See edition 1563, p. 137.—Ed.



cessors had preserved in memory for us the whole order of their life, the form of their process and judgment, and what was to be observed in their adversaries, or to be commended in them. Albeit, that matter were not greatly for our purpose, forasmuch as all those things could not be contained in a few volumes; and that also, by those few, it were easy to be judged what a man may think as touching the cruelty of the papists against all men.\*

*Richard II.*

*A. D. 1381.*

Peter Paine also, who flying from Oxford unto Bohemia, did stoutly contend against the sophisters, as touching both kinds of the sacrament of the last supper; who, afterwards, among the rest of the orators, was one of the fourteen that were sent unto the council of Basil; where, by the space of three days, he disputed upon the fourth article, which was touching the civil dominion of the clergy, A. D. 1438. Also the lord Cobham; with divers others besides, whose names are mentioned in the king's writ sent to the sheriff of Northampton, the tenor of which writ of the king here followeth:

*See Appendix.*

The king to the sheriffs of Northampton, health. Forasmuch as John Attyate of Chepingwarden, John Warryner, R. Brewood, &c. being receivers and favourers of heretics, and especially of one John Woodward, priest, publicly defamed and condemned of heresy, will not be justified by the censures of the church, as the reverend father John, bishop of Lincoln, hath certified us: We, therefore, willing to withstand all defenders and favourers of such heresies, do will and command as well the beforenamed, as namely, the aforesaid John Woodward to be apprehended, straitly charging the same to be imprisoned by their bodies, or otherwise punished as shall seem good to the justices, until they and every of them shall submit themselves to the obedience of the aforesaid bishop in that behalf accordingly. Whereof fail you not, under pain of a hundred pounds. Witness ourselves: Given at our manor of Langley, the eighth day of March, the twelfth year of our reign. [A. D. 1389.]

To these above rehearsed, and other favourers of Wickliff, within this our country of England, we may add also the Bohemians; forasmuch as the propagation of the said doctrine of Wickliff in that country also took root, coming from England to Bohemia by this occasion, as in story here followeth.

There chanced at that time a certain student of the country of Bohemia to be at Oxford, one of a wealthy house, and also of a noble stock; who returning home from the university of Oxford to the university of Prague, carried with him certain books of Wickliff, 'De Realibus Universalibus,' 'De Civili Jure, et Divino,' 'De Ecclesia,' 'De Quæstionibus Variis contra Clerum,' &c. It chanced that at the same time a certain nobleman in the city of Prague had founded and built a great church of Matthias and Matthew, which church was called Bethlehem, giving to it great lands, and finding in it two preachers every day, to preach both on holy days and working days to the people. Of the which two preachers John Huss was one; a man of great knowledge, of a pregnant wit, and excellently favoured for his worthy life amongst them. This John Huss having familiarity with this young man in reading and perusing these books of Wickliff, took such pleasure and fruit in reading thereof, that not only he began to defend this author openly in the schools, but also in his sermons, commending him for a good man, a holy man, and a heavenly man, wishing himself, when he should die, to be there placed, where the

*How the doctrine of Wickliff came to Bohemia.*

*The great affection of John Huss to John Wickliff*

*Wicklevus vir bonus, sanctus, celo dignus*

*Richard*  
*II.*

A.D.  
1384.

soul of Wickliff should be. And thus for the spreading of Wickliff's doctrine enough.

And thus much briefly concerning the favourers and adherents of John Wickliff in general. \*Amongst,<sup>1</sup> the which his favourers I have only, as yet, rehearsed such, unto whom the profession of the gospel was perilous and an heavy burden; whom, notwithstanding, I thought not worthy to be defrauded of their praise: but now, we will convert our style unto those who, continuing unto the end, have followed the Lamb whithersoever he went, even unto the loss of their lives.

And here I am minded first of all, if the brevity of the matter would suffer it, somewhat to expostulate with the cruelty of the world; forsomuch as all mankind, having put apart all use of humanity, have so far degenerated even unto the iron age, or rather unto a brutal cruelty, that never, as I think, since the beginning of the world was Plautus' proverb more verified, "one man is a wolf unto another;" but amongst all the wolves, they are most cruel which are clothed in lambs' skins, which also do most profess peace.

In times past among the Israelites, and in the time of Christ and his apostles, the worshipping and religion of God began to be altered unto pharisaical superstition; but now, the same pharisaical superstition, I know not by what means, amongst Christians, is grown into extreme tyranny. Albeit that a small portion of this incommodity or evil doth fall upon those, who, for the love of Christ, do suffer violence. For whereas all others are dead, they only do verily live again who die in Christ. This therefore is a most rare dignity which happeneth but unto a few, insomuch that if we do diligently weigh the matter, this only happiness hath our miserable life, if that it may happen to any man to suffer for Christ's sake. Again I do repeat the same: nothing truly is to be esteemed in this world, but only the name of Christ, and to suffer for his name.

Wherefore St. Paul doth not unworthily command, that we should not only have steadfast hope through him, but also suffer affliction for his sake. For howsoever the judgments of men do esteem it, there is no truer life than that which is laid up in Christ as a gage, none more absolute renown than to be slain for the Son of God. But this glory doth not yet appear unto our human senses, which are overwhelmed with the filth of this world. But at the length it shall appear, and peradventure sooner than shall be expedient for some, except with speedy repentance they do wax wise and amend: the which that it may the better be brought to pass, suffer me a little by your license, gentle reader, to talk with these cruel blood-suckers; whereby they being admonished may repent; or least, if they will not, they may behold, to their great shame and rebuke, whether they will or no, their wicked cruelty and great slaughters, laid before them, as it were upon a stage. Surely it was a worthy saying of a jester, who was but a profane man, "that it is as unseemly for a prince to abound in tyranny, as for a physician to have many corpses." What shall we then say unto these reverend prelates of the church: if they be princes, why do they bring in so great torments into the poor cottages of Christ; if they be physicians, how happeneth so great

(1) The contents of the next few pages are from the edition 1563, pp. 130—136. See also the Latin edition, pp. 53, 58.—Ed.

death amongst the sheep? But before I will take this quarrel in hand, I do once again admonish thee, gentle reader, of that which I must oftentimes repeat in this argument. First of all, that you do not interpret any thing which shall be here spoken, in such a manner as though I would maintain any improved doctrine: for, as I do not favour heretics which are heretics indeed, even so much less do I not favour false bishops. And again, as I do give license unto neither of these, neither to the one, to use his tyranny, nor to the other, to proceed in his errors, so likewise do I not go about here, to take away the power of the civil sword, because it is not borne by the magistrate in vain. For they have their laws, their judges, and their punishments, necessary in a commonwealth, without which there should be no society, neither any discipline amongst men. But this my complaint doth only touch them, who professing a perfectness of spiritual life above all the rest of the common sort of the people, and who ought to be the masters of all pity and godliness, yet shall you scarcely find any men more venomous in hatred, anger, malice, revenging, and all kind of tyranny. Who was the first that brought in amongst Christians these recantations, faggots, and fire, and these lamentable funerals by burning of the live bodies of men, under the name of heretics? who, but only this flock of religious men and the clergy, whose part it had been rather to help those that had erred, and not to kill them, according to the example of their High Master, who came not to destroy, but to save all men. For it is never so certain amongst men's opinions, but that oftentimes some error will intermeddle itself: the first purity of the church always excepted. Neither doth every error, by and by, make a man a heretic, except it have joined therewith an obstinate and froward will; neither do I know whether, in this point also, the extremities are to be attempted or no; but the quality of the heresy is to be marked, and the rule of the gospel is to be considered, what it doth require, and what is convenient for every man's profession: the profession of a secular judge is one, the condition of an evangelical minister is another. As St. Augustine writeth in the psalm, "*Aliud est sella terrena, aliud tribunal cœleste,*" &c.

But our pseudo-evangelical papists, neither marking the quality of the one, nor the condition of the other, nor their own profession, neither looking upon one thing nor upon another, without all respect or difference, like furious Donatists, or homicides rather, under the cloak of religion, of every little word spoken against their pomp and ambitious pre-eminence, make a matter of heresy, whereby to murder and make havoc of Christ's people. What did the heart of Bonner, and of such of his affinity, differ from the heart of the strongest pirate, or homicide, murdering by the highway? yea insomuch that the very pirates themselves (if it be true that is reported of Bonner's receiving into prison), be ashamed of his comparison, and to be counted of his society. And yet, neither pity can stay him from cruel bloodshed, nor shame can drive him to repent such horrible tyranny. Wherein the case of these sicaires and thieves yet may seem better, than of these catholics. For they, at the execution of God's judgment, as they cannot dissemble their trespass, so are they sooner touched with repentance. The others, either with ignorance drowned,

*Richard*  
*II.*  

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*A. D.*  
*1384.*

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*Richard*  
*II.*

A. D.  
1381.

or choked with malice, as they have spoiled the life of many more than ever did any thief; so much more be they further of repenting their iniquity, but think that, good service done to God, which they have done to the devil, who is a murderer from the beginning: and think themselves good pastors, when they devoured the poor flock, and played the wolves. So dangerous a thing it is, to have an ignorant zeal, where true knowledge is wanting. Of these did Christ premonish us before, declaring the blind ignorance of such, who, of their preposterous zeal, should turn iniquity and cruelty to God's service; and under the title of the church, should impugn the church, and of sincere verity, should make heresy.

But such as these never reigned more, or raged further, than in these latter days of the church, as the monuments of this history will declare: as who, having no regard of man's life, make every matter spoken against their private commodity to be 'heresy! heresy!' In times past it was not accounted as a heresy, except it did contain blasphemy, and did bring in some great peril to the faith, or where the majesty of Christ was hurt: such as were the Donatists, Manichees, Apollinarists, and Arians.

And notwithstanding the moderation of the bishops was such in those days, that they would not implore the emperor's aid in this case, except the wickedness of those heretics, who filled all places full of slaughter and schism, did even of necessity force them thereunto. As it doth evidently appear by St. Augustine and divers others, who thought the requiring of the profane power not so necessary in such business; insomuch that he became an advocate unto Dulcitius the tribune, that he should put none of them to death. The like thing, as I suppose, did he unto Macedonius the president, considering with himself that they ought to use no other kind of weapon, in this kind of contention, than only the word of God, prayer, and doctrine; or if the evil were past remedy, then they used to exclude them out of the church. And if the said Austin afterward altered his mind, being led thereunto, rather by the success ensuing than by his own judgment: that helpeth little or nothing the cruelty of our men now-a-days. For first of all, with what success the Babylonical fire-makers have exercised their tyranny upon the members of Christ, the matter itself doth sufficiently testify: then let us behold those against whom they did then so rage, what manner of Manichees and Donatists they were; of whom no man is ignorant, that although they were called heretics, yet they were indeed furious, robbers, and thieves, so that the matter now seemed no more to belong unto the office of the church, but rather to appertain to the tribunal power, albeit the church would wink thereat.

Whereby it is brought to pass, that through the perilous wickedness of the time, the bishops are driven to this point; that of force the emperor's laws are to be received for help, and then these laws did threaten none other thing, but only death unto the captains of them, as it appeareth, in the book of the laws upon the Manichees and Samaritans. The disciples were punished by the purse; and such as, neglecting the laws of the princes, did obstinately persevere in their wickedness, banishment was appointed for them: besides that at that time, there were no university-schools (as we call them) crected,

to resist those mischiefs ; whereas contrariwise now, there is almost no region which is not armed and adorned with universities, whereby there may speedy remedy be had, if we be so greatly afraid of heretics. But what is now-a-days come in men's minds, that—setting apart the universities and all kind of arguments, whereby as they might the more better, so also more easily, convince all errors, and finally forgetting all kind of meekness, the which Christ himself and his apostles do so greatly commend unto us, using no kind of reason—they do think that heretics must be intreated by no other means, than with torments, faggots, and fire ! What profit cometh of the universities, when we do think that the truth is to be defended by no other means, than with bonds, stripes, chains, and torments, &c. ? Thus we have alleged as touching heretics, as though they were the very same indeed, which they are now falsely accused to be.

*Richard*  
*II.*  
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A. D.  
1381.

But now let us see what manner of things they are, whereabout these greedy papists make so much ado, with so many tragedies and fires. Amongst so many, who, in these our days, have been burned, who is it that can show me only three, who either have wickedly taught, or openly spoken of God ; who have detracted or taken away one so small a part of the divine nature of Christ ; who have taught any blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, or, finally, who have untruly dissented in any article of the faith ? but all this filthy sink is troubled about certain circumstances of places, times, and persons, and of men's traditions.

What doth it so much make matter, if any man do truly worship Christ in heaven, although he do not worship him in the sacrament ? What great importance is it, if with Christ and Paul, we do call the bread the body of Christ, if we do not conceive with the school-men, the accident to be there without the subject ? What if we do not disclose unto the priest the number of our sins, if that we, confessing ourselves truly unto Christ, do turn unto repentance ? What if that we do forsake the trust of our works ? What if that we do condemn the pardons of bishops, and repose our whole righteousness and redemption in Christ, our only bishop ? Is our faith therefore the less agreeable and conformable unto the articles given us by the apostles ? What if that we, condemning the image of saints, do worship one only Christ in spirit and truth ; shall we be any deal the less Christians therefore, or is not Christ alone sufficient for us all ? The gospel teacheth only two sacraments, which alone, if a man do reverently embrace, setting apart all the others, which are sprung up by men's institutions, what hurt shall Christianity sustain thereby ? So likewise the Scripture of God doth not permit a concubine ; but it doth license every man to have a wife, so that he have but one---whether then do you think doth bind most strictly, the will of God, or the vow of men ? Or if that a priest, breaking his unlawful vow, had rather call her, with whom he had a long time accompanied, ' wife,' than ' concubine ;' what ! doth this deserve either punishment or prisonment ? Neither do I think that thereby the regiment of the church or the order of the clergy should come to ruin, if that one bishop of Italy setting apart his primacy, which no Scripture doth allow, were reduced unto the order of other bishops. And these are those great offences of blasphemy, for the which one Christian is so exasperated

*Richard*  
*II.*

A.D.  
1381.

against another, with so great fury and cruelty. Here again is the admonition to be renewed, which hath been so often before repeated, that we neither speak nor think any thing against the politic laws; but only against such, to whom it were convenient, for their profession, to be most meek of all men, and yet by nature they are most fierce and cruel. Their own constitutions declare the same in the fifth book of their Decretals, where it is commanded, that a heretic, convicted in any error (but how convicted? by authority rather than by the Scriptures!), should be delivered unto the secular power: neither is that yet sufficient that they do so imbrue the secular sword with blood, but that also, with their malice, they do sharpen and whet the same, which of itself is already sharp enough. The writers of the Gloss do also add this unto it, "to be burned." And these are they who will represent Christ unto us here upon earth, crying out oftentimes that all Christ's doings are for our instruction. But if that all our life be to be directed unto Christ's institutions; what thing less do his examples teach us, than such kind of cruelty, and especially in ministers, in whom he doth, with so great zeal, commend humility and meekness with mutual love, as the only knot of his gospel: wisely forbidding them, that in pulling up of the cockle, they should not be too rash, fearing lest peradventure that might come to pass, which now indeed hath happened: lest together with the cockle they pull up the good wheat also. Then what is there to be said, where, not only together with the cockle, but, instead of the cockle, the very wheat itself is plucked out of the floor of the Lord? How well that is correspondent unto Christ's doings let they themselves judge.

I surely am greatly afraid that they will deserve, no great thanks at the hands of the Lord of the harvest, when he shall come to reward every man according to his doings. But in this point I do not plee as the advocate of the heretics, if there be any who are heretics indeed. Neither do I go about here to disenss how far the power of the civil sword doth extend, or what is lawful to be done by the civil constitutions. But truly, whatsoever the necessary severity of the civil power doth, yet the priests and rulers of the church ought always to use humility and gentleness, according to the example of Him, who would not compel any man to his religion. What saith he? "He that hath ears to hear let him hear:" yet doth he not by and by threaten death unto him that will not hear; neither doth he grievously threaten those who do depart away from him, as St. Cyprian witnesseth; but turning unto his disciples he said, "Will you also depart from me?" He came not to occupy any civil authority; and as he did not possess any civil authority, so neither did he deliver any man over unto the civil power. Albeit it is not to be doubted but that it may happen sometimes, that the christian hierarchy shall need to call for the help of the magistrate (like as against the Donatists the help of the laws were very necessary), specially if the heresy do once grow unto tumult, schism, sedition, robbery, or to the ruin of the commonwealth; in such case I suppose the foreign magistrate ought to foresee that the commonwealth suffer no detriment. Otherwise, if the heresy be such that it do contain itself within some private error, without passing any further, that same doth seem to pertain only unto the bishops and universities, neither do I greatly see

what the civil power should meddle herein ; for so heresies are more easily trodden down, being convicted rather by reason, than oppressed by violence. But now, this many years, they have raged against heretics with great hatred and extreme torments : but what they have profited thereby, every man doth perceive.

*Richard  
II.*

A.D.  
1384.

How much more circumspect and worthy of a christian man were it, if that they would walk in the footsteps, and follow the examples, of our forefathers, for our fathers in Christ desired rather to excel in learning, in tongues, in godliness, in the power of the word and Spirit, rather than in any worldly authority. So did Paul, Peter, and the apostles ; so did the martyrs of the primitive age ; so did the learned doctors and writers after them, whose learning and labour were great in the church, although their authority was but little, after the manner of this world. For such is the nature of the church, that as it is a spiritual regiment, so by spiritual means it is maintained. But now-a-days you shall see many which think there is no other means for to defend the church against heretics, than the only force and majesty of the bishops : whereby it is come to pass that the ecclesiastical ministration is far alienate from that, which, in times past, was begun in the world by Christ and his apostles ; for now it is grown, as it were, to an image and form of a secular empire, and almost unto a kingly power and riches, and, in a manner, unto most extreme tyranny. But if our desire be so great to dissipate heresies, I see no speedier way or remedy, than if that the fathers of the church would diligently take heed that the church of Christ be not overwhelmed with such a number of articles ; so should it soon be brought to pass, that not only the young branches of heresy should be easily cut off, wheresoever they begin to spring, but also, that in short time, there should no more spring or rise up. For, if we should say the truth, whereupon cometh it that the world is so full of dissension, but only that all things are so intricate, with so many articles, so many censures, cautions, and school pleas, neither is there any article which hath not its heresy annexed unto it, as the shadow unto a body ; insomuch that the matter is now come unto this point, that nothing can now be spoken so circumspectly, but that it shall tend to some snare of heresy, or, at the least, suspicion. There are so many snares of constitutions and decrees, so many titles of reprehension and captions, specially where hitherto, instead of love and charity, which now is banished, I know not into what strange and far distant place, the fury Erinnys is come in place, the depraver of all things, filling all the world with her reproaches and slanders, even for a small occasion, and oftentimes for none at all. Wherefore, since all things are at this point, nothing in mine opinion is to be preferred to this, that we, being reconciled together with a mutual conjunction of our minds, do take away all occasion (as much as may be) of brotherly offence. Whereupon especially this mischief doth grow : if we do commit any heresy, whatsoever doth resist against men's decrees, it were better that there were fewer articles in the world, and then the heresies would cease of their own accord. For hereupon began the first spring of all mischief, and at this point again, must the method of remedy be sought for. What if that the pope's decrees did extend no further than Italy ? What if there were nothing

*Richard*  
*II.*  
*A. D.*  
*1384.*

received into our necessary faith, which is contained in very few words, but only the articles of the apostles' Symbol, as they were set forth by the most approved councils, what should the church, the spouse of Christ, be hindered thereby? Yet notwithstanding, for these trifles, we do see in every place old men, young men, and also women burnt, neither do they spare kindred, stock, nor age, insomuch that it is almost less danger to offend against the majesty even of the most mighty princes, than to violate the sanctions of any so mean a bishop. Whereof the storm and tempest of persecution hath been so vehement in these our days, that there is almost no part of Europe, which is not imbrued with the blood of the martyrs which hath been shed. And, albeit that their decrees do most consonantly agree unto the Scriptures (let us also grant them that), yet were it the part of divines to teach, and of tyrants to compel. Now what is this—by violence to carry unto the fire for certain doubtful articles of controversy, some not greatly sound, or peradventure disagreeing from the Scriptures! nor only heretics, but, instead of heretics, the guiltless and innocents! Oh what marvellous folly is this of men, that while these tyrants daily do exercise this tyranny in the cottages of Christ, englutting themselves with men's blood, they do triumphantly rejoice, as though they had done a high service unto God, and wrought a very good deed. Even in like sort, as in foreign wars of princes, it is counted great valiantness, whosoever can kill most of his enemies; so likewise this is the only renown and praise amongst the heads of the church, which of them hath shed most heretics' blood. As we have heard report of John Stocksley, sometime bishop of London, that he did boast himself, even when he was at the point of death, giving thanks unto God with a loud voice, that he had sent thirty-one heretics unto the infernal fire! Verily these were words more fitter for a beast than for a man.

But let these men take heed that while they go about, by their own fantasies rather than by any just judgment, to put heretics to death, that the same thing do not happen unto them which in times past happened unto the Jews, who when they would have entered upon Christ as a seditious man, they stumbled upon the Son of God.

The which for that it may not come to pass, wisdom and learning chiefly in bishops, diminution of articles, judgment, an evangelical mind, gentleness, a zeal joined with knowledge, a care to save rather than to destroy men, a mind which attributeth nothing unto affection, but submitteth itself wholly unto the rule and governance of equity and the Scriptures, shall principally perform.

But heresy is altogether to be suppressed truly, neither shall heresy find any maintenance at my hands. This only do I require in these catholics, that if they will not use the apostolic moderation, yet they would use some civil modesty, and rather choose to try their matters by some reasonable means, than with such clamours and seditious rashness. I do require some moderation which will lawfully convince those whom it is wished to oppress. I require doctrine which should rather bridle the heresies, than the heretics. Let them rage so much as they will against the name of heretics, truly I think if these days which do seem scarcely christian, had six Jeromes, and as many Augustines, although it had no other help besides, I think the church



should want no sufficient aid to profligate the great heaps of heretics. But forso much as in this extreme cruelty of the world, when as all charity is waxed so cold, I am not ignorant how small credit these things shall find at many men's hands, like as also all other men's counsels of moderations before me have been neglected: wherefore it should be most best for me to leave these kind of men to their own will, rather than to sing unto such as are deaf, and so to lose both time and labour.

*Richard  
II.*

*A.D.  
1381.*

But now let us return unto the martyrs; but before we do enter into that lamentable story, we do think it worth our labour, to show first certain prophecies of sundry men, whereby so many great persecutions of the world were prefigured. And first to begin with Joiachim the abbot, we will rehearse what was found of him in an old monument of Hoveden: Thus he saith, "Richard, the king of England, in his expedition unto Jerusalem, hearing tell of the great fame of Joiachim of Calabria, abbot of Curazzo, who, by the spirit of prophecy, did foreshow things to come. What time as he sojourned at Sicily he caused the said abbot to be sent for to him, to hear of him, amongst other things more, what he could declare as touching Antichrist: he then, expounding the mystery of the seven kings in the Revelation, whereof five were fallen, &c. said "The seven kings are seven persecutors, Herod, Nero, Constantinus, Mahomet, Melsemutus, Saladinus, and Antichrist." But as touching Antichrist, he said thus, That even at that present he should be bred in Rome, and should be exalted in the apostolic see, of whom the apostle speaketh, 'he is exalted above all things that is called God.'"

Thus<sup>2</sup> much writeth Hoveden; and this abbot was in the year of our Lord 1190. There is also the prophecy of Hildegard (of whom we have spoken before), in the 29th book of Vincentius. "In the year," saith she, "after the incarnation of Christ 1200, the doctrine of the apostles, and the fervent justice which God had appointed amongst spiritual Christians, shall begin to wax slack and doubtful; but this womanly time shall not so long continue as it hath hitherto continued." Thus much writeth she. Neither did the archbishop of Florence doubt openly to preach that Antichrist was born in his days, A.D. 1105, as it appeareth by Sabellicus.<sup>3</sup> Also before these days, A.D. 1130, Gerardus, bishop of Laodieca, in his book intituled "*De Conversatione Servorum Dei*," doth conjecture Antichrist to be even at hand by the rarity of prophesying and the gift of curing.<sup>4</sup> There is also a certain prophecy of Jerome Savonarola, uttered (if it be worthy credit) 69 years ago, wherein he doth affirm in this manner, "that Italy should be plagued with the scourge of God for the manifold sins thereof, even amongst the princes, as well ecclesiastical as secular; and when the cities of Rome and Florence are overthrown then should the church be renewed, the which should happen very shortly; and that the Turks and Mauritanians<sup>5</sup> in these our days should be converted unto the true knowledge of Christ." He foreshowed also, that "there should one pass the Alps, like unto Cyrus, who should subvert all Italy." Thus much have we found in the book of Gaspar Hedio, intituled the "*Paralipomena*."

*See  
Appendix.*

(1) See the passage of Hoveden, given more at length in the account of Richard I., *supra*, vol. ii. p. 301.—*Ed.*

(2) Several inaccuracies in this paragraph are corrected from the Latin edition.—*Ed.*

(3) See the Appendix. (4) See vol. ii. p. 849. (5) Mauritanians, *scilicet*, Moors.—*Ed.*

*Richard*  
*II.*

A.D.  
1384.

I think also it lacketh not his prophecy which happened A.D. 1501, that throughout all Germany there was seen upon men's garments crosses, crowns of thorn, the similitude of nails, and drops of blood fell from heaven: and oftentimes they fell within the houses, inso-much that many women ware the same long time upon their Rayles: if it be true that Gaspar doth report. Hereunto also is to be annexed that which we read in our countryman Froysard, as touching one John de Rochetaylada, a Franciscan friar; not that we have any certainty thereof, but that we do only show what is there written. He in the year of our Lord 1346 is said to have foreshowed, that the ecclesiastical order should suffer much through their ambition, avarice and pride; whereupon, he was by pope Clement VI. cast into prison.<sup>1</sup> Neither is it to be passed over with silence, that which is reported, that Manfridus, a Dominic friar of Vercelli, is said to have foreshowed that Antichrist should rise up in his time, as it is written by Antoninus.

And Arnoldus de Villa Nova,<sup>2</sup> Catalanus, a singular mathematician and physician, did affirm out of Daniel and Sibil, that Antichrist, after the year of our Lord 1300, should fully rage over the godly, and that there should be persecution in the church. He said moreover, that these cloister monks did falsify the doctrine of Christ. That the sacrifice of the altar was not profitable to the quick nor to the dead, neither that there was any knowledge in the pope's consolations, but only of men's works. At the last he was sent by Frederic, king of Sicily, to the bishop of Rome, where by the way upon the sea he died, and was buried at Genoa. I might also here rehearse the testimony of Peter John Aquitane,<sup>3</sup> a Franciscan friar in Gascony, who, after all the rest, prophesied that in the latter days the law of liberty should appear; who after his burial was by pope Clement IV. declared an heretic, and his dead corpse taken up and burned, if that we may credit Guido of Perpignan.<sup>4</sup> Then we may also repeat those things which so many years before were pronounced of divers, as touching the birth of Luther, and gathered out of Melanethon's commentaries upon Daniel. These things thus presupposed, and those also remembered, whom this miserable storm of persecution hath afflicted, and driven unto recantation and the uttermost terror of death, now our story shall return to them, unto whom God hath given a greater constancy of heart, and steadfastness of faith, to persevere even unto the death; albeit I cannot promise the whole catalogue of them, forsomuch as there were so many christian martyrs in all parts of the world, whereof a great number were compassed in with craft and deceit, some were poisoned, others were tormented with open torments, many were oppressed with private and unknown murder and death, others died in prison, some by famine, and some, by other means, were openly and privately destroyed; that it is scarcely possible to attain to the knowledge of a small number of them, or if that it happen that I obtain the knowledge of the names of them, yet can I not by any means find out the manner of their execution, and the causes of all them who have suffered in so many and far distant places; neither do I think that one man is able to do it; albeit this one thing is most certain in them all, and may be as perpetual: that whatsoever thing hath happened unto any one of them, by the example

(1) See vol. ii. pp. 763, 741. — Ed.

(2) Ibid. pp. 521, 619, note. — Ed.

(3) Ibid. pp. 519, 593, 607. — Ed.

(4) See Appendix.

thereof, you may easily judge what hath happened unto them all: forsomuch as the cruelty of all the bishops towards them hath been in a manner, all alike, the form of their judgments all one, the reason of their condemnation agreeing, and the order and kind of their death nothing different, neither were their causes greatly diverse, when as in a manner from the superstition of the sacrament only, and a few other ceremonies, and the ambition of the clergy, the whole principal cause and occasion of this trouble did spring and grow.\*

Now particularly and in order let us, by Christ's grace, prosecute the stories and persecutions of the parties aforementioned as the course of their times shall require, first beginning with the valiant champions William Swinderby and Walter Brute.

### The Story of William Swinderby.<sup>1</sup>

In the year of our Lord 1389, William Swinderby, priest, within the diocese of Lincoln, being accused and detected as to certain opinions, was presented before John, bishop of Lincoln, and examined upon certain articles in the church of Lincoln, after the form and order of the pope's law, according to their usual rite observed; his denouncers were these: friar Frisby, an Observant; friar Hineely, an Augustine; and Thomas Blaxton, a Dominican. The articles wherewith they charged him, although in form of words, as they put them up, they might seem something strange here to be recited; yet, to the intent that all men may see the spiteful malice of these spider-friars, in sucking all things to poison, and in forging that which is not true, as in process (Christ willing) hereafter shall better appear by his answers, I thought good to notify the same.

That men may ask their debts by charity, but in no manner for debt imprison any man; and that he so imprisoning is accursed.

That if parishioners do know their curate to be a lecher, incontinent, and an evil man, they ought to withdraw from him their tithes, or else they be fautors of his sins.

That tithes be purely alms, and that in case curates be evil men, the same may lawfully be conferred on other men.

That for an evil curate to curse his subject for withholding tithes, is nothing else, but to take with extortion wickedly and unduly from him his money.

That no prelate may curse a man, except he know beforehand that he is cursed of God.

That every priest may absolve any sinner being contrite; and is bound, notwithstanding the inhibition of the bishop, to preach the Gospel to the people.

That a priest taking any annual pension upon covenant, is, in so doing, a simoniac, and accursed.

That any priest being in deadly sin, if he give himself to consecrate the body of the Lord, committeth idolatry rather than doth consecrate.

That no priest entereth into any house, but to evil entreat the wife, the daughter, or the maid; and therefore he admonished the

*Richard II.*

A. D. 1389.

*See Appendix.*

A.D. 1389, W. Swinderby first examined.

Denouncers of W. Swinderby, three friars.

Articles untruly collected against Swinderby.

(1) Ex Registo Episc. Hereford.

*Richard* good man of the house to take heed what priest he doth let into his  
*II.* house.

*A. D.* Another conclusion falsely to him objected; That a child is not  
*1389.* truly baptized, if the priest that baptizeth, or the godfather or god-mother, be in deadly sin.

Item, That no man living against the law of God is a priest, how-ever he were ordained priest of any bishop.

Swin-  
derby  
com-  
pelled by  
the friars  
to abjure  
articles  
which he  
never  
taught.

These articles or conclusions untruly collected, were as cruelly exhibited against him by the friars in the bishop of Lincoln's court. Although he had never preached, taught, or at any time defended them, as appeareth more in the process following, yet the friars with their witnesses standing forth against him, declared him to be convicted; bringing also dry wood with them to the town to burn him, and would not leave him before they had made him promise and swear, through fear of death, never to hold them, teach them, or preach them privily or openly, under pain of relapse; and that he should go to certain churches to revoke the aforesaid conclusions, which he never affirmed: as first in the church of Lincoln; then in St. Margaret's church at Leicester; also in St. Martin's church, and in the church of St. Mary Newarks, at Leicester; and in other parish-churches also, namely, those of Melton-Mowbray, Helboughton, Hareborough, and Lentborough: which penance being to him enjoined he did obediently accomplish, with this form of revocation, which they bound him unto, under these words.

*See*  
*Appendix.*

### The Revocation of William Swinderby, whereunto he was forced by the Friars.

I, William Swinderby, priest, although unworthy, of the diocese of Lincoln, acknowledging one true catholic and apostolic faith of the holy church of Rome, do abjure all heresy and error, repugning to the determination of the holy mother church, whereof I have been hitherto infamed; namely, the conclusions and articles above prefixed, and every one of them, to me judicially objected by the commissary of the reverend father in Christ and lord, lord John, by the grace of God, bishop of Lincoln, and do revoke the same, and every one of them, some as heretical, others as erroneous and false; and do affirm and believe them to be so, and hereafter will never teach, preach, or affirm publicly or privily the same. Neither will I make any sermon within the diocese of Lincoln, but asking first and obtaining the license of the aforesaid reverend father and lord, the bishop of Lincoln. Contrary to which if I shall presume hereafter to say or do, to hold or preach, I shall be content to abide the severity of the canon, as I have judicially, by the necessity of the law, sworn, and do swear, &c.

Thus have you the conclusions and articles of this good man, falsely objected to him by the malicious and lying friars; and also the retraction, whereunto they by force compelled him; whereby it may likewise be conjectured, what credit is to be given to the articles and conclusions which these cavilling friars, wresting all things to the worst, have objected and imputed both to Wickliff, and all others of that sort, whom they so falsely do infame, so slanderously do belie, and so maliciously do persecute. After these things thus done and wrought in the diocese of Lincoln, it so befell that the said William Swinderby removed to the diocese and county of Hereford; where he was again as much or more molested by the friars, and by John

Trefnant, bishop of Hereford, as by the process and story here ensuing, *Richard II.*  
set out at large out of their own registers, may appear.

The Process of John Trefnant, Bishop of Hereford, had against the  
aforesaid William Swinderby in the cause of Heretical Pravity, as  
the Popish Heretics call it. *A. D. 1391.*  
*See Appendix.*

The glorious name of the Prince of Peace, and his counsel (whose counsellor no man is, and whose providence in his disposition is never deceived) being invocated, To all and singular believers of Christ, who shall see or hear this our process underwritten, John, by the sufferance of God bishop of Hereford, greeting, and peaceable charity in the Lord. Forasmuch as God, the creator of all things, the keeper of justice, the lover of right, and the hater of malice, beholding from the high throne of his providence the sons of men, now, through the fall of their first father, prone and declining to dishonest, and filthy, and detestable mischiefs, and to keep under their malice, which wicked transgression did first gender, hath appointed divers presidents of the world established in sandry degrees, by whom, and their circumspect providence, man's audacity should be restrained, innocency should be nourished amongst the good, and terror should be stricken into the wicked not to deceive; also that their power to hurt, and their insolency should be bridled in all places: and whereas, amongst many kinds of cares which come to our thoughts, by the duty of the office committed unto us, we are specially bound to extend our strength, chiefly that the catholic faith may prosper in our times, and heretical pravity may be rooted from out of the borders of the faithful. We, therefore, being excited through the information of many credible and faithful Christians of our diocese, to root out pestiferous plants, as sheep diseased with an incurable sickness, going about to infect the whole and sound flock, are by the care of the shepherd to be removed from the flock, that is to say, preachers, or more truly execrable offenders of the new sect, vulgarly called Lollards; who, under a certain cloked show of holiness, running abroad through divers places of our diocese, and endeavouring to cut asunder the Lord's unsewed coat, that is to say, to rend the unity of the holy church, and of the catholic faith, and also to tear in pieces with their tempestuous blasts the power of St. Peter, that is to say, to weaken the strength of the ecclesiastical states and degrees, and the determination of the same holy church, have wickedly presumed, and do presume, from day to day, to speak, to teach, to maintain, and, that which is more horrible to be uttered, to preach openly many things heretical, blasphemies, schisms, and slanderous defamings, even quite contrary to the sacred canons and decrees of the holy fathers, so that they know not to direct their paths in the ways of righteousness and truth, in that they expound to the people the holy Scripture as the letter soundeth, after a judaical sort, otherwise than the Holy Ghost will needs have it, where the words wander from their proper significations,<sup>1</sup> and appear to bring in, by guessing, new meanings; whereas the words must not be judged by the sense that they make, but by the sense whereby they be made; where the construction is not bound to the Donates' rules, where faith is far placed from the capacity of reason; but they labour, by their pernicious doctrines and teachings, public and privy, to boil out the poison of schisms between the clergy and the people. We, to encounter against such kind of preachers, nay rather deceivers, and horrible seducers amongst the people, advancing and rousing up ourselves in God's behalf, and that of holy mother church, with the spiritual sword, which may strike them wisely, and wound them medicinally,<sup>2</sup> for their health and welfare; and namely, William Swinderby, priest (so pretending himself to be), as a teacher of such kind of pernicious doctrine, and a horrible seducer among the people; to whom personally appearing before us on the Wednesday, to wit, the fourteenth of the month of June, in the parish church of Kingeton of our diocese, in the year of our Lord 1391, he being vehemently defamed to us of heresy, schism, and his perverse doctrines both manifest and privy; we, therefore, have caused many cases and articles concerning the catholic faith to be ministered unto him, that he should answer to the same at

Flourishing invocation of God's name.

Lollard, by the pope's interpretation, is a word derived from lolium.

They counterfeit in the prophet's words, as apes do, in princes apparel.

A. D. 1391.

(1) Who expoundeth the Scripture more after the letter, let the reader judge by "Huc est corpus meum."

(2) If such medicines should be ministered to you, ye would con your physician little thank.

*Richard II.*

A. D.  
1391.

a day and place for him meet and convenient, of his own choice and free will; that is to say, on the Friday, being the last of the same month of June next following, assigned to him, at the church of Bodenham of the same our diocese: which cases and articles were exhibited to us by many of Christ's faithful people,<sup>1</sup> zealous followers of the catholic faith, who made information to our office; which cases and articles also were by us administered, as is before said, to the same William Swinderby; the tenor thereof followeth, and is thus:

### Matters articulated against William Swinderby.

'Lord,' a Latin style of their own making. Denunciation of the promoters, to the bishop of Hereford.

Matters articulated against W. Swinderby.

Reverend father and high lord, lord John, by God's sufferance bishop of Hereford: it is lamentably declared unto your reverend fatherhood on the behalf of Christ's faithful people, your devout children of your diocese of Hereford, that notwithstanding the misbelief of very many Lollards, who have too long a time sprung up here in your diocese, there is newly come a certain child of wickedness, named William Swinderby; who, by his horrible persuasions and mischievous endeavours, and also by his open preachings and private teachings, doth pervert, as much as in him is, the whole ecclesiastical state, and stirreth up, with all his possible power, schism between the clergy and the people. And that your reverend fatherhood may be the more fully informed, who and what manner of man the same William Swinderby is, there be proposed and exhibited hereafter to the same your fatherhood, on the behalf of the same faithful people of Christ, against the same William Swinderby, cases and articles; which if the same William shall deny, then shall the same cases and articles most evidently be proved against him by credible witness worthy of belief, and by other lawful proof and evidences, to the end that those being proved, the same fatherhood of yours may do and ordain therein, as to your pastoral office belongeth.

Inprimis, the same William Swinderby, pretending himself priest, was openly and publicly convicted of certain articles and conclusions being erroneous, schismatical, and heretical, preached by him at divers places and times, before a multitude of faithful christian people. And the same articles and conclusions did he by force of law revoke and abjure, some as heretical, and some as erroneous and false; avouching and believing them for such, as that from thenceforth he would never preach, teach, or affirm, openly or privily, any of the same conclusions: and if, by preaching or avouching, he should presume to do the contrary, that then he should be subject to the severity of the canons, accordingly as he did take a corporal oath, judicially, upon the holy gospels.

II. Also the conclusions, which by the same William were first openly taught and preached, and afterwards abjured and revoked, as is aforesaid, are contained before in the process of the bishop of Lincoln, even as they be there written word by word. And for the cases and articles, they were consequently exhibited by the beforenamed faithful christian people against the said William Swinderby, together with the conclusions before said, and hereafter written; of which cases and articles the tenor here ensueth. [See the Eleven Articles at p. 107, pp. 113—116, and p. 133.]

III. Item, The said William, contrary to the former revocation and abjuration, not converting to repentance, but perverted from ill to worse, and given up to a reprobate sense, came into your diocese; where, running about in sundry places, he hath presumed to preach, or rather to pervert and to teach, of his own rashness, many heretical, erroneous, blasphemous, and other slanderous things contrary and repugnant to the sacred canons, and the determination of the holy catholic church. What those things were, at what place and what time, shall hereafter more particularly be declared.

IV. Item, The same William, notwithstanding your commandments and admonitions sealed with your seal, and to all the curates of your diocese directed, containing amongst other things that no person of what state, degree, or condition soever he were, should presume to preach or to teach, or expound the holy Scripture to the people, either in hallowed or profane places within your diocese, without sufficient authority, by any manner or pretence that could be sought, as in the same your letters monitory and of inhibition, the tenor whereof hereafter ensueth, is more largely contained; which letters the same William did receive into his hands, and did read them word by word in the town of Mon-

(1) Such as were in queen Mary's days; as John Beard, J. Avake, Robin Papist, and other like murderers.

mouth of your diocese, in the year of our Lord 1390, so that these your letters, and the contents thereof, came to the true and undoubted knowledge of the same William; yet, notwithstanding, hath the same William presumed in divers places and times to preach within the same your diocese, after and against your commandment aforesaid.

*Richard II.*  
A. D.  
1391.

The tenor of the same Letters before mentioned followeth, and is this :

John, by the sufferance of God bishop of Hereford, to the dean and chapter of our church of Hereford, and to all and singular abbots, priors, provosts, deans rural, parsons and vicars of monasteries, priories, churches, colleges, and parishes, and to others having cure of souls within the city and diocese of Hereford, and to all and every other being within the same city and diocese, greeting, grace, and blessing. Forasmuch as the golden laurel of teaching doctoral is not from above indifferently every man's gift; neither is the office of preaching granted save to such as are called, and especially by the church admitted thereunto: we do admonish and require you, all and singular clerks aforesaid, and do straitly enjoin you all, in the virtue of holy obedience, that neither you nor any of you do admit any man to preach or to teach the catholic faith, saving such as the same office of preaching shall, by the authority apostolical, or else your bishop, be specially committed unto; but that as much as in you shall lie, you do by word and deed labour to let those that would attempt the contrary. And you, lords, ladies, knights, barons, esquires, and all, and singular persons, of what estate, degree, pre-eminence, or condition soever ye be, remaining within the city and diocese of Hereford, we do beseech and exhort in our Lord, that, following the words of our Saviour, you beware of the heaven of the Pharisees.

The letter monitory of the bishop of Hereford, inhibiting to preach without his license.

Item, According to the saying of the apostle, "Be not ye carried away with divers and strange doctrines;" and that in the meanwhile, as saith the apostle, you be not removed from the sense of the holy ancient fathers, lest that any man by any means should seduce you; but you, agreeing together in one mind, see that you honour God with one mouth. But if any men to whom that thing is not specially, as is aforesaid, committed, shall attempt to instruct, or in this your life to direct you into the catholic faith, do ye deny to give them audience, and refuse you to be present at their assemblies, and shun ye their teachings, because they be wicked and perverse. And as for us, we will not omit to proceed, according to the sacred canons and precepts of the holy fathers, against such as do the contrary.

Would God both they and all men did beware of that heaven.

Dated at London, in the house of our habitation, under our seal, the last day save one of December, in the year of our Lord 1389, and, of our consecration, the first.

V. Item, The same William, in his preaching to the people on Monday the first of August, in the year of our Lord 1390, in the parish of Whitney of your diocese, did hold and affirm, that no prelate of the world, of what estate, pre-eminence or degree soever he were, having cure and charge of souls, he being in deadly sin, and hearing the confession of any under his hand, in giving him absolution, doth nothing: as who neither doth loose him from his sin, nor in correcting or excommunicating him for his demerits, doth bind him by his sentence, except the prelate shall be free himself from deadly sin, as St. Peter was, to whom our Lord gave power to bind and loose.

One of Wickliff's blemishes.

VI. Item, The same William in many places said and affirmed, in the presence of many faithful christian people, that after the sacramental words uttered by the priest having the purpose to consecrate, there is not made the very body of Christ in the sacrament of the altar.

VII. Item, That accidents cannot be in the sacrament of the altar without a subject; and that there remaineth material bread there to such as be partakers, 'concomitanter' <sup>1</sup> with the body of Christ in the same sacrament.

Bread; he meant, eth, in substance.

VIII. Item, That a priest being in deadly sin, cannot be able by the strength of the sacramental words to make the body of Christ, or bring to perfection any other sacrament of the church, neither yet to minister it to the members of the church.

(1) See the Appendix.

*Richard  
II.*

A. D.  
1391.

*See  
Appendix.*

IX. Item, That all priests are of like power in all things, notwithstanding that some of them in this world are of higher and greater honour, degree, or pre-eminence.

X. Item, That only contrition putteth away sin, if so be that a man shall be duly contrite; and that all auricular and outward confession is superfluous, and not requisite of necessity to salvation.

XI. Item, Inferior curates have not their power of binding and loosing mediately from the pope or bishop, but immediately from Christ: and therefore neither the pope nor bishop can revoke to themselves such kind of power, when they see time and place at their lust and pleasure.

XII. Item, That the pope cannot grant such kind of annual and yearly pardons, because there shall not be so many years to the day of judgment, as are in the pope's bulls or pardons contained: whereby it followeth that the pardons are not of such like value as they speak of, and are praised to be.

XIII. Item, It is not in the pope's power to grant to any person penitent, forgiveness of the punishment or of the fault.

XIV. Item, That person that giveth his alms to any, who in his judgment is not in necessity, doth sin in so giving it.

XV. Item, That it stands not in the power of any prelate, of what religion soever he be, privately to give letters for the benefit of his order, neither doth such benefit granted, profit them, to the salvation of their soul, to whom they be granted.

XVI. Item, That the same William, unmindful of his own salvation, hath, many and oftentimes, come into a certain desert wood, called Dervaldwood, of your diocese, and there, in a certain chapel not hallowed, or rather in a profane cottage, hath, in contempt of the keys, presumed of his own rashness to celebrate, nay rather to profanate.

XVII. Item, the same William hath also presumed to do such things in a certain profane chapel, being situate in the park of Newton, nigh to the town of Leintwarden, of the same your diocese.

Upon Friday, being the last of the month of June, in the year above said; about six of the clock, in the said parish church of Bodenham, hath the said William Swinderby personally appeared before us. And he, willing to satisfy the term to him assigned, as before specified, hath read out word by word before all the multitude of faithful christian people, many answers made and placed by the same William in a certain paper-book of the sheet folded into four parts to the said articles, and the same answers for sufficient hath he to us exhibited, avouching them to be agreeable to the law of Christ. Which thing being done, the same William (without any more with him) did depart from our presence, because that we, at the instance of certain noble personages, had promised to the same William free access; that is, to wit, on that day for the exhibiting of those answers, and also free departing without prefixing of any term, or without citation, or else any other offence or harm in body or in goods.

As for the tenor of the same answers, exhibited unto them by the same William, as is before specified, we have hereunder annexed it word for word, and in the same old language used at that time, when it was exhibited. And it followeth in these words.

The Protestation of William Swinderby, with his Answers to the Articles by the Promoters laid against him, to the Bishop of Hereford, taken out of the Registers in the same old English, wherein he wrote it.

In the name of God, amen. I William Swinderby, priest, unworthy, counting and purposing, wholie with all my hart, to be a true christian man, with open confession knowledging mine owne defaults and unwise deedes; making openlie this protestation, cleping God to record here before our worshipful bishop John, through the sufferance of God bishop of Hereford, with witnesse of all this people, that it is not mine intent any thing to say or affirme, to maintaine or to defend, that is contrarie to holie writte, against the beliefe of holie church, or that shoulde offend the holie determination of Christe's church, or the true sen-



tences of holie doctors. And if I haue here before, through mine vncunn ag, been vnordered, or, by euill counsaile, bene deceined, or anie thing saide, preached, holden, maintained, or taught, contrarie to the lawe of God, whollie and fullie for that time for now and euer with full will I reuoke it and withdraw it, as euerich christen man should: praying and beseeching eche christen man, to whom this writing shall come, that gif I ought erre (as God forbid that I doe), or euer erred in anie point, contrarie to holie writ, that it be had and holden of them, as for thing nought said. And all the trothes that I haue said according with y<sup>e</sup> law of God, that they maintaine them and stand by them, for life or death, to Gods worship, as a true christen man should, submitting me meeklie to the correction of our bishop that here is, or of any other christen man, after Christes lawes and holie writ; in will euer readie to be amended, and, with this protestation, I say and answere to these conclusions and articles that here followed after, the which bene put to me to aunswere to.

The first is this: That I William of Swinderby, pretending (he saith) my selfe a priest, was iudicialle conuented of certaine articles, and conclusions of error, false, schismaticke, and heresie, by me, in diuers places and times, preached (hee saith) before multitudes of true christen men: and the same articles and conclusions, by need of law reuoked and forsworn, some as heresies, and some as errours and false: and such I affirmed and beleened them to be. And that none of them from that time forth I should preach, teach, or affirme, openly or priuillie, ne that I should make no sermon to the people, ne preach but by lawfull leaue asked and gotten. And if I would presume in doing or affirming the contrary, then to the seueritie of the lawe I should be buxom,<sup>1</sup> as by nede of the lawe I swore.

To this I say, witnessing God that is in heauen to my wit and vnderstanding, that I neuer preached, held, ne taught, these conclusions and articles, the which falsly of friers were put vpon me, and of lecherous priestes to the bishop of Lincolne. For I was ordained by processe yersaid,<sup>2</sup> of their law, by the bishop and his commissaries, so as I graunted them to bring my purgation of thirteen priestes of good fame. And so I did, with a letter, and twelve seales thereby, from the mayor of Lyncester, and from true burgesses, and thirty men to witness with me, as the duke of Lancaster knew and heard, the earle of Darby, and other many great men that were that time in the towne, that I neuer said them, taught them, ne preached them. But when I should haue made my purgation, there stooden forth fife friers or moe, that some of them neuer saw me before, ne heard me, and three lecherous priestes openlie knowen, some lieuing in their lecherie twenty yere (men sayden) or more, as, by their childer, was openly knowen. Some of these they clepinden denounciations, and some weren cleped comprobations, that weren there falslie forsworne, they suing busilie and crying, with manie an other frier, with great instance to giue the dome vpon me, to burne me, and boughten drie wood before, as men tolden in that towne. and these sleights, and swearing, and money giuing, as men saiden, with fauor of the bishop (by what lawe I wot not, but sothly not by Gods law), they saiden, they held me as conuicted, and might not haue forth my purgation. So as I fullie forsooke them, and neuer granted that I said them. Ouer this they made me sweare neuer to hold them, teach them, ne preach them, priuillie ne apertlie: and that I would go to certaine churches to reuoke the conclusions which I neuer said, in sclaunder of my selfe, by great instance of the friers. And so for dred of death and for fleshlie counsell that I had, I assented, and so I did. And also they maden me to sweare, that I should not preach (by instance of the friers) within that diocesse, withouten licence asked and granted, and neuer sithen I did. And now the same conclusions bene rehearsed to me againe: vether by friers counsell I will not deme, God wot, but in sclaunder of me it is: and therefore I will answere now (with God's helpe) to the conclusions, of the which the first is this: That men mowen asken thir debts by charitie, but in no maner for debt to imprison any man: and that hee so emprisoning, is accursed."

So I said not; but thus I haue said, and yet say with protestation put before: That whoso pursues his brother with malice, prisoning him cruellie for debt without mercie that faine would pay it if he might: he sinneth against Christe's teaching, 'Estote misericordes, sicut pater vester misericors est.'

*Richard II.*

*A. D. 1391.*

Witnesses to William Swinderby.

The chastity of votaries to be noted.

1. Conclusion.

Answer. How debt is to be pursued.

(1) "Buxom," submissive.—ED.

(2) "Yersaid," that is, beforesaid

Richard  
II.

The second conclusion that false friers and lecherous priests putten vpon me was this: That if the parochiens know her curate to bene a lechour, incontinent, and an euill man, they owen to withdraw from him tithe; and else they bene fautours of his sinnes.

A. D.  
1391.

2. Conclusion.

Answer.

Thus I said not, but on this wise, and yet I say with protestation put before: That if it be knowne openlie to the people, that parsons or curates come to their benefice by simonie, and liuen in notorie fornication, and done not their office and her duties to her parochiens by good ensample of holie life, in true preaching, liuing and residence, wending awaie from his cure, occupied in secular office, he owes nought to haue of the parochiens, tithes, ne offerings, ne hem owes not to holde him for their curate, ny hem owes not to geuen him tithes. lest they bin guiltie to God of consent and maintaining of her open sinne. 'Nemo militans deo, implicat se negotiis secularibus.' Causa 1. quæst. 1. cap. 5. 'Quisquis per pecuniam,' and dist. 81. cap. 10. 'Si quis.'

3. Conclusion.

Answer.

See  
Appendix.

The third conclusion was this, that friers and priestes putten upon me: That tithes purely bene almesses: and in case that curates bene euill men, they mowen leefullie be giuen to other men by temporall lords, and other temporalities bene done away from men of the church actualle and openlie trespassing.

This I said not in these terms, but thus I saie with protestation made before: That it were medefull and leefull to secular lords by waie of charitie and power geuen to hem of God—in default of prelates that amend not by Gods lawe cursed curates that openlie misusen the goods of holy church that ben poore mens goods, and customablie against the law of God, (the which poore men lordes ben holden to maintaine and defend)—to take away and withdrawe from such curates poore mens goods, the which they wrongfullie holden, in helpe of the poore, and their owne wilful offerings, and their bodilly almes deeds, and geue them to such that dulie serue God in ye church and beene needy, in vpbearing of the charge that prelates shoulde doe, and done it not. 'Alter alterius onera portate, et sic adimplebitis legem Christi.' And as anentes taking awaie of temporalities I say thus with protestation made before: That it is leefull to kings, princes, dukes, and lordes of the worlde, to take awaie fro popes, cardinals, fro bishops and prelates, possessions in the church, their temporalties, and their almes that they haue giuen them vpon condition they shoulde serue God the better, when they verelie sene that their giuing and their taking bene contrarie to the lawe of God, to Christes liuing and his apostles: and namelie in that, that they taken vpon them (that shoulde be next followers of Christ and his apostles in poorenesse and meeknesse) to be secular lords: against the teaching of Christ and saint Peter. Luc. xxii. 'Reges gentium.' Et 1 Pet. v. 'Neque, dominantes in clero.' And namelie when such temporalities maken them the more proud, both in heart and in araie, then they shoulde bene else, more in strife and debate against peace and charitie, and in euill ensample to the world more to be occupied in worldly businesse: 'Omnem solitudinem proicientes in eum;' and drawes them from the seruice of God, from edifying of Christes church, in emponerishing and making lesse the state and the power of kinges, princes, dukes, and lords that God hath set them in; in wrongfull oppression of commons for vnmightfulnesse of realmes. For Paul saith to men of the church (whose lore, prelates shoulde soueraignlie followen), 'Habentes victum et vestitum, hiis contenti simus.'

4. Conclusion.

Answer.

The fourth conclusion is this, that friers and priests putten vpon me falselie: That an euill curate cursing his soget for withholding of tithes, is naught else, but to take with extortion wickedlie and vndulie money from them.

Thus said I not, but thus I saide, and yet doe with protestation made before: That an euill curate cursing his parochiens, vnmightie to pay their tithing, with vengeance without pitie, for his singular worldlie winning against charitie, and not for heed of their soules, there he is hold by his power reasonable to helpe his needy parochiens, and dooth nought of the goods of the church: wickedlie and vndulie he withholds from them, that which is due to them by the law of God: 'Dimitte et dimitte vobis: date, et dabitur vobis: verum mihi vindictam, et ego retribuam dicit Dominus.'

5. Conclusion.

The fift conclusion is this, that friers and priests falsly putten vpon me: That no man may curse any man, but if he wote him cursed of God, ne the commers with him rennen not into sentence of cursing in any maner."

(1.) Here may you see the falsehood of the papists, gathering articles against good men which they never said nor meant.

Thus said I not, but thus I said, and say with protestation put before: That no man ought to curse any man, but for charity and with charitie. 'Omnia vestra cum charitate fiant.' And sikerly I say, that no wrongfull cursing of pope or any prelate in earth, bindes anentes God, but when they wrongfully and wittinglie cursen men, for that men will not do their singular will, vnreasonable bidding, with highnes of heart and crueltie (standing patience and charity in them that they cursen wrongfully), he is blessed of Almighty God, and they themselves bene cursed. Math. 5. 'Beati eritis cum maledixerint homines,' &c. Et in Psalmo: 'Maledicent illi, et tu benedices.' Et Augustinus, xi. quest. 3. chap. 'Illud.'

Richard II.

A. D. 1391.

Answer.

The sixt conclusion is this, that friers and priestes putten vpon me falselie: That each priest may assoile him that sinneth, contrition had: and notwithstanding forbiddings of y<sup>e</sup> bishop, is holden<sup>1</sup> to preach to the people the gospel.

6. Conclusion.

Thus I saide not, but thus I said, and yet say with protestation made before: That each true priest may counsell sinnefull men, that shewen to him her sinnes after the witte and cunning that God had giuen him, to turne fro sinne to vertuous life. And as touching preaching of the gospel, I say that no bishop owes to let a true priest, that God had giuen grace, wit, and cunning to doe that office: for both priestes and deacons, that God had ordained deacons and priestes, ben holden by power giuen hem of God to preach to the people the gospel, and namelie and somelie, popes, bishops, prelates, and curates: for this is due to the people and parochiens, for to haue and aske of hem, and they duely and freely owen to done it. Math. 10. Luke 10. 'Ite, ecce ego mitto vos.' Et Marc. 16. 'Euntes in mundum vniuersum.' Et Math. 10. 'Euntes autem prædicate.' Et Dist. 21. cap. 'In nouo testamento.' Et Ysidor. 'De summo bono.' 44. Et Chrysost. Causa xi. q. 3. cap. 86, 'Nolite.' Et Aug. Causa xi. q. 3. cap. 80, 'Quisquis.' Et Greg. in suo Pastoralis, cap. 38. Et in Toletano [Dist. 38. cap. 1.] cap. 'Ignorantia.' Et Ierom. Distinct. 95. cap. 'Ecce Ego.'

Answer.

The 7. conclusion is this, that friers and priestes falsly putten vpon me: That a priest taking anie thing for annuell, through couenant: in that, he is schismaticke and cursed.

7. Conclusion.

Thus said I neuer in these termes; but thus I said, and yet say with protestation put before: That no priest owes to sell, by bargaining and couenant, his ghostlie trauaile, ne his masses, ne his praiers, ne God's worde, ne hallowinges, baptisme, ne confirming, order giuing, for weddinges, for shrifte, for housell, or for enmointing, any worldly mens reward to ask or take for these or for anie of these, or for anie ghostlie thing, he erres and doth simonie: ut patet 1. quest. 2. cap. 'Nullus;' et ex concilio Triburiens. Caus. I. i. 105. 'Dictum est;' et Christus, in Enangelio, vendentes et ementes eiecit de templo. Math. 22.

Answer.

The viii. conclusion is this, that friers and priestes putten vnto me falsly, saying that I beleue sadly as my sell sayes: That yche priest being in deadly sinne, yef he put him to make Christes bodie, rather he dos idolatrie then makes it.

8. Conclusion.

Thus saide I not, but thus I said, and yet say with a protestation put before: That vhat priest y<sup>e</sup> puts himself presumptuously and vnworthelie in deadlie sinne, wittingly to minister and to receiue that holie sacrament, and so recordes hit cursedlie and damnably, he receiues his dome: 'Qui manducat et bibit indignè, iudicium sibi manducat et bibit.' 1. Corin. 11.

Answer.

The ix. conclusion is this, that friers and priestes falsly putten vpon me: That no priestes entres into anie house but euill for to treatre the wife, the daughter, or the wenche: and therefore they sayden, that I prayed the people that their husbands should beware, that they suffer no priest to enter into her house.

9. Conclusion.

And if I had said thus, then I had praied against my selfe, for I come oft into mens houses: but thus I said, and yet I doe, praying christen men to beware that they nourish nor maintaine no lecherous priestes in their sinnes: for there be where (as men wel knowen) they ben maintained in manie places, continuing homelie with her women. And iche man there sayne they paine therefore a certaine to the B. almes. Et ideo ait Ysido. 11. quest. 4. 'Qui consentit peccantibus et defendit alium delinquentem, maledictus erit apud Deum et homines.'

Answer.

[Causa xi. quest. 3. cap. 100.]

The x. conclusion is this, that friers and priestes putten vpon me falslie:

10. Conclusion.

(1) "Holden," that is, bound.

*Richard II.* That a childe is not verelie baptised, if the priest that baptiseth, the godfathe- or the godmother, ben in deadlie sinne.

*A.D. 1391.* God wot in heauen they said full false; but thus I said, and yet I say: that the praiers that an euill priest praies (liuing in lecherie or other deadlie sinne) ouer the child when it shal be halowed, ben not acceptable to God as ben the praiers of a good priest. And the better and clemmer the priest is, the godfather, and the godmother, the more graciously God will heare him, if all they ben not grestest nor most rich in the world. Vnde Caus. iii. q. 7. cap. 'In grauibus', 'Cum is qui displicet ad intercedendum peccator admittitur, irati animus procul dubio ad deteriora prouocatur.'

*11. Conclusion.* The xi. conclusion is this, that friers and priestes putten vpon me falsly: That no man liuing against the lawe of God is a priest, how euer he were ordained priest of anie bishop.

*Answer.* Certes this is false, for I said neuer thus in these termes: but thus I said, and thus I say with a protestation put before: That what euerie pope, or cardinal, bishop or priest, or any prelate of the church, comes to his state or dignitie by simonie, and in simonie occupies that office, and holy churches goodes: I say that hee is a theefe, and that by the dome of God, and comes but to steale and kill. Ioh. 10. 'Fur non venit nisi vt furetur, et maetet, et perdat.' And furthermore I say, that what pope, cardinall, bishop, prelate, or priest, in manner of liuing, or teaching, or lawes making, contrarie to Christes liuing and his lawes, or anie other ground, put in ruling of the church of Christ, but by Christ and his lawes is very Antichrist, aduersarie to Jesus Christ and his apostles. 'Aliud fundamentum nemo potest ponere, præter id quod positum est, quod est Christus.' Et patet 1 quæst. 3 c. 'Si quis.' Et 1 quæst. 6 c. 'Ego autem.' 'Queingq.'

The true description what is Antichrist.

But this worshipfull father bishop of Hereford, that here is, sayes thus in his writing: That I William of Swinderby, notwithstanding the foresaid reuocation and abiuuration (not setting at heart, but from euill to worse, he saies, peruerced so his dioeces) he saies I come running about by diuers places; and by mine owne follie, he saies, that I haue presumet to preach many heresies, errors, blasphemies, schismes, and other diffames, and to holie canons and determination of holy church contrarie and repugnant, which where and when, within forth more speciallie it shall be shewed forth, that ye bee falsely enformed, y<sup>e</sup> I haue presumed in diuers places in your dioeces to preach heresies, errors, blasphemies, schismes and other diffames. And sire, all the country knowes whether this be sooth or not: for sire, I presume not, sithen it is the office of a priest, by the lawe of Christ, to preach the gospell; ne nought I did for presumption; but for the charge that I haue of God by priesthood (if all I be unworthie), and to the worship of God, and helpe of christen soules, freely, without gathering of her goods, for my preaching. If I erred in this, I will bee amended. And sire, touching your mandement that ye senden to me, there was sent none. And sire, I made neuer yet disobedience vnto you, ne to your ministers: and yef all I had, me owes more to obeye to God then to you, in that that ye bidden contrarie to Christes bidding. And sire, as ye saine that I had no mind of my hele, it is to lightlie demet: for God forbid, but yef there lie hele more then in your bidding. For God wot for hele I did it, of mine and of the people, and that was in my minde. But sire, it semes me that ye charge not, by euidence of the punishing, so greatlie the breaking of Gods hests, as ye done of your own. And sire, if it be your wil, in default that the people wanted you to teach hem (and her curates did not), by the desire of the people that weren hungrie and thirsty after Gods word, ichone to beare vp others charge as Gods law bids, I preached: not for disobedience to you; but sire, in fulfilling of the obedience that Gods law bids me doe. In excusing of my selfe to you of that ye blame me of, in open shewing to holie church, with the protestation that I first made, I answer thus to the articles that ye haue put to me.

*1. Article.* The first is this: That I William of Swinderby, the Monday the first of August, the year of our Lord 1390, preaching to the people in the church of Wincey of your dioeces, helde and affirmed (as ye saine) that no prelate of the world, of what state or degree that he be, hauing cure of soules, being in deadlie sinne, and hearing confession of his suget, does nought in assailing him, i.e. he assoiles him not of his sinne: and also, in amending his suget openlie sinning, and him for his desertes cursing, his sentence bindes not, but if that prelate be as cleaun

out of deadlie sinne as was saint Peter, to whome our Lorde gaue power of binding and vnbinding. *Richard 11.*

I neuer thought this ne spake this, ne heard it to the time that I saw it written in our booke, and that will witnesse the lord of the towne that has the same sermon written, and many gentils and other that hearden me that daie<sup>1</sup>; but thus I said, and thus I saie with protestation put before: That there is no man, pope ne bishoppe, prelate ne curate, that bindes soothlic, verilie and ghostly, but in as much as his binding or vnbinding accordes with the keyes of heauen that God gaue to Peter; and, as S. Gregorie saies, 'That power han they onlie, that hold together the ensample of the apostles with heere teaching.' 'Illi soli in hac carne positi ligandi atque soluendi potestatem habent, sicut sancti apostoli qui eorum exempla simul cum doctrina tenent.'<sup>2</sup>

The seconde article that is put vpon me, is this: That I should haue saide, preached, and affirmed, in manie places, before many true men of Christ: that after the sacramentall wordes saide of the priest, hauing intention of consecration, that in the sacrament of Gods bodie, is not verie Gods bodie. *2. Article. And what if he had said it.*

This saide I neuer, God wote, and true men that haue heard me. *Answer.*

The third article is this, that our bishop put vpon me: That I should haue said in many places, and affirmed, that accidents now not be in the sacrament of the altuar without subiect, and that materiall bread leues not there with Gods bodie in the same sacrament. *3. Article.*

This conclusion I haue not holden, ne taught, ne preached, for I haue not medled me of that matter; my wit sufficeth not thereto. But here I tell my beleefe with protestation put before: that the sacrament of the altuar made by vertue of heauenly words, that Christ himselfe said in the Cene, when hee made this sacrament, that it is bread and Christs bodie, so as Christ himselfe saies in the gospell, and S. Paule saies, and as doctors in the common law haue determined to this sentence. Mat. 26. Mar. 14. Luc. 22. Pa. 1. Cor. 10. et 11. De consecr. distinct. 2. 'Panis:' et De consecr. dist. 2. 'Corpus.' Io. 6. 'Verus panis.' *Answer. Bread and Christ's body in the sacrament.*

The fourth article is this, that our bishop accueth mee of: That I should haue preached about and said: that a priest being in deadlie sinne, may not, by the strength of the sacramentall wordes, make Gods bodie, or none other sacrament of the church, either performe to minister them to members of the same. *4. Article.*

Thus I neuer said, thought it, preached it, ne taught it; for well I wot, the wickednesse of a priest may appaire no verie sacrament: but the wickednesse of the prieste appaires himselfen, and all that boldnesse and example of his sinne causen the people to liuen the worse against Gods law. Vnde Greg. 'Et si sacerdos in peccatis fuerit, totus populus ad peccandum conuertitur.'

The 5. article is this, that our bishop puts unto me: That all priests ben of euen power in al things, notwithstanding that some of this world bene of higher dignitie or more passing in hightnesse of degree. *5. Article.*

Certes no man would say thus as I suppose, no more did I, ne neuer heard it that I wot of: but this I say with protestation made before, that what priest liues most holilie, next following the law of God, he is most louer of God, and most profitable to the church. If men speaken of worldlie power and lordships and worship, with other vices that raignen therein, what priest that desires and has most hereof (in what degree so he be), he is most Antichrist of all the priests that ben in earth. Vnde Augustinus, ad Valerium scribens, ait:<sup>3</sup> 'Nihil est in hac vita, et maximè hoc tempore facilius et leuius, et hominibus acceptabilius, episcopi, presbiteri aut decani officiis: sed si perfuntoriè aut adulatoriè, nihil apud Deum miserabilius aut tristius et damnabilius.'

The sixt article is this: That onlie contrition dos away sin, if a man be dueliè contrite: and all outward confession by word is superfluous and not requirèd of need of health. *6. Article.*

This conclusion said I neuer that I know of. But thus I say with protestation put before: That veray contrition of heart, that is neuer without charitie and grace, dos away all sinnes before done of that man that is verilie contrite. And all true confession made by mouth outward to a wise priest, and a good, profiteth much to man, and is needfull and helping that men shewe their life *Answer. Confession.*

(1) Note here how the papists use falsely to wrest good men's sayings and articles.

(2) Greg. lib. iv. Sententiarum.

(3) Ad Valer. Episc. Ep. xxi § 1.—Ed.

- Richard II.* to such, trusting full to Gods mercie, and that he forgiues thy sinne. Vnde August. de conse. distinct. 4. 'Nemo tollit peccata mundi nisi solus Christus qui est agnus, tollens peccata mundi.'
- A. D. 1391.* The 7. article is this: That I should say that lower curates haue not here power of binding and assoiling, by meane of pope and bishop, but of Christ without money; and therefore neither pope ne bishop may reuoke such maner power for time and place at her will.
- God forgiveth sin.* Thus said I not, but not for thy<sup>1</sup> it seemes me thus, that no man should graunt anie thing after his owne will, ghostlie, ne bodilie. But euerich man should be well aduised, that hee graunt nothing but if it be the will of God that he so graunt it. And it is no doubt that ne God grauntes \* \* \*<sup>2</sup> by meane persons, as does Antichrist to torment Christes people. Vnde et Ioh. 19. 'Ait Pilatus. Nescis quia potestatem habeo dimittere te?' Et Christus. 'Non haberes potestatem aduersum me vllam, nisi esset tibi datum desuper.'
- Answer.* The 8. article, that our bishop puts me to, is this: That I should say that the pope may not graunt such maner indulgence of yeares; for there shall not be so manie yeares unto the daie of doome, as bene contained in his buls, or in the popes indulgences: whereof it followes that indulgences bene not so much worth as they semen and bene preached.
- Against pardon.* This article I saide not thus; but I say that the pope may graunt indulgences written in his letter of yeares, all so far forth that he may graunt him in Gods law: so far to graunt, and farther not: yeares may he graunt no mothen God hath set. If indulgence ben forgiuenesse of sinne, I wot well all onely God forgives sinne. If it bee releasing of paines in purgatorie ordeined of God, if God haue bidden him release so many, or ordeined that hee should release so manie, he may then release hem: yet if it be in his owne disposing to release whom him likes, and howe much, then he may destroy purgatorie, and let none come there, and release his own pain, as charitie wots. So it seemes he may be liker to be saued, if himselfe list. If anie go to purgatorie, then it seemes hee full failes charitie. If buls ben the indulgence that men bringen from the court, then ben they not so much worth, as they costen there; for lightlie they might bee lost, drenched, or brent, or a rat might eaten them: his indulgence then were lost. Therefore sire, haue me excuset, I know not these termes: teach me these termes by Gods law, and truely I will learne hem.
- 9. Article.* The 9. article is this that I should haue said: That it is not in the popes power to graunt to any man (doing penance) remission from paine, ne from blame.
- The pope proved a blasphemous.* Leude I am, but this article said I not thus lendly: but thus I say, that sithen it is onlie due to God to giue and to graunt plenary remission from paines and from blame, that what euer he be, pope or other, that presumptuously mistakes vpon him that power that is onlie due to God; in that (in as much as in him is) he makes himselfe Christ, and blasphemeth in God, as Lucifer did, when he said: 'Ascendam et ero similis Altissimo.' Farther I say, if the pope holde men of armes, in maintaining his temporalties and lordship to venge him on hem that gilden and offenden him, and geues remission to fight and to slay hem that contrarien hem, as men sayden he did by the bishop of Norwich,<sup>3</sup> not putting his sward into his sheath, as God commanded Peter. 'Mitte,' &c. he is Antichristus, for he dos contrarie to the commandementes of Jesus, yt bade Peter forgiue to his brother seuentie sithe seuen sithe. 'Si peccauerit in me frater meus, quotiens dimittam ei? Septies?' &c. 'Et Christus: Non dico tibi septies, sed septuagies septies.'
- 10. Article.* The 10. article is this, that our bishop puts to me: That I should haue said: that a man geuing his almes to anie man after his dome (not hauing need), sinnes, in so giuing.
- Answer.* This article soothlie I saide not in these termes; but of this matter I haue spoken, and will, with protestation made before, on this wise: that it is medefull to giue almes to ich man that asketh it bodily or ghostlie, but not to giue to ich shamelesse begger, strong and mightie of bodie to get his lifeloode leuefull and will not; and in vhat degree so he be, men owen not to geue it to such a one, that hee vnreasonablie asketh, for if he giue it to him wittinglie, he sinnes as fautor of his idlenesse. Vnde Sap. 12. 'Si bene feceris, scito cui bene feceris, et erit gloria in bonis tuis multa.'
- He meaneth of begging friars.*

(1) "Not for thy," that is, notwithstanding. (2) Something here lacking in the copy. (3) Of this Henry Spencer, bishop of Norwich, see pp. 50-53 of this volume.

The 11. article is this, that is put to me, that I should haue said: That it is not in the power of anie prelate of what euer priuate religion, to graunt letters of the good deedes of their order, ne such benefices graunted profits not to hele of soules to hem that they ben graunted to.

*Richard II.*

*A. D. 1391.*

I said neuer thus in these termes; but thus I say with protestation: That prelates of priuate religion mowen graunt letters of the good deedes of her order; but the gostly mede that comes of good deedes, they mow not graunt, for that is ouelie propriety to God. And if they blinde the people in misbeliefe for her worldlie winning, wittinglie behetting hem of her owne graunt ghostly medes in heauen by her letters and her seale (vncertaine, who shall be dammed), but make the people bolder to sinne by trust of her praiers: hit is none heal to the soules, but harmes to that one and to that other. 'For God shall yeld to echone after here works.' 'Ipse reddet vnicuique secundum opera sua.'

*Answer.*

*Good deedes of the order profit nothing.*

The 12. article is this, that our bishop puts to me: That I many times and oft haue come (he saies) to a desert wood, cleped Dervaldswode, of his diocess: and there, in a chappell not hallwood, but accursed shepheardes hulke,<sup>1</sup> by mine owne follie, haue presumed to sing (but rather to curse) in contempt of the keyes.

*12. Article.*

Hereto I say, that this is falsly put vpon me of hem that told you this. For it is a chappell where a priest sings certaine daies in the yeare, with great solemnitie: and certes I neuer song therein seth I was borne into this world.

*Answer.*

The 13. article is this: That I should also presume to sing in an unhallowet chappell, that stonds in the parke of Newton, besides the towne of Leyntwardy, of this same diocess.

*13. Article.*

Truely I wot not where that place stonds.

The 14. article is this: That I should say that no man owes to sweare for anie thing, but simply withouten oth to affirme or to denie; and if he sweare he sinnes.

*14. Article.*

This article said I not, that I haue mind of, in this maner: but oft I haue said and yet will, that men should not sweare by anie creature by the law of God, and that no man should sweare in idel, as weligh all the people vseth. And therefore me thinkes it is no neede to comfort the people in swearing; for from the olde vnto the yong, and namely men of holic church, breken his heste, and few bishops pursuen hem therefore.

*Answer.*

*To swear by no creature.*

The 15. article is this: That I should haue taught to true men of Christ, that on no maner they should worship the image of him that was done on the crosse, or the image of the blessed mayd his mother, or of other saints into honour and worship of the same ordeinet in ye mind of them. And oft sithes, ye worshipper of such image he has reprocet, saying, and stronglie affirming, that churchmen sinnen and done idolatrie.

*15. Article.*

This conclusion haue I not said in these termes. But this I say with protestation, that God commaundes in his lawe in diuers places. (Exod. 20. Leuit. 19. and 26. Deut. 5. and 7. Tobie 1. Baruc. 6. 2. ad. Corin. 10. Esay 45. Iere 2. 6. 8. and 10. 22. and vltimo, Sapient. 13. 14. and 15. Mac. 5. and Threnorum 4. and postremo), that men should not worshipping grauen images that ben werkes of mens hands: and also he bids that men should not make to hem grauen images in likenesse of the things that ben in heauen, to that end to worshipping hem: sethen neither God ne Christ by his manhood gaue neuer commandement to make these images, ne expresse counsell, ne his apostles in all his lawe, ne to worship such that bene made. But well I wote, that by mens owne relation that haue misbelieuet in hem, that many men sinnen in maumetrie worshipping such dead images: notforthy,<sup>2</sup> to the men bene images good to whom they haue bene but kalendars, and through the sight of hem they knowen the better and worshipping oft God and his saints. And to such men they done harme that setten her hope and trust in hem or done any worship to hem against Gods law and his heste. Vnde ait Gregorius, in Registro, libro. 10., in epistola ad Serenum Episcopum. 'Si quis imagines facere voluerit, minime prohibe: adorare omnino prohibe. Sed hoc sollicitè fraternitas tua admoneat, vt ex visione rei gestæ, ardorem compunctionis percipiant, vt in adoratione totius Trinitatis prosternantur.'

*Answer.*

*Images not to be worshipped.*

*See Appendix.*

These conclusions, points, and articles that I haue, vnder protestation, in this booke affirmed, I will stand by hem, and maintaine hem (with the grace of Almighty God) to the time that the contrarie be prouet duclie by Gods law:

(1) Or, Sheepcote.

(2) "Notforthy," that is notwithstanding.

*Richard .II.*  
**A.D.**  
**1391.**

and this protestation I make for my faith and my beliefe as I did at the beginning: That whensoever this worshipfull or any other christen man shewes me veraily by Gods lawe the contrarie of this, I will holy forsake hem, and take me to the veray trouth and better understanding of wiser men, readie to be amended by the law of Jesu Christ, and be a true christen man and faithfull sonne of holy church: and of these I beseech you all heare witnesse where ye comen.

Subsequentur vero, quia fide dignorum relatione recepinus, quod idem Gulielmus Swynderby latitabat quo minus posset in propria persona citari, ipsum Gulielmum viis et modis per Edictum publicum ad instar albi prætoris in ecclesia nostra Cathedrali Herfordensi et parochialibus ecclesiis de Kington, Crofte, et Witney nostræ diocesis, ubi idem Guilhelmus solebat commorari, citari fecimus, prout et quemadmodum in modo citatorio continetur, cujus tenor sequitur in hæc verba.

William Swinderby keeping from the Bishop was cited as followeth.

The tenor  
of the ci-  
tation.

See  
Appendix.

John, by God's permission bishop of Hereford: to his dear sons, our dean of Leamster, to the parsons of Croft, Alnaly, and Whitney, and also to the vicars of Kington, Eardersley, Wiggemore, Monmouth, Clifford, and of St. John's altar in our cathedral church of Hereford, and to the rest of the deans, parsons, vicars, chaplains, parish priests, and to others, whosoever in any place are appointed through our city and diocese of Hereford, sendeth greeting, grace and benediction.

We bid and command, charging you straitly, in the virtue of holy obedience, that you cite or cause to be cited peremptorily, and under the pain of excommunication, William Swinderby, pretending himself to be a priest; that he appear before us, or our commissaries, the twentieth day of this present month of July, at North Lodebury, within our diocese, with the continuance of the days following in other places also to be assigned unto him if it be expedient, till such things as have been, and shall be laid against him, be fully discussed: to answer more at large to certain positions and articles, touching the catholic faith, and the holy mother church's determination, that have been exhibited and ministered unto the said William; and to see and heare also many things that have openly, in judgment before us and a great number of faithful Christians, by him been even in writing confessed, to be condemned as heretical, false, schismatical, and erroneous; and to see and hear positions and articles denied by the said William, to be proved by faithful witnesses, and other lawful trials against the said William; and to receive for his false, heretical, erroneous, and schismatical doctrine, what justice shall appoint, or else to show causes why the premises should not be done.

And if the said William lieth privily, or else cannot be so cited in his proper person, we will that in your churches, when most people shall then come together to divine service, you openly, with a loud voice and that may be understood, cause the said William peremptorily to be cited unto the premises, certifying the same William, that whether he shall appear the day and place appointed or no, we, notwithstanding, will proceed unto the premises against the said William, according to the canonical decrees by form of law, in the absence or contumacy of the said William notwithstanding. We will, moreover, if the said William shall appear at the said day and place as is aforesaid, before us, friendly hear him, and honestly and favourably, as far as we may with God's leave, deal with him; granting free license to come and to go for his natural liberty without any hurt either in body or goods. And see that you fully certify us of the things that you or any of you shall do about the execution of this our commandment, and that, by your letters patent, signed with your seal authentical; giving also faithfully to the said William, or to his lawful proctor, if he require it, a copy of this our present commandment.

Given at our house of Whitborne, under our seal, the fifth day of the month of July, in the year of our Lord 1391.

First Sitting against William Swinderby.

On Thursday the twentieth of July, in the year of the Lord aforesaid, we, in the parish church of North Lodebury aforesaid, about six of the clock, sitting in



judgment, after that it was reported unto us, how the aforesaid William was personally taken and lawfully cited, caused the same William then and there openly in judgment to be called out, to do, hear, and receive such things, whereto he was afore cited, and to do otherwise that which justice should persuade. And the said William appeared neither by himself, nor by proctor; but only by a servant, whose name we know not, he sent unto us a certain schedule of paper, made like an indenture, to excuse him. After which schedule, seen, read, and with right deliberation weighed, and, in any wise notwithstanding, we adjudged the said William (after he was often called, and long, even to the due hour tarried for, and by no means appearing), worthily, for his obstinacy and for his stubbornness we assigned unto him the twenty-ninth day of July, in the church of Ponsley, to appear before us with the aforesaid safeguard, to answer more fully to such articles, and otherwise to hear, receive, and do, as before is noted.

*Richard  
II.*  

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*A. D.*  

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*1391.*

### Second Sitting against William Swinderby.

On Saturday the twenty-ninth of July, and in the year of the Lord aforesaid, we, John, by God's permission the fore-remembered bishop, in the church of Pontesbury, of our diocese, at six of the clock or thereabout, sitting in judgment; made the said William of Swinderby to be openly called, that (as was to him appointed and assigned) he should appear before us, to answer to the aforesaid articles more fully, and to declare the said articles, as the darkness of his answers did worthily require. And because the said William, being called, and long for a due time looked for, did make no means to appear, we pronounced him to be obstinate, and for his obstinateness (to overcome his malice, and of our exceeding favour) thought good to appoint, and did appoint the eighth of August, then next following, at Clebury Mortemere of the same our diocese, unto the said William for the same thing.

*The second  
day's act.*

### Third Sitting against William Swinderby.

On Tuesday the eighth of August, the year aforesaid, I, John, by God's permission bishop of Hereford aforesaid, in the church of Clebury Mortemere, about six of the clock, sitting in judgment, caused the aforesaid William Swinderby to be called many times openly, to do and receive about the premises, according to the appointment of the same day what justice should advise; which William did not appear at all. Whereupon, we, after that the said William was called, and often proclaimed, and long looked for, but not appearing at all, did judge him worthily (as of right appertained) obstinate; and, for his obstinateness, assigned him the sixteenth day of the same month of August next following, in the parish church of Whitborne of the same our diocese, to bring forth, or to see brought forth, all laws, muniments, and other kinds of proofs; and to see also witnesses brought forth, admitted, and sworn, by whom and which things we intend to prove the aforesaid articles, or at leastwise some of the same.

*The third  
day's act.*

### Fourth Sitting against William Swinderby.

On Wednesday the sixteenth day of the month of August, the year aforesaid, we John, the bishop, in the parish church of Whitborne aforesaid of our diocese, sitting in judgment, caused the said William Swinderby oftentimes to be called, who, as is aforesaid, appeared not at all; whom, after that he was so called, proclaimed, and long looked for, and yet by no means appearing, we pronounced to be obstinate. We received also, by certain faithful Christians and zealous men for the catholic faith, of our diocese, a certain process made and had at another time against the same William, before the reverend father in God and lord, lord John, by the grace of God bishop of Lincoln, confirmed by the hanging on of the seal of the same reverend father, the lord bishop of Lincoln.<sup>1</sup> And these faithful Christians, moreover, against the obstinateness of the said William

*The fourth  
day's act.*

(1) Of this process mention is made before, p. 107.

Richard  
II.A. D.  
1391

Swinderby brought forth discreet men, Master William Leviat, parson of the parish church of Kyversly, and also Edmund Waterdon, parish chaplain of the chapel of N., and Roger Newton, and Hugh Sheppert, laymen of our diocese of Lincoln, asking instantly that they might be received for witnesses, to prove some of the aforesaid articles, whom against the obstinateness of the said William Swinderby we thought good to receive, and did receive, and their oaths on the holy gospels of God, being laid hands on corporally in our hande, and did diligently examine them in proper person severally in form of law, whose saying and depositions are afterwards brought in; and, at the instance of the same faithful Christians, we assigned the second day of September next following, to the said William Swinderby, to say and alledge against the said process, witnesses, and their sayings, in the said church of Whitborn; decreeing that a copy should be made for him of those things that were brought forth, and of the depositions of the witnesses, \* \* \* [Here we fail in our copy, till the register come to our hands again.]

by the dore, but wendith upon an other halfe, hee is a night theefe and a day theefe. And there he telleth how he that flieth from their flocke, is not the sheapherd but an hired man, and it pertaineth not to him of the sheepe.

2. Conclu-  
sion.

To the second conclusion: That, he saien, is errour or heresie, that toucheth taking away of the temporalities and of lordships of priests that bene euill liners.

Declara-  
tion.See  
Appendix.

Every  
gift given  
upon con-  
dition is  
frustrate  
upon the  
breach of  
every  
such con-  
dition.

I saie, me seemeth that the conclusion is true, and is this: That it were medefull and lecfull to secular lordes, by way of charitie, and by power giuen to them of God, in default of prelates that amend naught by Gods lawe; cursed curates that openlie misuse the goods of holy church, that ben poore mens goods: and customably ayens the law of God (the which poore men, lordes ben holden to maintaine and defend), to take awaie and to draw from such curates, poore mens goods in helpe of the poore, and their owne wilfull offeringes, and their bodilie almes decedes of worldlie goods, and giue them to such as duellie sernen God in the church, and ben readie in vpbearing of the charge that prelates shoulde doe and done it not. And as anentes taking away of temporalities, I say thus: That it is lecfull to kings, to princees, to dukes, and to lords of the world, to take away from popes, from cardinals, from bishops, prelates, and possessioners in the church, their temporalities, and their almes that they haue giuen them vpon condition that they shoulde serue God the better: when they are verilie seene that their giuing and taking bene contrarie to the law of God, contrarie to Christes liuing and his apostles; and namelie in that they taken vpon them, they that shoulde be next followers of Christ and his apostles in poorenesse and meekenesse, to be secular lords against the teaching of Christ and of S. Peter. Truelie me seemeth that all christen men, and namelie priestes shoulde take keepe, that their doing were according with the lawe of God, either the old law, either the new. The priestes of the olde lawe weren forbidden to haue lordships among their brethren: for God said, that he would be their part and their heritage. And Christ, that was the highest priest of the Newe Testament, forsooke worldlie lordship, and was here in fourme of a seruaunt, and forbad his priests such lordships, and said, '*Reges gentium dominantur eorum, &c. vos autem non sic.*' That is: 'The kings of the heathen, beare dominion and rule, &c.; but you shall not do so.' And as S. Peter saith, '*Neque dominantes in clero,*' &c. 'Not bearing rule and dominion of the clergie,' &c. So it seemeth me: that it is against both lawes of God, that they haue such lordshippes, and that their title to such lordshippes is not full good. And so it seemeth me, that zif they bene thereto of euill lining, it is no great perill to take away from them such lordships, but rather meedfull, if the taking awaie were in charitie, and not for singular conetousnesse ne wrath. And I suppose that if friers, that bene bounden to their founders to lue in ponertie,<sup>1</sup> woulde breake their rule and take worldlie lordships, might not men lawfullie take from them such lordships, and make them to lue in pouertie as their rule would? And forsooth it seemeth me, that priestes oughten also well to keepe Christes rule, as friers owen to keepe

(1) If the pope may take from the friars, to cause them to keep St. Francis rule, may not the emperor take from the pope, to cause him keep Christ's rule.

the rule of their founder. Jeremie witnesseth, howe God commended Rachabs children, for they woulde not breake their faders bidding in drinking of wine. And yet Jeremie profered them wine to drinke. And so I trowe, that God woulde commend his priestes, if they woulde forsake worldlie lordships, and holden them apayd with lifelot, and with clothing; and busie them fast about their heritage of heauen. And God saith, Numeri. 18., ('In terra eorum nihil possidebitis, nec tenebitis partem inter eos: Ego pars et hæreditas vestra in medio filiorum Israel, &c. Et Deut. 18. 'Non habebitis sacerdotes et Leuite et omnes qui de eadem tribu estis, partem et hæreditatem cum reliquo Israel, quia sacrificia Domini et oblationes eius comedent, et nihil accipient de possessione fratrum suorum. Dominus enim ipse est hæreditas ipsorum, sicut locutus est illis.' Et Lucae 14. 'Sic ergo omnis ex vobis, qui non renunciauerit omnibus quæ possidet, non potest meus esse discipulus.' Et Ieronymus in Epistola. 34. Et Bernardus libro 2<sup>do</sup>. ad Eugenium Papam. Et Hugo 'De Sacramentis,' parte 2 libri secundi cap. 7. Et Causa xii. q. 1. cap. 'Duo sunt:' Et cap. 'Clericus.' Et Bernardus 'in Sermone de Apostolis, super illud: 'Ecce nos reliquimus omnia.' Et Chrysost. super Math. Et 'Vetus Testamentum: That is) you shall haue no inheritance in their land, nor haue no part amongst them: I will be your part and inheritance amongst the children of Israel,' &c. Deut. 18. 'The priests and Leuites, and all that be of the same tribe shall haue no part nor inheritance with the rest of Israel: because they shall eat the sacrifices of the Lord and his oblations, and they shall take nothing of the possession of their brethren. The Lord himself is their possession, as he spake unto them.' And ye 14. chapter of Luke: 'Euen so euerie one of you, which forsaketh not all that he possesseth, cannot be my disciple.' And Jerome, in his 14. Epistle, hath the like wordes. And Bernard in his 2nd booke to Eugenius the pope. And also Hugo in his booke 'De Sacramentis,' the second part of his second booke, the 7. chapter. And also in the 12. q. 1. chap. 7. 'Duo sunt,' and in the chap. 'Clericus.' And againe, Bernard in his booke 'De sermone de Apostolis,' vpon this place: 'Ecce nos reliquimus omnia.' 'Behold we leaue all,' &c. Chrysost. vpon the gospel of S. Math. &c.

The third conclusion toucheth the matter of preaching of priests, withouten leaue of bishops, and is this: That such true priestes may counsell sinfull men, that shewen to them their sinnes, after the wit and cunning that God hath giuen, to turne hem from sinne to vertuous life, and as touching preaching of the gospel.

I say that no bishop oweth to let a true priest, that God hath giuen grace, wit, and cunning to do that office: for both priestes and deacons, that God hath ordained deacons or priestes, bene holden by power geuen to them of God, to preach to the people the gospel: and namelic, and souerenlie, popes, bishops, prelates and curats; for this is due to the people and the parisheners, to haue it and aske it. And hereto seemeth me, that Christ said generallie to his disciples: 'Ite et prædicate Euangelium omni creature,' 'Goe and preach the gospel to all creatures,' as well as he said, 'Ite et baptizate omnes gentes,' 'Goe and baptise all nations,' that also as well longeth preaching to priests without leaue of a bishop as doth baptising: and then why maie he not preach Gods worde withouten a bishops leaue? And sithen Christ bade his priests preach, who should forbidden them preach? The apostles were forbidden of a bishop at Jerusalem, to speake more of the name of Jesus, but Peter said: 'Si iustum est in conspectu Dei, vos potius audire quam Dominum, indicate.' That is, 'Whether it be iust in the sight of God to heare and obey you before the Lord: be your selues iudges.' A bishop may not let a priest of giuing bodilie almes in his dioces: much more may he not let the doing of spirituall almes in his dioces by Gods lawe. A priest may saie his mattines withouten the bishops leaue: for the pope that is aboue the bishop, hath charged priestes therewith: and me thinketh that Christes bidding should be all so much of charge as the popes. Math. 10. 'Euntes autem prædicate. Ite ecce ego mitto vos.' Et Mar. 16. 'Euntes in mundum vniuersum,' &c. Lucae 10. Et Anacletus pap. Dist. 21. cap. 'In nouo Testamento.' Et Beda super illud: "Messis quidem multa." Et Isidorus 'De summo bono,' cap. 44. Et Gregorius, Causa xi. q. 3. 'Præconis quippe officium suscipit,' &c. Et Chrysostom. Causa xi. q. 3. cap. 86, 'Nolite timere.' Et Aug. Causa xi. q. 3. cap. 80, 'Quisquis.' Et Gregorius in suo Pastoralis. c. 38, 'Qui enim est.' Chrysost. hom. 31. et in Toletano concilio: 'Ignorantia.' Et Aug. in Prologo sermonum suorum: et Ieronymus,

Richard  
II.A. D.  
1391.3. Concl.  
sion.Declara-  
tion.A priest  
admitted  
ought to  
preach,  
though  
the prince  
and  
bishop  
forbid, so  
that he  
preach  
the word.

*Richard II.* Dist. 95. 'Ecce ego.' Et Ang. super id: 'Homo quidam peregrinus'—That is, 'Go you forth and preach;' and again, 'Behold I send you,' &c. Mar. 16. 'Go you into all the world,' &c. and Luk. 10. and Dist. 21. cap. 'In Nouo Testamento.' And Beda vpon this place, 'The harvest truly is great.' Also Isidorus 'De summo bono,' cap. 44. And Gregorius in Causa xi. quæst. 3, 'Præconis quippe officium suscipit,' &c.: and Chrysostome in the same Causa. 'Nolite timere:' and Augustine in the 34th Distinction, cap. 'Quisquis.' And Gregorius in his Pastoral, cap. 38, 'Qui enim est.' And Chrysostome in his 31st Homelie. And in the council of Toledo, 'Ignorantia.' And Augustine in the prologue of his Sermons. And Jerome in the 95th Distinct. cap. 6, 'Ecce ego.' And Augustine upon this place, 'A certaine traeller.'

4. Conclusion.

The fourth conclusion toucheth the sacrament of the altar, and is this: That wholly I beleuee that the sacrament of the altar, made by vertue of heauenlie wordes, is bread and Christes bodie, so as Christ himselfe saith in the gospel, and as S. Paul saith, and as doctors in the common law haue determined: To this sentence John 6. 'Moses hath not giuen you bread from heauen, but my father will giue you bread from heauen. He is the true bread that came downe from heauen and giueth life vnto the worlde. My father giueth vnto you bread in deed: the verie true bread of God is that, which came downe from heauen and giueth life vnto the world. I am the bread of life: The bread which I will giue is my flesh.' And in the canen of the Masse, 'Panem sanctum vitæ æternæ,' 'The holie bread of life.' And Corinth. the 10. chap. and first epistle. 'The bread which wee breake, is it not the communicating of the bodie of the Lord? Let a man proue himself, and so eate of that bread,' &c. And canon 'De consecratione' distinction 2. vnder the authoritie of Hilarius the pope: 'Corpus Christi quod sumitur de altari,' &c. And Augustine in the foresaid distinction: 'That which is seene, is bread,' &c. That which faith requireth, is bread, and is the body of Christ. And in ye foresaid distinction, cap. 'Omnia quæcunque,' &c. By these two sentences it is manifestlie declared, that that bread and this, be not two, but one bread and one flesh. Note the words for that he saith, the bread and flesh; and the author, 'De diuinis officiis;' and also Augustine in his booke, 'De remedijs penitentiae:' 'Why preparest thou thy teeth,' &c. And Ambrose, 'De sacramentis:' 'De consecratione:' distinct. 2. 'Reuera mirabile est,' &c. 'This meat which you receiue, and this bread of one which descended from heauen, doth minister the substance of eternall life; and whosoever shall eate the same, shall not die euerlastinglie, and is the bodie of Christ.' Note how he saith, 'and is the bodie of Christ.'

5. Conclusion.

The 5. article telleth of forgiuenesse of sinnes, and is this: That verie contrition withouten charitie and grace, do away all sinnes before done of that man, that is verilie contrite, and all true confession made by mouth outwardly to a wise priest and a good, profiteth much to a man, and it is needfull and helping, that men shew their life to such, trusting fullie to Gods mercie, that he forgiueth the sinne.

Remission doubt-  
ble.

And hereto I say, that there bene two remissions of sinnes: one that belongeth onelie to God: and that remission is the cleansing of the soule from sinne: and the other remission, a certifying that one man certifieth another, that his sinnes be forgiuen of God, if he be sory with all his heart for them, and is in full will to leaue them for euer: and this maner of forgiuenesse longeth to priests. Of the first maner of forgiuenesse, Dauid saith: 'And I said I will confess my vnrighteousnesse vnto the Lord, and thou forgavest me my inisdeede.' And Zacharie saith: 'And thou, O child, shalt be called the prophet of the highest, &c. to giue knowledge of saluation vnto his people for the remission of their sinnes, by the bowels of Gods mercie.' And John Baptist: 'Behold the Lambe of God that taketh away the sinnes of the world.' And S. John the Euangelist saith in his epistle: 'If we confesse our sinnes, he is faithfull and iust to forgiue vs our sinnes, and cleanse vs from all our iniquitie.' And it followeth: 'If anie man sinne, we haue an aduocate with the father, euen Jesus Christ, and hee it is that is the propitiation for our sinnes.' And of the other remission of sinnes Christ speaketh in the gospel, and saith: 'Whose sinnes ye forgiue, they shal be forgiuen.' And mans forgiuenes auaileth litle, unless God forgiue our sinnes through his grace.

6 Conclusion.

The 6. conclusion teacheth indulgences and pardons, that the pope graunteth in his bulles, and men callen it an absolution, 'A pœna et culpa.'

Of this maner of speach I cannot finde in the gospel, ne in no place of holie write, ne I haue not read that Christ vsed this maner of remission, ne none of his apostles. But as me seemeth, if the pope had such a power, sithen the paines after a man's death bene much greater than anie bodily pains of the world: me thinketh he should of charitie keep men out of such paines, and then men neede not to finde so manie vicious priests after their life, to bring their soules out of purgatorie. An other thing me thinketh, that sithen the popes power ne may not keep vs in this world fro bodily paines as from cold, from hunger, from dread, from sorrow, and other such paines, how should his power helpe vs from spirituall paines, when we bene dead? But for that no man commeth after his death to tell vs the sooth in what pain they bene, men mow tell thereof what hem lust. S. John saith in his Apocalyps, that he saw vnder the altair, the soules of them which were slayne for the word of God, and for the testimonie which they had. And they did crie with a loud voice, saying: 'Howe long Lord, holie and true, doest not thou reuenge our bloud of them which dwell on the earth?' And white stoles were giuen to euerie of them to rest a while, till the number of their fellow seruantes and brethren should be fulfilled, which also remained to be slaine as they were,' &c. Here seemeth it, that these soules were not assoiled 'a pœna,' that is, from paine: for their desire is not fulfillen. And they were bidden abide a while, and that is a pain. And if martyrs were not assoiled from paine, it is hard for anie man to saie, that he assoileth other men 'a pœna.' Also good mens soules haue not but spirituall blisse, and they want bodilie blisse, untill their resurrection in the day of dome. And after they desire to haue that blisse, and abiden it, and that is paine to them. And I cannot see that the pope hath power to bring him from this pain. But if anie man can shew me, that he hath such a power graunted in the troth of Holy Write, I will gladlie leefen it.

The 7. point speaketh of the pope and is this: Sithe it is onlie due to God, as I haue said before, to geue and to graunt plener remission, from paine, and from blame, that whatsoever he be, pope or other, that presumptuously mistaketh vppon him the power that onlie is due to God, in that, in as much as in him is, he maketh himselfe euen with Christ, and blasphemeth God, as Lucifer did, when he said, 'Ascendam, and ero similis altissimo.' That is, 'I will asceend, and be like the highest,' &c.

For that I say, if the pope holde men of armes in maintaining of his temporall lordship, to venge him on them that gilten and offenden him, and geueth remission to fight and to slaie them, that contrarien him, as men sayden hee did by the bishop of Norwich, not putting his sworde in his sheath, as God commaunded to Peter, he is Antichrist. For hee doth the contrarie of the commandement of Jesus Christ, that bade Peter forgiuen to his brother 70. sithe 7. sithe. Well I find in the gospel, that when Christ sent his disciples to Samarie, the Samaritanes would not receiuen them. And some of them bidden Christ, that hee should make a fire come downe from heauen, to destroy the citie. And hee blamed them, and said: 'Nescitis cuius spiritus estis: filius hominis non venit animas perdere, sed saluare. That is, 'Ye know not of what spirite ye are: the sonne of man is not come downe to destroy, but to saue the liues and soules of men,' &c. If Christ then come to saue men, and not to slea them, who that doth the reuers hereof, is against Christ, and then he is Antichrist. Christ bad Peter put his sword in his sheath and said: 'Omnes qui gladium acceperunt, gladio peribunt. That is: 'All which take the sword, shall perish with the sworde.' And I cannot finde that Peter drewe out his sworde after that time, but suffered as Christ said: 'Cum senueris, alius inget te, et ducet quo tu non vis.' That is, 'When thou shalt waxe old, another shall gird thee and lead thee whether thou wilt not.' And therefore said Peter, 'Christ suffered for vs, leauing vs example that we should follow his steppes. And Paule saith: 'Not defending your selues, but geue place to anger: leaue reuenging to mee, and I shall reward them,' &c. And therefore it seemeth to mee, that it is as much against Christes loue, that his vicar should bee a fighter, sithen that hee mote be a shepherd, that should go before his sheepe, and let them come after him, and not with swordes to driue them away from him. For

Richard II.

A. D. 1391.

Either there is purgatory, or else the pope is cruel. The pope's power can keep none from bodily pain, Ergo, much less from spiritual. He hath no power grounded upon Scripture to bring from pain of purgatory.

7. Conclusion.

The popo maketh himselfe euen with Christ.

The bishop of Norwich, Henry Spenser, the pope's warrior set up of the pope to slay his enemies. The pope contrary to Christ.

Proved Antichrist.

(1) If the martyrs being dead, be not assured from grief of tarrying, much less can they assoil others from pains of purgatory.

Richard  
II.  
A. D.  
1391.

Two  
swords  
never  
given to  
the pope.

Two sorts  
of an-  
noin-  
tings in  
Scrip-  
ture.

A defec-  
tion in  
Anti-  
christ's  
time.

as Christ saith, 'A good shepheard shall put his life for his sheepe.' And zif all that Christ had, were two swordes, when hee was taken of the Jewes, he said himselfe, it was, for that the Scriptures moten zit be fulfilled: 'Quoniam cum iniquis deputatus est,' that is: 'Hee was reputed among the wicked:' and not to figure two swordes, that men sayen the pope hath, to gouerne with the church. And when I see such doings of the pope, and many other that accorden not with Christes lore, ne his liuing: and when I reade diuers Scriptures of holie writte, I am foule astonied whether they shoulde be understood of him, or of anie other. And I pray you for Gods loue tell me the sooth. Christ saith: 'Many shall come in my name, saying, I am Christ, and shall seduce manie,' &c. Christ (I wot well) is as much to say, as he that is anointed; and two anointings there weren in the lawe, one of kings, another of priests. And Christ was both king and priest, and so the pope saith that *he* is. And if all that haue bene emperours of Rome, and other heathen kinges, haue bene Antichristes, they come not in Christes name. But who so commeth in Christe's name, and faineth him Christe's frend, and he be priuillie his enemye, he may lightlie beguile manie. Saint Paule saith: 'Before there commeth a defection first, and the sonne of perdition shall be reuealed, which is the aduersarie, and is extolled aboue all that is named God, or which is worshipped: so that he shall sit in the temple of God, shewing him selfe as God.' And it followeth in the same place: 'And now ye know what holdeth till he be reuealed in his time, for he worketh alreadie the mysterie of iniquitie. Onlie he that holdeth, let him holde till he come abroad, and then that wicked one shall be reuealed, whom the Lord Iesus shall slay with the spirite of his mouth,' &c. And Saint Iohn saith in the Apocalyps: 'I sawe another beast ascending out of the earth, and two hornes like to the lambe. He spake like the Dragon, and had the power of the first beast.' Manie such authorities astonieth me oft sithes, and therefore I pray you, for the loue of God, to tel me that they meane.

### The Sentence against William Swinderby.

The which schedule<sup>1</sup> aforementioned, with the contents thereof, diligently of us perused, we, considering that diseases which be not easily cured with gentle remedy must have harder plaisters; considering, moreover, these his articles, with his answers to the same, and to other articles also lastly against him produced; first mature deliberation had before upon the whole matter with the aforesaid masters and doctores, as well secular as regular, to a great number, observing in the same all things to be observed in this behalf, have given sentence against the said William in form as followeth.

Sentence  
given  
against  
him.

The name of Christ being invocated, we Iohn, by the permission of God, bishop of Hereford, sitting in tribunal seat, having God before our eyes, weighing and considering the articles by the aforesaid faithful Christians put up against the said Swinderby, pretending himself to be priest, with his answers upon the same 'Actis et Aetitatis' before us, in the cause of heretical perversity, with the mature deliberation had before, in this behalf, with masters and doctores of divinity, and also of other faculties, with their counsel and consent, do pronounce, decree, and declare the said William to have been, and to be, a heretic, schismatic, and a false informer of the people, and such as is to be avoided of faithful Christians. Wherefore we admonish, under the pain of the law, all and singular Christians, of what sex, state, condition, or pre-eminence soever, that neither they, nor any of them, within our diocese, or any other, do believe, receive, defend, or favour the said William, till he shall deserve fully to be reconciled to the bosom again of holy church.

### The Appeal of William Swinderby from this Sentence of the Bishop prefixed, unto the King and his Council.

'In nomine patris, et filij, et spiritus sancti,' Amen. I William Swinderby, priest, knowledge openlie to all men, that I was before the bishop of Hereford the third day of October, and before manie other good clerks, to answer to certaine conclusions of the faith that I was accused of. And mine answer was

(1) Mention was made of this schedule before, in the first day's act, p. 120.

this: That if the bishop or any man couthe shewe me by Gods law, that my conclusions or mine answeres were error or heresie, I would be amended, and openlie reuoke them before all the people. \* \* \* <sup>1</sup> knowes in any of my conclusions, but sayden singly with word, that there were errorrs in them, and bidden me subiect me to the bishop, and put me into his grace and reuoke mine errorr, and shewed me nought by Gods law ne reason, ne proued which they weren. And for I would not knowledge me guiltie, so as I knewe no errorr in them, of which I should be guiltie, therefore the bishop sate in dome in mine absence, and deemed me an hereticke, a schismaticke, and a teacher of errorrs, and denounced me accursed, that I come not to correction of the church. And therefore, for this vnrightfull iudgement, I appeale to the kings justices for manie other causes.

*Richard II.*

*A. D. 1391.*

One cause is, for the kings court, in such matter, is aboue the bishops court: The king's court above the bishop's court.  
for after that the bishop has accused, hee may ne feare by his law, but then mote he sech succour of the kings law, and by a writ of 'significauit' put a man in prison.

The second cause is, for in cause of heresie there liggeth iudgement of death, and that dome may not be giuen without the kings justices. For the bishop will say: 'Nobis non licet interficere quenquam,' that is, 'It is not lawfull for vs to kill any man: as they sayden to Pilate, when Christ should be deemed. And for I think that no justice will giue sodainly and vntrue dome as the bishop did, and therefore openlie I appeale to hem and send my conclusions to the knightes of the parliament, to be shewed to the lordes, and to be taken to the justices, to be well auiset or that they geuen dome.

The third cause is, for it was a false dome: for no man is an hereticke, but he that maisterfullie defends his errorr or heresie, and stiflie maintaines it. And mine answer has ben alwaie conditionall, as the people openlie knowes: for euer I say, and yet say, and alway will; that if they cannen shew me by Gods law that I haue erret, I will gladlie ben amendet, and reuoke mine errorrs; and so I am no hereticke, ne neuer more in Gods grace will ben in no wise.

*What is a heretic.*

The fourth cause is: for the bishops lawe, that they deme men by, is full of errorrs and heresies, contrarie to the trueth of Christes law of the gospell.

*The bishop's law of condemnation full of heresies and errors.*

For there as Christes law biddes vs loue our enemies, the popes law geues vs leaue to hate them and to sley them, and grauntes men pardon to werren againe heathen men, and sley hem. And there as Christes law teache vs to be mercifull, the bishops lawe teaches to be wretchfull. For death is the greatest wretch that men mowen done on him that guiltie is.

There as Christes law teaches vs, to blessen him that diseazen vs, and to pray for him, the popes law teacheth vs to curse them, and in their great sentence that they vsen, they presume to damme hem to hell that they cursen. And this is a foule heresie of blasphemie: there as Christes lawe bids vs be patient, the popes law iustifies two swords, that wherewith he smiteth the sheepe of the church. And he has made lordes and kinges to sweare to defend him and his church.

There as Christe's law forbiddeth vs lecherie, the pope's law iustifies the abominable whoredome of common women, and the bishops, in some place, haue a great tribute or rent of whoredome.

There as Christe's laws bids to minister spirituall thinges freele to the people, the pope with his law selles for money, after the quantitie of the gift, as pardons, orders, blessing, and sacramentes, and praiers, and benefices, and preaching to the people; as it is known amongst them.

*Contrariety between the pope and Christ.*

There as Christes lawe teaches peace, the pope, with his law, assoiles men for money to gader the people, priests, and other, to fight for his cause.

There as Christes law forbids swearing, the popes law iustifieth swearing, and compels men thereto.

Whereas Christe's law teacheth his priestes to be poore, the pope, with his lawe, iustifies and maintaines priestes to be lordes.

And yet the fift cause is, for the popes lawe that bishops demen men by, is the same vnrightfull lawe that Christ was demet by of the bishops, with the Scribes and with the Pharisees. For right as at that time they gauen more credens to the two false witnesses that witnessed against Christ, then they deden to al the people that witnesseden to his true preaching and his miracles: so the

Richard  
II.A.D.  
1391.The cause  
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the pope

bishops of the popes law geuen more leuen by their lawe to two heretickes and apostates, or two comen wymen, that woulde witnesseden agaynes a man in the cause of heresie, than to thousandes of people that were true and good. And for the pope is this Antichrist, and his law contrary to Christ his law, fully I forsake this law, and so I reed all christen men. For thus, by an other point of this lawe, they mighten conquere much of this world: for whan they can by this lawe present a man an hereticke, his goodes shulen be forfet from him and from his heires, and so might they lightlie haue two or three false witnessses to record an heresie against vhat true man, so hem liked. Herefore me thinkes, that whatsoever that I am a christen man, I may lawfully appeale from a false dome of the lawe, to be righteously demet by the trowth of Gods law. And if this appeale will not serue, I appeale openlie to my Lord Jesu Christ that shall deme all the world, for hee I wot well, will not spare for no man to deeme a trowth. And therefore I pray God Almighty with Dauid in the Sauter Booke, 'Deus iudicium tuum regi da, et iustitiam tuam filio regis: Iudicare populum tuum in iustitia et pauperes tuos in iudicio:' that is, 'O God giue thy iudgement to the king, and thy iustice to the kings sonne; to iudge thy people in iustice, and thy poore ones in iudgement,' &c.

A fruitful Letter sent to the Nobles and Burgesses of the Parliament,  
by Master William Swinderby.

Iesu, that art both God and man, helpe thy people that louen thy law, and make knowen through thy grace thy teaching to all christen men! Deare sirs, so as we seen, by manie tokens, that this world drawes to an end, and all that euer haue bene forth-brought of Adam's kind into this world, shulen come togeder at domesday, rich and poore, ichone to geue accompt and receiue after his deeds ioy or paynen for euermore: therefore make we our werks good, ye while that God of mercy abides, and be ye stable and true to God, and ye shulen see his helpe about you. "Constantes estote et videbitis auxilium Domini super vos." This land is full of ghostly cowards, in ghostly battaile fewe dare stand. But Christ, the comforter of all that falleth (to that his heart brast for our loue), against that fiend, the doughtie duke comforteth vs thus: "Estote fortes in bello," &c. "Be ye strong in battaile," he saies, "and fight ye with the old adder." "State in fide, viriliter agite," &c. "Wake ye and pray yee, stonde ye in beleeue, do ye manly and be ye comforted, and let all your things be done with charitie." For Saint Paul bids thus in his Epistle, that saw the priuities of God in heauen: "Euigilate iusti," &c. "Awake ye that been righteous men, be ye stable and vnmoueable: Awake ye quickly and sleepe nought, and stonde now strongly for God's law." For Saint Iohn in the Apocalips sayes: "Blessed be he that awakes: for nought to sleepers but to wakers God has behite the crown of life." "For the houre is now," as Paul saith to vs, "from sleepe for to arise, for hee that earlie awakes to me, he shall finde me, saith Christ himseluen." This waking ghostly, is good liuing out of sinne: this sleep betokens that which cowardeth a man's heart from ghostly comfort, and to stand in the same, thorough a deceaueable sleepe is this that lets a man of the blisse of heauen. The fiend makes men bold in sinne and ferd to doe worship to God. Death is a likening to a theefe that priuily steals vpon a man that now is riche, and full of wele; anon hee makes him a needie wreeche. Therefore, said God, by Saint Iohn, in the Apocalips, in this wise: "Be thou waking, for if thou wake nought, I shall come to thee as a theefe, and thou shalt not wit what houre." "And if the husbandman" saies Christ, "wist what houre the theefe shoulde come, hee woulde wake and suffer him not to vndermine his house." Saint Peter therefore warneth and saith, "Wake and be yee ware, suffer yee no man," he sayes, "as a theefe, but willinglie for Gods loue;" "for it is time," as Peter saies, "that dome begin from the house of God." "Ye bene the body of Christ," sayes Poule, "that needs must suffer with the head, or els your bodies bene but dead and departed from Christ that is the head." "And therefore curset be he," saies Poule, "that loues not Iesu Christ." And who it is that loues him, Christ himselfe telles in the gospel, "Hee that has my hests, and keeps them, he it is that loues me." "Curset be he therefore," says Poule, "that doth Christe's workes deceiueably." "Be ye not therefore," says Poule,



‘ashamed of the true wisse of Iesu Christ;’ for Christ our God sayes in his gospel, “Hee that shames me and my wordes, him shall mansonne ashamen when he shall come for to set in the siege of his Maiestie. And each man,” he sayes, “that knowes me and my wordes before men, in this sinfull generation and whorish, mans sonne shall knowledge him before my father,” sayes Christ himself, “when he shal come with hys auengels in the glorie of his father.” Siche ye therefore bene Christen men, that is to say, Christes men, shew in dede that ye bene such as ye daren shew you the kings men; “for hit had bene,” as Peter sayes, “better not to haue knowen the way of trueth, then after the knowing thereof to bee conuerted backward there from.” We knowen Christ, that is tought, we sayn all through our beliefe, if we turne from him for drede, truly we denie the troth. And therefore sith our time is short, (how short no man knowes but God,) do we the good that wee may to Gods worship, “when we haue time.” “Be true” (saies God) “to the death, and you shall haue the crowne of life.” And thinke on Iudas Machabens,<sup>1</sup> that was God’s true knight, that comforted hartely Gods true people, to be the followers of his law. “And geue ye,” hee said, “your lines for the Testament of your fathers. And ye shullen winne,” he said, “great ioy, and a name for euermore.” “Was not Abraham,” hee said, “in temptation founden true, and was aracetet vnto him euermore to righteounesse; Ioseph in time of his anguish hee kept truly Gods best, hee was made, by Gods prouidence, lord of Egypt, for his trouth. Phinces our fadure louing,” hee saith, “the zeale of God, tooke the testament of euermore lasting priesthoode. Iosue for hee fulfillet the worde of God was domes man in Israel. Caleph that witnessed in the church, he took therefore the heritage,” he saith: “Dauid, in his mercie, he gat the siege of the kingdom in worlds. Hely for that he loued the zeale of Gods lawe, was taken vppe into heauen. Ananie, Azarye, and Misael,” hee saies, “weren deliueret thore through true beliefe out of the hot flame of fire. True Daniel in his simples was delinert from the lyons mouth. Bethinke ye therefore,” he saies, “by generation and generation, and thou shalt neuer finde that he fayled that man that truly trusted in him. And therefore dread you nought,” he saies, “of the words of a sinfull man: his glory is,” he saies, “but wormes and tordes: hee is to day,” he saith y made lie; “to morow,” he saies, “he is not founden, for he is turned,” he sayes, “into his earth againe, and the mind of him is perisshet. Sonnes therefore” he saies, “be ye comfortet, and die manly in the law: for when ye han done that that God commaunds you to doe, ye shulen be glorions in him.” And Dauid the king saies also on this wise in the Psalter booke: “blesset be they (Lord) that keepe thy law, in worldes of worldes they shall praise thee.” And in Leuiticus sayes God thus: “gif that yee wonden in mine hestes and keepe my commaundementes, and done hem, I shal bring forth their fruit, and trees shall be fulfilled with apples. And ye shal enate your bread in fulnesse, ye shoulde dwell in your land without drede, I shall giue peace in your costes, ye shal sleepe and no man shall feare you. Tuill beastes I shal done away from you, and sword shal not passe your termes, ye shuln pursue your enemies, and they shall fall before you; fiftie of yours shulne pursue an hundred of heren, an hundred of yours, a thousand of theirs: your enemies,” he saith, “shuln fal through sword, and your sate. I shall” he sayes, “behold you and make you to waxe, and yee shall be multipli: And I shall strength with you my couenant, ye shall eat the aldest, and the new shull come in thereon: and yee shuln cast forth the olde. I shall dwell in the midst of you, and I shal wend amonges you, and shal be your God, and ye shulne be my people. If that yee heare me not, ne done nought all my hestes, but dispisen my law, and my domes, and that ye done not the things that of me bene ordenet, and breken my commaundementes and my couenant: I shall doe these things to you. I shall visite you surely in nede and brenning, which shal dimme your eghenen, and shal wast your liues about nought: Ye shulne sowe your sode, for hit shal be denouret of enemies; I shal put my face against you, and ye shall fall before your enemies. And ye shulden be vnderlinges to them that han hatred you, ye shall flee, no man pursuing. And if ye will not be buxome to me, I shall adde, therevnto, thornes, and sevenfold blame. And I shall all to brast the hardnes of you. I shall geue the heanen aboue you as yron, and the earth as brasse. About nought shal your labour be, for the earth shall bring you forth no fruit, ne tree

Richard  
11A. D.  
1391.[1 Mac. ii.  
50—61]Daniel  
vi. 22.Psalm  
exix. 2.Levit.  
xxvi.

(1) Rather, his father Mattathias: see Appendix.—Ed.

(2) Reckoned. [Supply ‘it’ before ‘was aracetet,’ from the Maccabees. Ed.]

(3) Dung, see the Maccabees.—Ed.

*Richard II.*

A.D.  
1391.

shall geue none apples to you. If that ye wenden against me, and will not heare me, I shall adde hereto, seven fold woundes for your sinnes. I shall send amongst you beastes of the field that shall deuour you and your beastes, I shall bring you into a field, and wayes shuln be desart. And if that ye will not receiue lore, but wenden againste me, I will also wenden againste you, and I shall smite you seven sithes for your sinnes. I shall leade in vpon you, sword, venger of my conenant: and vpon the fleeen into cities, I shal send pestilence in the midst of you. So that ten women shall bake their bread in one furnace, and yeld them again by waight, and ye shall eat, and not be fillet. If that yee heare me not by these things, but wenden against me, I shall wend in against you in a contrarie woodnesse, and blame you with seven plagues for your sinnes; so that they soulen eat the flesh of your sonnes and of your daughters. And insomuch my soule shall loth you, that I shall bring your cities into wildernesse, and your sanctuaries I shall make desart, ne I shall not ouer that receiue sweet oder of your mouth. And I shall disperple<sup>1</sup> your land, and enemies shulen maruel thereon, when they shulen inhabite it; I shal disperpel you among heathen, and draw my sworde after you." These vengeancees and many mo, God said should fall on them that breake his bidding, and dispiseth his lawes, and his domes. Than sithe Christ become man, and bought vs with his heart blond, and has shewed vs so great loue, and giuen vs an easie law, of the best that euer might be made, and to bring vs to the ioy of heauen, and we dispise it and lounen it nought; what vengeance will be taken here on, so long as he has suffered vs, and so mercifully abidden, when Hee shall come, that righteous iudge, in the cloudes, to deme this world? Therefore turne we vs to him, and leaue sinne that hee hates, and, ouer all thinges, maintaine his law that he confirmed with his death. For other lawes that men had made, should be demed, at that day, by the iust law of Christ, and the maker that them made; and then we wonne that long life and that ioy that Poul speaketh of, "that eye ne see not, ne eare heard not, ne into mans heart ascended not, the blisse and ioy that God hath ordeined to them that lounen him and his lawes."

The faithful request of William Swinderby.

Deare worshipfull sirs, in this world I beseech you for Christes loue, as ye that I trow lounen Gods law and trouth, (that, in these daies, is greatly borne abacke) that they wollen vouchsafe these thinges, that I send you writen, to Gods worship, to let them be shewed in the parliament as your wits can best conceiue, to most worship to our God, and to shewing of the trouth and amending of holy church. My conclusions and mine appeale, and other true matters of Gods law (gif any man can find therein error, falsenesse, or default, prouet by the law of Christ clearly to christen mens knowledge), I shall reuoke my wrong conceit, and by Gods law be amendet: euer readie to holde with Gods law, openly and priuily, with Gods grace, and nothing to hold, teach, or maintaine, that is contrarie to his law.

Of the proecess, answers, and condemnation, of this worthy priest, and true servant of Christ, William Swinderby, you have heard. What afterwards became of him I have not certainly to say or affirm; whether he in prison died, or whether he escaped their hands, or whether he was burned, there is no certain relation made.<sup>2</sup> This remaineth out of doubt, that during the time of King Richard II. no great harm was done unto him, which was to the year 1399,<sup>3</sup> at which time, king Richard being wrongfully deposed, Henry IV. invaded the kingdom of England; about the beginning of whose reign we read of a certain parliament holden at London, mentioned also by Thomas Walsden, as is above specified, in which parliament it was decreed, that whosoever showed themselves to be favourers of Wickliff, who at that time were called Lollards, they should be apprehended; and if so be they did

(1) On "disperple" and "disperpel" (next line) see the Appendix.—Ed.

(2) Foxe himself, however, supplies two subsequent notices of Swinderby, viz at pp. 135, 195, 196, from which it appears that he was still at large in January and March 1392.—Ed.

(3) The date which Foxe here assigns for the "time" of King Richard is 1391, though he gives the true date of the accession of Henry IV. at pp. 136, 221. —Ed. see the Appendix.—Ed.

obstinately persevere in that doctrine, they should be delivered over unto the bishop of the diocese, and from him should be committed to the correction of the secular magistrate. This law (saith the story) brought a certain priest to punishment the same year, who was burned in Smithfield in the presence of a great number. This have we drawn out of a piece of an old story, and it is most certain that such a priest was burned there for the affirmation of the true faith, but it doth not appear by the story what the priest's name was: notwithstanding, by divers conjectures, it appeareth unto me that his name was Swinderby, who was forced to recant, before, by the bishop of Lincoln. Whereby what is to be conjectured by the premises, let other men judge what they think, I have nothing hereof expressly to affirm. This is plain for all men to judge, who have here seen and read his story, that if he were burned, then the bishops, friars, and priests, who were the causes thereof, have a great thing to answer to the Lord, when he shall come to judge the quick and the dead, *et seculum per ignem*.

*Richard  
II.*

*A. D.  
1391.*

### The Story and Process against Walter Brute, a Briton.<sup>1</sup>

*See  
Appendix*

After the story of William Swinderby, I thought good and convenient next to adjoin the acts and doings of Walter Brute, his joint fellow and companion, being a lay-man and learned, brought up as it seemeth in the university of Oxford, being there also graduate; the tractation of whose discourse, as it is something long, so therein may appear divers things worthy to be read and considered. First, the mighty operation of God's Spirit in him, his ripe knowledge, his modest simplicity, his valiant constancy, his learned tractations, and his manifold conflicts sustained against God's enemies. On the contrary part, in his adversaries may appear, might against right; man's authority against plain verity: against which, they, having nothing directly to answer, proceed in condemnation of him against whom they are able to bring forth no confutation. The chiefest occasion that seemed to stir up the heart and zeal of this Walter against the pope, was the impudent pardons and indulgences of pope Urban VI., granted to Henry Spencer, bishop of Norwich, to fight against pope Clement VII., mentioned before, at page 51: secondly, the wrongful condemnation of the articles and conclusions of William Swinderby. The whole order whereof, in the process here following more plainly may appear.

The Process had by John, Bishop of Hereford, against Walter Brute, a Lay-man and learned, of the Diocese of Hereford, touching the cause of Heresy, as they call it; set forward by the way of the Bishop's Office, &c., at the Instruction of certain Faithful Christians, as he termed them, but in deed, cruel and false Promoters.<sup>2</sup>

In the name of God, Amen: To all manner of faithful christian people, that shall see and hear this our present process, John, by the sufferance of God, bishop of Hereford, sendeth greeting and continual charity in the Lord. We would that you all should know, that of late, by many faithful christian people, and specially zealous followers of the catholic faith, it was lamentably done us to understand, by way of complaint, that a certain son of ours going out of kind,

*Murder-  
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etics  
marking  
under-  
lying  
loving  
words.*

(1) The story of Walter Brute is not related in the first Edition. Ed. 1570, p. 566. Ed. 1576, p. 457. Ed. 1583, p. 475. Ed. 1596, p. 435. Ed. 1681, vol. i. p. 542.

(2) Ex registro Eps. Hereford.

*Richard II.*  
A. D.  
1391.  
 named Walter Brute, a lay person, learned, of our diocese, hath, under a cloaked show of holiness, damnably seduced the people; and, setting behind him the fear of God, doth seduce them as much as he can, from day to day; informing and teaching openly and privily as well the nobles as the commons, in certain conclusions heretical, schismatical, and erroneous, and also heretofore condemned: and they have also probably exhibited against the same Walter, the articles under-written, in manner and form as followeth.

### Articles exhibited and denounced to the Bishop, against Walter Brute, by certain Priests and Friars.

Reverend father and lord! we, the faithful people of Christ, and zealous lovers of the catholic faith, and also your humble and devout children, do minister and exhibit to your reverend fatherhood the articles under-written, touching the catholic faith, contrary and against malicious persons, and detractors of the same faith, and the determinations of holy mother church; and namely against the child of Belial, one Walter Brute, a false teacher and seducer amongst the people: humbly beseeching, that you would vouchsafe to have regard to the correction of the enormities under-written, according unto the canonical constitutions, even as to your office pastoral doth lie and belong.

*First Article.*  
*See Appendix.*  
 Imprimis, We do give and exhibit, and intend to prove, that the same Walter Brute, being unmindful of his salvation, hath been, by many and divers faithful christian people, sundry times accused of the cursedness of heresy, as by the swift report, slander, and rumour of the people, proceeding before the most reverend father and lord, lord William archbishop of Canterbury, and also before the reverend father and lord, lord John, late bishop of Hereford, your predecessor, and now bishop of St. Asaph, hath been testified; and also hath been many and divers times cited to answer unto articles by him against the catholic faith avouched, and openly and publicly taught. But he, in this matter of heretical cursedness (so grievously and shamefully spoken of), hath never regarded to purge his innocency; but lurkingly, and running into corners, hath many and sundry years laboured to advance things erroneous and schismatical, and also heresies, and to imprint them in the hearts of faithful people.

*Second.*  
 Item, The aforesaid Walter Brute hath openly, publicly, and notoriously, avouched, and commonly said and taught, and stubbornly affirmed, that every christian man, yea, and woman, being without sin, may make the body of Christ as well as the priest.

*Third.*  
 Item, The same Walter hath notoriously, openly, and publicly, avouched and taught, that in the sacrament of the altar there is not the very body, but a sign and a memorial only.

*Fourth.*  
 Item, The aforesaid Walter hath said commonly, and avouched, and also hath laboured to inform men and companies, that no man is bound to give tithes or oblations; and if any man will needs give, he may give his tithes and oblations to whom he will, excluding thereby their curates.

*Fifth.*  
 Item, That such as do preach and prefer croised matters, and pardons (granted by the high bishop to them that helped the purpose of the reverend father lord Henry, by the grace of God, bishop of Norwich, when he took his journey upon him to fight for the holy father the pope), are schismatics and heretics; and that the pope cannot grant such manner of pardons.

*Sixth.*  
 Item, The said Walter hath oftentimes said, and commonly avouched, that the pope is Antichrist, and a seducer of the people, and utterly against the law and life of Christ.

*Seventh.*  
 Item, Whereas, of late your reverence did, at the installee of faithful christian people, proceed in form of law against William Swinderby; and that the said William Swinderby had, unto the said articles objected against him, given up his answers in writing, containing in them errors, schisms, and heresies, even as you, with the mature counsel of masters and doctors in divinity, and other faculties, have determined and given sentence, and have pronounced the same William Swinderby to be a heretic and a schismatic, and an erroneous teacher of the people: nevertheless the aforementioned Walter hath openly, publicly, and notoriously, said, avouched, and stubbornly affirmed, that the said William's answers (whereof notice hath been given before) are good, righteous, and not

able to be convinced, in that they contain none error; and that your sentence beforesaid, given against the same William, is evil, false, and unjust; and that you and your assistants have wickedly, naughtily, perversely, and unjustly, condemned the answers aforesaid.

*Richard  
II.*

A. D.  
1391.

Now, thereupon immediately, those same faithful christian people have instantly required, that we would vouchsafe that other articles given by the same faithful christians against the said William Swinderby,<sup>1</sup> together with the writings and answers of the same William thereunto, should be admitted against Walter Brute, mentioned of in this matter of cursed heresy; of which articles and answers the tenors do follow in these words.

Other-  
wise  
bloody  
promo-  
ters.

Imprimis, That one William Swinderby, pretending himself priest, was of certain articles and conclusions erroneous, false, schismatical, and heretical, by him preached at divers places and times before a great multitude of faithful christians, judicially convinced; and the same articles and conclusions did he, enforced by necessity of law, revoke and abjure, some as heretical, and other as erroneous and false; and for such did he avouch them, ever afterward promising so to take and believe them, and that from thenceforth he would openly or privily preach, teach, or affirm none of them; nor that he should make sermon or preach within your diocese, without license demanded and obtained. And in case he should to the contrary presume, by preaching or avouching, that then he should be subject to the severity of the canons, even as he judicially sware, accordingly as the law enforced.

II. Item, the conclusions abjured by the said William do follow, and are such.

1. Inprimis, That men, by the rule of charity, may demand debts, but by no means imprison any man for debts; and that the party so imprisoning a body, is excommunicated.

2. Item, That if the parishioners shall know their curate to be incontinent and naughty, they ought to withdraw from him their tithes, &c.

3. Item, That tithes are mere almosies; and in case that the curates shall be ill, they may be lawfully bestowed upon others by the temporal owners, &c.

4. Item, That an evil curate to excommunicate any under his jurisdiction for withholding of tithes, is naught else, &c.

5. Item, That no man may excommunicate any body, except that first he know him excommunicate of God; neither do those that communicate with such a one, incur the sentence of excommunication by any manner of means.

6. Item, That every priest may absolve every sinner being contrite, and is bound to preach the gospel unto the people, notwithstanding the prohibition of the bishops.

7. Item, That a priest, receiving by bargain any thing of yearly annuity, is in so doing a schismatic, and excommunicate.

8. Item, He doth assuredly believe, as he avoucheth, that every priest being in deadly sin, if he dispose himself to make the body of Christ, doth rather commit idolatry, than make Christ's body.

9. Item, That no priest doth enter into any house, but to handle ill the wife, the daughter, or the maid, and therefore, &c.

10. Item, That the child is not rightly baptized, if the priest, &c.

11. Item, That no manner of person if he live against God's law, &c.

III. Item, The same William, against the things premised and his revocation and abjuration, not to his heart converting, but from evil to worse perverting, did turn aside into our diocese, where, running to and fro in divers places, he hath of his own rash head presumed to preach, or rather to pervert, &c.

IV. Item, After that we had heard divers rumours, and slanders of very many, we directed divers monitions and commandments comminatory, to be sent abroad by our commissaries to sundry places of our diocese, that no person, of what estate, degree, or condition soever he were, should presume to preach or to teach the sacred Scripture to the people, in places holy or profane, within our diocese, &c.

(1) These conclusions and articles of William Swinderby here repeated, and objected to Walter Brute, are to be found before, p. 110. [But article IV., as it stands there, is here divided into three, making the total number here XIX, instead of XVII. See Appendix.—Ed.]

Richard  
II.

A. D.  
1391.

Infan-  
dum  
facinus  
scilicet.

A peril-  
ous door  
to open.

A foul  
fault for-  
sooth.

Walter  
Pride pro-  
moter, or  
rather a  
proud  
promoter.

V. Item, That the same sort of monitions, inhibitions, and precepts confirmed by our seal, came to the true and undoubted knowledge of the said William.

VI. Item, The same William, unmindful of his own salvation, hath sithens and against those monitions, inhibitions, and precepts, and (that which is more abominable to be spoken) in contempt of the high bishop's dignity, and to the slander and offence of many people, presumed in divers places of our said diocese to preach, or rather to pervert, and to teach, the forementioned and other heretical, erroneous, and schismatical devices.

VII. Item, The same William, in preaching to the people on Monday, to wit, the first of August, in the year of our Lord 1390, in the church of Whitney, in our diocese, held and affirmed, That no prelate of the world, of what state, pre-eminence, or degree soever he were, having cure of souls and being in deadly sin, &c.

VIII. Item, The same William in many places said and affirmed, in the presence of many faithful christian people, That after the sacramental words uttered by the priest, having the intent to consecrate, there is not made the very body of Christ in the sacrament of the Eucharist.

IX. Item, That accidents cannot be in the sacrament of the altar without their subject; and that there remaineth material bread 'Concomitanter' with the body of Christ in the sacrament.

X. Item, That a priest being in deadly sin, cannot, by the power of the sacramental words, make the body of Christ.

XI. Item, That all priests are of like power in all points, notwithstanding that some of them are, in this world, of higher dignity, degree, or pre-eminence.

XII. Item, That contrition only putteth away sin, if a man shall be duly contrite; and that all vocal confession and exercise is superfluous, and not requisite of necessity to salvation.

XIII. Item, That inferior curates have not their power of binding and loosing mediately<sup>1</sup> from the pope or bishop, but immediately from Christ, &c.

XIV. Item, That the pope cannot grant such kind of annual pardons, because there shall not be so many years to the day of judgment, as are contained in the pope's bulls or pardons. Whereby it followeth, that pardons are not so much worth as they are noised and praised to be.

XV. Item, That it is not in the pope's power to grant unto any penitent body, forgiveness of the pain, or of the trespass.

XVI. Item, That one giving his alms to any body, who, as he judgeth, hath no need thereof, doth sin in so giving it, &c.

XVII. Item, That it stands not in the power of any prelate, of what private religion soever he be, to give, by letters, benefits of their order; neither do such kind of benefits given profit them to whom they be given, for the salvation of souls.

XVIII. Item, That the same William, unmindful of his own salvation, hath many times and often resorted to a certain desert wood called Derwalswood, of our diocese, and there, in a certain unhallowed chapel (nay, a profane cottage), hath presumed of his own proper rashness, to celebrate, &c.

XIX. Item, The same William hath also presumed to do the like things in a certain profane chapel, situate in the park of Newton, nigh to the town of Leyntwardyn, in the same our diocese.

Which things being done, the same faithful christian people, and especially Sir Walter Pride, the penitentiary of our cathedral church of Hereford, personally appearing before us, sitting in our judgment seat in the parish church of Whiteborne of our diocese, brought forth and exhibited two public instruments against the same Walter Brute, in the case of cursed heresy aforesaid, of which instruments here followeth the tenors and articles in this sort.

The first Instrument exhibited by certain Canons of Hereford against Walter Brute.

In the name of God, Amen. Be it evidently known to all persons, by this present public instrument, that in the year from the incarnation, after the course

(1) See before, p. 112, note (1).—ED.

and computation of the church of England, 1391, the indiction 14, and of the pontifical office of our most holy father and lord in Christ, lord Boniface IX. by God's wisdom pope, the second year, the fifteenth day of the month of October, in the dwelling-house of the worshipful man, Master John Gode-moston, canon of the cathedral church of Hereford, in the presence of me, the public notary underwritten, and of witnesses subscribed, Walter Brute a layman, learned, of Hereford diocese, personally appearing, said, avouched, and stiffly maintained, that the said bishop of Hereford, and assistants who were with him the third day of the aforesaid month of October, the year of our Lord aforesaid, in the church of Hereford, did naughtily, wickedly, perversely, and unjustly, condemn the answers of Sir William Swinderby, chaplain, given by the same Sir William to the same lord bishop in writing, and also the articles ministered by the same Sir William.

*Richard II.*

*A.D. 1391.*

Bishop of Hereford unjustly condemns the articles of Swinderby.

*See Appendix.*

And, furthermore, he said, held, and avouched, that the same conclusions given by the same Sir William, even as they were given, are true and catholic.

Item, As touching the matters objected against him by them that stood by, concerning the sacrament of the altar; he said, that after the sacramental words there doth remain very bread, and the substance thereof after the consecration of the body of Christ; and that there do not remain accidents without substance or subject after the consecration of the body of Christ. And as touching this matter, the doctors hold divers opinions.

Matters objected against Walter Brute.

Furthermore, as concerning the pope, he said, held and avouched, that he is the very Antichrist; because that in life and manners he is contrary to the laws, doctrines, and deeds, of Christ our Lord.

The pope Antichrist.

All and every of these things were done, even as they be above-written and rehearsed in the year of our Lord, pontifical office, month, day, and place aforesaid, at supper time of the day aforesaid; then and there being present the worshipful and discreet men, Sir Walter Ramsbury, chief chaunter of the said cathedral church of Hereford, Roger Hoore, canon of the same church, Walter Wall, chaplain of the said church of Hereford (being a vicar of the choral), and certain other worthy witnesses of credit, that were specially called and desired to the premises.<sup>1</sup>

Witnesses against him.

And I, Richard Lee Whelar, clerk of Worcester, being a public notary by the authority apostolic, was personally present at all and singular the premises, whilst that, as is before rehearsed, they were done and a doing in the year of our Lord, 1391; pontifical office, month, day, place, and the hour aforesaid: and I did see, write, and hear, all and singular those things thus to be done, and have reduced them into this public manner and form; and, being desired truly to testify the premises, have sealed the said instrument made hereupon, with mine accustomed seal and name.

Richard Lee Whelar register and writer hereof.

### Form of the second Instrument.

In the name of God, Amen. Be it plainly known to all persons, by this present public instrument, that in the year from the incarnation of the Lord, after the course and computation of the church of England, 1391,<sup>2</sup> the indiction fifteen, in the third year of the pontifical office of the most holy father in Christ and our lord, lord Boniface, pope, by the providence of God, the ninth, and in the nineteenth day of the month of January; Walter Brute, layman, of Hereford diocese, personally appearing before the reverend father in Christ and lord, lord John, by God's grace bishop of Hereford, in the presence of me, being a public notary, and one of the witnesses under-written, did say, hold, publish, and affirm, the conclusions hereafter written: that is to say, that christian people are not bound to pay tithes either by the law of Moses, or by the law of Christ.

Matters and conclusions ministered against Walter Brute.

Item, That it is not lawful for Christians, for any cause in any case, to swear by the Creator, neither by the creature.<sup>3</sup>

Item, He confesseth openly and of his own accord,<sup>4</sup> that within the same month of January, he did eat, drink, and communicate with William Swin-

(1) Ex Regist Hereford.

(2) A.D. 1392, according to modern computation.—Ed.

(3) This conclusion seemeth to be falsely collected, as were before the articles of William Swinderby.

(4) This conclusion is not rightly gathered.

Richard  
II.A. D.  
1392.Wit-  
nesses  
against  
Walter  
Brute.Benedict  
Come, re-  
gister,  
witness  
and writer  
of this  
instru-  
ment.

derby, not being ignorant of the sentence of the said reverend father, whereby the same William Swinderby was pronounced a heretic, schismatic, and a false seducer of the common people; which conclusions the same reverend father caused to be written, and in writing to be delivered to the same Walter, which when he had seen and read, he said also that he did maintain and justify them according to the laws aforesaid. These things were done in the chamber of the said bishop of Hereford, at his manor of Whiteborne of the said diocese of Hereford: there being then present the same bishop abovesaid, Master Reynold, of Wolston, canon of Hereford; Sir Philip Dilesk, parson of the parish church of Blamuwryn; <sup>1</sup> Thomas Guildefeld, parson of the church of English-Byknore; <sup>2</sup> John Cresset, parson of the church of Whiteborne; and Thomas Wallewayne, household servant; especially called and desired for witnesses to the premises; being of the diocese of Hereford and St. Asaph.

And I, Benedict Come, clerk of the diocese of St. Asaph, public notary, by the apostolic authority of the diocese of St. Asaph, was personally present, together with the witnesses before named, at all and singular these and other things here premised, whilst they were so done and a doing; and did see, hear, and write those things so to be done, as is before-mentioned; and did write the same, and reduce them into this public form; and with my wonted and accustomed seal and name have sealed it, being desired and required truly to testify the premises.

At last, the aforesaid Walter Brute did present and cause to be presented to us (at divers places and times, assigned by us to the same Walter, to answer to the former conclusions and articles) divers scrolls of paper, written with his own proper hand, for his answers to the same articles and conclusions above written; he, partly appearing by his own self, before us sitting in our judgment seat, and partly by his messengers, specially appointed to that purpose; of which scrolls, the tenors do follow in order word by word, and be on this manner.

### Certain Exhibits of Walter Brute, in writing, presented to the Bishop for his Defence.

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen. I Walter Brute, sinner, lay-man, husbandman, and a Christian (having my offspring of the Britons, both by my father's and mother's side), of the Britons have been accused to the bishop of Hereford, that I did err in many matters concerning the catholic christian faith, by whom I am required that I should write an answer in Latin to all those matters; whose desire I will satisfy to my power, protesting first of all, before God and before all the world, that like as it is not my mind, through God's grace, to refuse the known truth, for any reward, greater or smaller, yea, be it never so big, nor yet for the fear of any temporal punishment; even so it is not my mind to maintain any erroneous doctrine for any commodity's sake. And, if any man, of what state, sect, or condition soever he be, will show me that I err in my writings or sayings, by the authority of the sacred Scripture, or by probable reason grounded on the sacred Scripture, I will humbly and gladly receive his information. But, as for the bare words of any teacher, Christ only excepted, I will not simply believe, except he shall be able to establish them by the truth of experience, or of the Scripture; because that in the holy apostles elected by Christ, there hath been found error by the testimony of the holy Scripture, because that Paul himself doth confess that he rebuked Peter, for that he was worthy to be rebuked [Gal. ii.] There have been errors found in the holy doctors, that have been before us, as they themselves confess of themselves. And oftentimes it falleth out, that there is error found in the teachers in our age, who are of contrary opinions among themselves; and some of them do sometimes determine one thing for truth, and others do condemn the self-same thing to be heresy and error. Which protestation premised, I will here place two suppositions or cases for a ground and a foundation of all things that I shall say; out of which I would gather two probable conclusions established upon the same, and upon the sacred Scripture. By which conclusions, when they shall be declared after my manner and fashion, it shall plainly appear what my opinion and judgment is concerning all matters that I am accused of. But because I am ignorant and unlearned, I will get me

Protesta-  
tion  
madeNo writer  
or doctor  
without  
his error,  
the Scrip-  
ture only  
excepted.  
Error in  
the doc-  
tors, and  
among  
the  
English  
writers  
Brute  
modestly  
excuseth  
his learn-  
ing

(1) Llanwrin in Montgomeryshire. — Ed.

(2) Byknore Asaph and of Bicknor English, in Gloucestershire. — Ed.



under the mighty defences of the Lord: O Lord! I will remember thine only righteousness. *Richard II.*

God the Father Almighty uncreate, the maker of heaven and earth, hath sent his Son, that was everlastingly begotten, into this world, that he should be incarnated for the salvation and redemption of mankind; who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, everlastingly proceeding from the Father and the Son, and was born of Mary the virgin, to the end that we might be born anew. He suffered passion under Pontius Pilate for our sins, laying down his life for us, that we should lay down our life for our brethren. He was crucified, that we should be crucified to the world, and the world to us. He was dead, that he might redeem us from death, by purchasing for us forgiveness of sins. He was buried, that we, being buried together with him into death by baptism, and that we, dead to sins, should live to righteousness. He descended into hell, thereby delivering man from thralldom and from the bondage of the devil, and restoring him to his inheritance which he lost by sin. The third day he rose from the dead, through the glory of the Father, that we also should walk in newness of life. He ascended up to the heavens, to which nobody hath ascended, saving he that descended from heaven, even the Son of Man which is in heaven. He sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty, until his enemies be made his footstool; he being, in very deed, so much better than the angels, as he hath obtained by inheritance a more excellent name than they. From whence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead, according to their works, because the Father hath given all judgment to the Son. In whose terrible judgment we shall rise again, and shall all of us stand before his judgment seat; and receive joy as well bodily as spiritually, for ever to endure, if we be of the sheep placed at the right hand; or else punishment both of body and soul, if we shall be found amongst goats, placed on the left hand, &c.

Jesus Christ, the Son of God, very God and very man, a king for ever, by establishing an everlasting kingdom, 'breaking to powder all the kingdoms of the world' [Daniel ii.], 'a priest for ever, after the order of Melchisedec,' whereby also he is able evermore to save such as by him come unto God, and always liveth to entreat for us' [Heb. vii.]: he, 'offering one sacrifice for our sins, hath made perfect for ever by one oblation those that be sanctified' [Heb. x.] Being the wisdom that cannot be deceived, and the truth that cannot be uttered, he hath in this world taught the will of the Godhead of his Father, which will, he hath in work fulfilled, to the intent that he might faithfully instruct us, and hath given the law of charity, to be of his faithful people observed; which he hath written in the hearts and minds of the faithful with the finger of God, where is the Spirit of God, searching the inward secrets of the Godhead. Wherefore his doctrine must be observed above all other doctrines, whether they be of angels or of men, because that he could not, nor would not err in his teaching. But in men's doctrine there chanceth oftentimes to be error; and therefore we must forsake their doctrines, if cloakedly or expressly they be repugnant to the doctrine of Christ. Men's doctrines being made for the people's profit, must be allowed and observed, so that they be grounded upon Christ's doctrine, or at least be not repugnant to his words.

If the high bishop of Rome, calling himself the servant of the servants of God, and the chief vicar of Christ in this world, do make and maintain many laws contrary to the gospel of Jesu Christ, then is he of those that have come in Christ's name, saying, I am Christ, and have seduced many a one, by the testimony of our Saviour in Matt. xxiv.; and the idol of desolation sitting in the temple of God, and taking away from him the continual sacrifice for a time, times, and half a time, which idol must be revealed to the christian people, by the testimony of Daniel, whereof Christ speaketh in the gospel; 'When ye shall see the abomination of desolation that was told of by Daniel the prophet, standing in the holy place, let him that readeth understand;' and he is the pestiferous mountain infecting the whole universal earth, as witnesseth Jeremy, chapter li., and not the head of Christ's body. 'For the ancient person in years, and honourable in reverence, he is the head: and the prophet teaching lies is the tail,' as Isaiah allegeth, chapter ix.; and he is that wicked and sinful captain of Israel, whose foreappointed day of iniquity is come in time of iniquity, who shall take away Cidarim, and take away the crown, [Ezek. xxi.] to whom it was said, 'Forasmuch as thy heart was exalted, and thou didst say, I am a

A. D.  
1592.

First case  
or suppo-  
sition.

Second  
case or  
assertion.

First conclusion.  
The pope  
an idol of  
desolation,  
sitting in  
the temple  
of God.  
If his  
laws be  
contrary  
to Christ,  
he is the  
pestiferous  
mountain  
infecting  
the whole  
earth.  
The pope  
the sinful

*Richard II.*

A. D.  
1392.

captain of Israel, spoken of by Ezekiel. Anti-christ described. The pope an idle shepherd. The pope signifieth the beast horned like the lamb, ascending out of the earth.

Terrible Scriptures against the pope.

[Second conclusion.]  
Rome, Babylon.

†

Twelve hundred and ninety days figured.

Fall of Babylon.

God, and sittest in the seat of God, in the heart of the sea, seeing thou art a man and not God, and hast given thine heart, as if it were the heart of God; therefore, behold I will bring upon thee the most strong and mighty strangers of the nations, and they shall draw their swords upon the beauty of thy wisdom, and shall defile the commandments, and kill thee, and pull thee out; and thou shalt die in the destruction of the slain.' And it followeth, 'In the multitude of thine iniquities, and of the iniquities of thy merchandise, thou hast defiled thy sanctification. I will therefore bring forth a fire from the midst of the whole earth, and will make thee as ashes upon earth. Thou art become nothing, and never shalt thou be any more,' [Ezek. xxviii.] Furthermore, he is the 'idle shepherd, forsaking his flock, having a sword on his arm, and another sword in his right eye' [Zech. xi.], and who, 'sitting in the temple of God, doth advance himself above all that is called God, or whatsoever is worshipped,' by the testimony of Paul to the Thessalonians, second epistle, chap. iii.: 'And in the defection or falling away shall the man of sin be revealed, whom the Lord Jesus shall slay with the breath of his mouth.' 'For every kingdom divided in itself shall be brought to desolation.' He is also, besides, 'the beast ascending up out of the earth, having two horns like unto a lamb, but he speaketh like a dragon;' and as 'the cruel beast ascending up out of the sea, whose power shall continue forty and two months.' He worketh the things that he hath given to the image of the beast. 'And he compelled small and great, rich and poor, free-men and bond-slaves, to worship the beast, and to take his mark in their forehead or their hands,' [Apoc. xiii.] And thus, by the testimony of all these places, is he the chief Antichrist upon the earth, and must be slain with the sword of God's word, and cast, with the dragon, the cruel beast, and the false prophet that hath seduced the earth, into the lake of fire and brimstone to be tormented world without end.

If the city of Rome do allow his traditions, and do disallow Christ's holy commandments and Christ's doctrine, that it may confirm his traditions, then is she 'Babylon the great,' or 'the daughter of Babylon,' and 'the great whore sitting upon many waters,' with whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication, and the inhabitants of the earth are become drunken with the wine of her harlotry, lying open to lewdness; with whose spiritual whoredom, enchantments, witchcrafts, and Simon Magus merchandises, the whole round world is infected and seduced; saying in her heart, 'I sit as a queen, and widow I am not, neither shall I see sorrow and mourning.' Yet is she ignorant that within a little while shall come the day of her destruction and ruin by the testimony of the Apocalypse, chap. xvii., because that from the time that the continual sacrifice was taken away, and the abomination of desolation placed, there be passed twelve hundred and ninety days, by the testimony of Daniel [chap. xii.]; and the chronicles added do agree to the same. And the holy city also hath been trodden under foot of the heathen for forty-two months, and the woman was nourished up in the wilderness (unto which she fled for fear of the face of the serpent) during twelve hundred and sixty days, or else for a time, times, and half a time, which is all one. All these things be manifest by the testimony of the Apocalypse, and the chronicles thereto agreeing. And, as concerning the fall of Babylon aforesaid, it is manifest in the Apocalypse [chap. xiv.], where it is said, 'In one day shall her plagues come, death, lamentation, and famine, and she shall be burned with fire. For, strong is the Lord, which shall judge her.' And again, 'Babylon, that great city, is fallen, which hath made all nations to drink of the wine of her whoredom.' And thirdly, 'One mighty angel took up a mill-stone, that was a very great one, and did cast it into the sea, saying, With such a violence as this is, shall that great city Babylon be overthrown, and shall no more be found. For her merchants were the princes of the earth, and with her witchcraft all nations have gone astray, and in her is there found the blood of the saints and prophets.' And of her destruction speaketh Isaiah [chap. xiii.]: 'And Babylon, that glorious city, being so noble amongst kingdoms in the pride of the Chaldeans, it shall be that, like as the Lord did overturn Sodom and Gomorrah upside down, it shall never more be inhabited, nor have the foundation laid in any age, from generation to generation.' Jeremy [chap. li.], saith, 'Your mother that hath borne you is brought to very great confusion, and made even with the ground.' And again, 'The Lord hath devised and done as he hath spoken against the inhabitants of Babylon, which dwell richly

in their treasures upon many waters; thine end is come." And thirdly, 'Drought shall fall upon her waters, and they shall begin to be dry: for it is a land of graven images, and boasteth in her prodigious wonders: it shall never more be inhabited, neither be builded up in any age or generation. Verily even as God hath subverted Sodom and Gomorrah with their calves.'

*Richard  
II.*

A. D.  
1392.

Pardon me, I beseech you, though I be not plentiful in pleasant words; for if I should run after the course of this wicked world, and should please men, I should not be Christ's servant. And, because I am a poor man, and neither have, nor can have, notaries hired to testify of these my writings, I call upon Christ to be my witness, who knoweth the inward secrets of my heart, that I am ready to declare the things that I have written after my fashion, to the profit of all christian people, and to the hurt of no man living, and am ready to be reformed, if any man will show me where I have erred; being ready, also (miserable sinner though I be), to suffer for the confession of the name of Christ and of his doctrine, as much as shall please him by his grace and love to assist me, a miserable sinner. In witness of all these things I have to this writing set the seal of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, which I beseech him to imprint upon my forehead, and to take from me all manner of mark of Antichrist. Amen.

These two suppositions (as they are termed in the schools) written by Walter Brute, and exhibited unto the bishop, although they contained matter sufficient either to satisfy the bishop, if he had been disposed to learn, or else to have provoked him to reply again, if his knowledge therein had been better than his, yet could they neither of them work effect in him. But he, receiving and perusing the same, when he neither could confute that which was said, nor would reply nor answer by learning to that which was truth, finding other by-cavillations, said, 'That this his writing was too short and obscure; and therefore required him to write upon the same again more plainly and more at large. Whereupon the said Master Walter, satisfying the bishop's request, and ready to give to every one an account of his faith, in a more ample tractation reneweth his matter again before declared, writing to the bishop in words and form as followeth.

Another Declaration of the same Matter, after a more ample Tractation, exhibited by Walter Brute to the Bishop.

Reverend father, forasmuch as it seemeth to you that my motion, in my two suppositions or cases, and in my two conclusions, is too short and somewhat dark, I will gladly now satisfy your desire, according to my small learning, by declaring the same conclusions; in opening whereof, it shall plainly appear, what I do judge in all matters that I am accused of to your reverence, desiring you, first of all, that your discretion would not believe that I do enterprize of any presumption to handle the secrets of the Scriptures, which the holy, and just, and wise doctors, have left unexpounded. It is not unknown to many, that I am in all points far inferior to them, whose holiness of life and profoundness in knowledge are manifold ways allowed. But as for mine ignorance and multitude of sins, they are to myself and others sufficiently known; wherefore I judge not myself worthy to unloose or carry their shoes after them. Do you therefore no otherwise deem of me, than I do of mine own self. But if you shall find any goodness in my writings, ascribe it to God only, who, according to the multitude of his mercy, doth sometimes reveal these things to idiots and sinners, which are hidden from the holy and wise, according to this saying, "I will praise and confess thee, O Father! for that thou hast hidden these things from the wise and prudent, and hast disclosed them to the little ones; even so, O Father! because it hath thus pleased thee." And in another place: "I am come to judgment into this world, that they which see not, may see; and that they which see, may be made blind." And Paul saith, "That God hath chosen

They that  
solubly  
judge of  
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selves,  
and do  
not so  
carelessly  
continue,  
are of  
God.

*Richard*  
*II.*

A. D.  
1392.

the weak things of the world, to confound the mighty; that no man shall boast in himself, but that all men should give the honour to God."

It was commanded to Isaiah [chap. vi.], bearing the type of Christ; "Go, and say to this people: Hear ye with your hearing, and do not understand? Behold ye the vision, and yet know ye not the thing that ye see? Make blind the heart of this people, and make dull their ears, and shut their eyes, lest that perchance with their eyes they should see, and with their ears they should hear, and with their hearts they should understand, and be converted, and I should heal them. And I said, How long, Lord? And he said, Until that the cities be made desolate without inhabitants, and the house without any person within it." Also in Isaiah [chap. xix.], thus it is written: "And the multitude of all nations which shall fight against Ariel, and all persons that have warred, and besieged, and prevailed against it, shall be as a dream that appeareth in the night, and as the hungry person dreameth that he eateth, but when he shall awake out of sleep, his soul is empty. And like as the hungry person dreameth that he eateth, and yet after that he shall awake he is still weary and thirsty, and his soul void of nourishment; even so shall it be with the multitude of all nations that have fought against the mount Sion. Be you amazed, and have great wonder; reel ye to and fro, and stagger ye; be ye drunken, and not with wine; stagger, but not through drunkenness; for the Lord hath mingled for you the spirit of drowsiness. He shall shut your eyes, he shall cover your prophets and princes that see visions. And a vision shall be to you altogether like the words of a sealed book, which when he shall give to one that is learned, he shall say, Read here, and he shall answer, I cannot, for it is sealed. And the book shall be given to one that is unlearned, and knoweth not his letters, and it shall be said unto him, Read; and he shall answer, I know not the letters, I am unlearned. Wherefore the Lord saith, Forasmuch as this people draweth nigh me with their mouths, and glorifieth me with their lips, but their hearts are far from me, and they have rather feared the commandments of men, and have cleaved to their doctrines: behold, therefore, I will add besides, and bring such a muse and marvel upon this people as shall make men amazed with marvelling. For wisdom shall perish from their wise men, and the understanding of the prudent persons shall be hidden." [Isaiah xxix.] And soon after it followeth in the same place: "Yet a little while and Libanus shall be turned into Carmel, and Carmel counted for a copse or grove;" and in the same day shall the deaf folks hear the word of this book, and the eyes of the blind (changed from darkness and blindness) shall see."

Nabuchadnezzar inquiring of Daniel, said, "Thinkest thou that thou canst truly declare me the dream that I have seen, and the meaning thereof?" And Daniel [chap. ii.] said, "As for the mystery whereof the king doth ask, neither the wise men, magicians, soothsayers, nor enchanters, can declare to the king: but there is a God in heaven, that discloseth mysteries, who will declare to thee, O king Nabuchadnezzar, what things shall come to pass in the last times of all." "To me also is this sacrament or mystery disclosed, not for any wisdom that is in me more than in all men living, but to the end that the interpretation might be made manifest to the king, and that thou shouldst know the cogitations of thy mind."

It was also said to Daniel [chap. xii.], "And thou Daniel, shut up the words, seal up the book, until the time appointed. Verily many people shall pass over, and manifold knowledge shall there be. And Daniel said to the man that was clothed with linen garments, who stood upon the waters of the flood: How long will it be before the end shall come of these marvellous things? And I heard the man that was clothed in linen apparel, who stood upon the waters of the floods, when he had lift up his right hand and his left hand unto heaven, and had sworn by him that liveth for evermore, that for a time, times, and half a time, and when the scattering abroad of the hand of the holy people shall be accomplished, then shall all these things be finished. And I heard and understood not, and I said, O my Lord! what shall be after these things? And he said, Go thy ways, Daniel, for this talk is shut and sealed up until the time that is before appointed."

(1) Libanus and Carmel, two hills; the one in Phœnicia, fruitful and pleasant, the other in the borders of Jewry, barren and unpleasant, which is Carmel.

All these things have I written to show that he that hath the key of David, "Who openeth and no man shutteth, and shutteth and no man openeth," doth (when and how long it pleaseth him) hide the mysteries, and hide secrets of the Scriptures from the wise, prudent, and righteous; and otherwhiles at his pleasure revealeth the same to sinners, and lay-persons, and simple souls, that he may have the honour and glory in all things. Wherefore, as I have before said, if you shall find any good thing in my writings, ascribe the same to God alone; if you shall find otherwise, think ye the same to be written of ignorance, and not of malice. And if any doubt of error be showed me in all my writings, I will humbly allow your information and fatherly correction.

But why are such manner of matters moved touching the disclosing of Antichrist in this kingdom, more than in other kingdoms, and in this time also more than in time past? The answer as concerning the time of the motion is, that it is the last conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter, in the sign of the Twins,<sup>1</sup> which is the house of Mercury, being the signifier of the christian people: which conjunction seemeth to me to betoken the second coming of Christ to reform his church, and to call men again, by the disclosing of Antichrist, to the perfection of the gospel, from their heathenish rites, and ways of the Gentiles, by whom the holy city was trampled under foot for 12 months, even as the conjunction of the said two planets being enclosed in the side of the Virgin, which is also the house of Mercury, did betoken the first coming of Christ, for the salvation of all people that were perished of the house of Israel, whereby to call them, through the same coming, to the full perfection of the gospel. As touching this calling of the heathen, speaketh Christ in the gospel, "I have also other sheep that are not of this fold, and those must I bring, and they shall hear my voice, and there shall be one sheepfold, and one shepherd." For although the Gentiles be converted from the infidelity of their idolatry to the faith of Christ, yet are they not converted to the perfection of the law of Christ. And therefore did the apostles in the primitive church, lay no burden upon the Gentiles, but that they should abstain from heinous things, as from things offered to idols, and from blood, and things strangled, and fornication. As touching this second coming speaketh Isaiah, [chap. xi.], "On that day the root of Jesse, which standeth for a sign or mark to the people, to him shall the heathen make their homage and supplication, and his sepulchre shall be glorious; and in that day shall it come to pass, that the Lord shall the second time put to his hand, to possess the remnant of his people," &c. "And he shall lift up a token toward the nations, and he shall assemble the runagate people of Israel that were fled, and those that were dispersed of Judah shall he gather together from the four quarters of the earth. And the zealous emulation of Ephraim shall be broken to pieces, and the enemies of Judah shall come to nought." Paul to the Thessaleniens saith, "We beseech you, brethren, by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and our gathering together before him, that you be not soon removed from your understanding, neither that you be put in fear, as though the day of the Lord were at hand, neither, as it were, by letter sent by us, neither by spirit, nor yet by talk. Let not any body by any means bring you out of the way, or seduce you, for except there shall first come a departing, and that the man of sin, the son of perdition, shall be disclosed, which maketh resistance and is advanced above all that is called God, or that is worshipped, so that he doth sit in the temple of God, showing himself as if he were God. Do you not remember, that whilst I was as yet with you, I told you of this? And now ye know what keepeth him back, that he may be uttered in his due time. For even now doth he work the mystery of iniquity; only that he which holdeth, may hold still until he be come to light; and then shall that wicked one be disclosed, whom the Lord Jesus shall slay with the breath of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming; even him, whose coming is, according to the working of Satan, in all power, with signs and lying wonders, and in all deceitful leading out of the truth towards those that do perish, because that they receive not heartily the love of truth, that they might be saved."

Richard  
II

A. D.  
1399.

By this perfection I suppose he meaneth the reformation of the church being out of the way.

The revealing of Antichrist.

(1) In signo Gemini. Mark here, good reader, by this astronomical conjunction of these two planets, in Gemini, he meaneth covertly the schism between the two popes which lasted thirty-nine years; by which conjunction his meaning is, that God would have Antichrist to be disclosed, and his church to be reformed.

*Richard  
II.*

A. D.  
1392.

The  
abomina-  
tion of de-  
solation.

Destruc-  
tion  
of the  
Jewish  
temple.

One thou-  
sand two  
hundred  
and nine-  
ty days,  
expound-  
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Christ being demanded of the apostles what should be the token of his coming, and of the end of the world, said unto them, "There shall come many in my name, saying, I am Christ, and they shall seduce many:" also he telleth them of many other signs; of battles, famine, pestilence, and earthquakes. But the greatest sign of all he teacheth to be this, "When you shall see," saith he, "the abomination of desolation standing in the holy place, he that readeth let him understand." But Luke in chap. xxi. of his gospel, speaketh more plainly hereof; "When you therefore, shall see Jerusalem to be compassed about with an army, then know ye that the desolation thereof shall draw nigh." And afterwards it followeth, "And they shall fall by the face of the sword, and shall be led away captive to all nations; and Jerusalem shall be trodden under foot of the heathen, until the times of the nations be fulfilled." Now in Daniel thus it is written of this matter; "And after seventy-two weeks shall Christ be slain, neither shall that be his people, that will deny him. And as for the city and sanctuary, a people shall (with his captain that will come with them) destroy the said city and sanctuary, and his end shall be to be wasted utterly, till it be brought to nought; and, after the end of the war, shall come the desolation appointed. In one week shall he confirm the covenant to many, and within half a week shall the offering and sacrifice cease. And in the temple shall there be the abomination of desolation, and even unto the end shall the desolation continue." And elsewhere, in Daniel, thus it is written, "From the time that the continual sacrifice shall be offered, and that the abomination shall be placed in desolation, there shall be one thousand two hundred and ninety days."

Now if any man will behold the Chronicles, he shall find that after the destruction of Jerusalem was accomplished, and after the strong hand of the holy people was fully dispersed, and after the placing of the abomination (that is to say, the idol of desolation of Jerusalem, within the holy place, where the temple of God was before,) there had passed twelve hundred and ninety days, taking a day for a year, as commonly it is taken in the prophets; and the times of the heathen people are fulfilled, after whose rites and customs God suffered the holy city to be trampled under foot for forty and two months. For although the christian church, which is the holy city, continued in the faith from the ascension of Christ, even till this time, yet hath it not observed and kept the perfection of the faith all this whole season; for soon after the departure of the apostles, the faith was kept with the observation of the rites of the Gentiles, and not of the rites of Moses' law, nor of the law of the gospel of Jesus Christ. Wherefore, seeing that this time of the error of the Gentiles is fulfilled, it is likely that Christ shall call the Gentiles from the rites of their Gentility to the perfection of the gospel, as he called the Jews from the law of Moses to the same perfection in his first coming; that there may be one sheepfold of the Jews and Gentiles, under one shepherd. Seeing, therefore, that Antichrist is known, who hath seduced the nations, then shall the elect, after that they have forsaken the errors of their gentility, come, through the light of God's word, to the perfection of the gospel, and that same seducer shall be slain with the sword of God's word: so that by these things it doth partly appear unto me, why that at this time rather than at any other time, this matter of Antichrist is moved.

Why at  
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And why this motion is come to pass in this kingdom rather than in other kingdoms, methinks there is good reason; because no nation of the Gentiles was so soon converted unto Christ as were the Britons, the inhabitants of this kingdom. For to other places of the world there were sent preachers of the faith, who, by the working of miracles, and continual preaching of the word of God, and by grievous passion and death of the body, did convert the people of those places; but, in this kingdom, in the time of Lucius, king of the Britons, and of Eleutherius, bishop of the Romans, did Lucius hear from the Romans that were infidels (by the way of rumours and tales), of the christian faith which was preached at Rome. Who believed straightways, and sent to Rome, to Eleutherius, for men skilful to inform him more fully in the very faith itself; at whose coming he was joyful, and was baptized, with his whole kingdom. And, after the receiving of the faith, they never forsook it, neither for any manner of false preaching of others, neither for any manner of torments, or yet assaults of the Pains, as in other kingdoms it hath come to pass. And

thus it seemeth to me the Britons, amongst other nations, have been, as it were by the special election of God, called and converted to the faith. Of them, as me seemeth, did Isaiah prophesy, saying; "For they did see, to whom there was nothing told of him, and they did behold, that had not heard of him." And, again, "Behold, thou shalt call a nation which thou knewest not; and nations that have not known thee, shall run unto thee; for the Lord thy God, and the holy one of Israel shall glorify thee."

*Richard II.*  
*A. D.*  
*1392.*

Of this kingdom did St. John, in the Apocalypse, prophesy, as me seemeth, where he said, "The dragon stood before the woman, which was about to be delivered of a child, to the intent that when she had brought it forth into the world, he might devour up her son: and she brought forth a child, which was a man-child, who should govern all nations with an iron rod. And the same Son was taken up to God, and to his throne. And the woman fled into the wilderness, where she had a place prepared of God, that they may feed her one thousand two hundred and sixty days." And again, in the same chapter, "After the dragon saw that he was cast out upon the earth, he did persecute the woman, which brought forth the man-child. And there were given to the woman two wings of a great eagle, that she might flee into the wilderness into her place, where she is fostered up for a time, times, and half a time, from the face of the serpent. And the serpent did cast, as it were, a flood of water after the woman, to the intent that he might cause her to be drowned by the flood; and the earth, opening her mouth, did help the woman, and did swallow up the flood which the dragon did cast out of his mouth." Let us see how these sayings may be applied unto this kingdom rather than to other kingdoms. It is well known that this kingdom is a wilderness or a desert place, because the philosophers and wise men did not pass upon it, but did leave it for a wilderness and desert, because it is placed without the climates.

The calling of the Gentiles. The woman fed in the desert one thousand two hundred and sixty days.

Unto this place fled the woman; that is to say, the church, which by faith did spiritually bring forth Christ into the world, where she was fed with the heavenly bread, the flesh and blood of Jesus Christ, for one thousand two hundred and sixty days, seeing that for so many days, taking a day for a year, the Britons continued in the faith of Christ; which thing cannot be found so of any christian kingdom, but of this desert. And well it is said, that she flew to this place. For from the East came the faith into Britain, not by walking in journey, nor yet by sailing; for then should it have come by Rome, Italy, Almaigne, or France, which cannot be found: and therefore she flew over those places, and rested not in them, even as a bird, flying over a place, resteth not in the same, but resteth in this wilderness for a time, times, and half a time: that is, one thousand two hundred and sixty years, from the first coming of the faith into Britain until this present.

This place of the desert, in the Scripture, seemeth here something hardly expounded. Faith came into Britain from the East, not from Italy, or Rome.

In saying for a time, times, and half a time, there is a going forward from the greater to the less. The greatest time that we name, is one thousand years; there is a time; and the next time, that is less, in the singular number, is one hundred years. In the plural number, "times" signify that there be more hundreds than one, at least two hundred years. Wherefore, if they be put under a certain number, it must needs be that they be two; but the same two cannot fitly be called some times, except they be hundreds. For in this, that there is a going down from the greater to the less, when it is said a time, times, and half a time, and that the number of one thousand is likely assigned for a time, it must needs follow, that times must be taken for hundreds, and half a time for sixty, because it is the greater half of a hundred years though fifty be the even half.

A time, times, and half a time expounded.

And when the serpent sent the water of the persecution after the woman to cause her to be drowned of the flood, then did the earth, that is to say, the stableness of faith, help the woman, by supping up the water of tribulation. For in the most cruel persecution of Dioclesian and Maximian against the Christians, when Christianity was almost every where rooted out, yet did they, in this kingdom, stand continually in the faith unmovable. And so, considering that the Britons were converted to the faith of Christ, as you would say, by an election and picking out amongst all the nations of the heathen, and that after they had received the faith, they did never start back from the faith for any manner of tribulation; it is not to be marvelled at if, in their place, the

Persecution in Dioclesian's time swallowed up

*Richard II.* calling of the Gentiles be made manifest, to the profiting of the gospel of Jesus Christ, by the revealing of Antichrist.

*A. D. 1392.* But besides this, me seemeth that Ezekiel doth specially speak of them, where he speaketh of the fall of the prince of Tyre, saying: "Forasmuch as thy heart is lifted up, as if it were the heart of God, therefore, behold, I will bring upon thee some of the strongest of the heathen; and they shall draw their naked swords upon the beauty of thy wisdom, and they shall defile thy comeliness, and they shall slay thee, and pull thee out; and thou shalt die in the slaughter of the slain persons, in the heart of the sea."

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This prince, who saith that he himself is God, and doth sit in God's chair in the heart of the sea, doth signify, as most likely it seemeth to me, that Antichrist shall be destroyed by the most mighty persons of the Gentile folk, through the sword of the word of God; because that amongst the other Gentiles there have been none more strong than the Britons, either in their body or their faith; and, in their bodily wars, there have been none more mighty than they, for never in wars have they been vanquished, but by their own sedition or treason. But how many kingdoms have they conquered! Yea, and neither by the most mighty city of Rome could they be driven out of their kingdom, until that God sent upon them pestilence and famine; whereby they, being wasted, were compelled to leave their country, which thing I have not heard of any other people. Now, in the faith, have they been amongst all the people the strongest, as is before said, because that by no tribulation could they be compelled to forsake the faith.

Wherefore of them this seemeth to me to be understood: "Then will I bring upon thee some of the strongest people, and they shall draw their naked swords," &c. By these things it may plainly appear, why at this time, rather than in time past, this matter is stirred up; and why in this kingdom, rather than in other kingdoms, the calling of the Gentiles is treated of, to the verifying of the gospel, through the disclosing of Antichrist.

Tales of  
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A false  
imagina-  
tion of  
Anti-  
christ.

But forasmuch as many tales and fables are told of Antichrist and his coming, and many things, which do rather seduce than instruct the hearers, are applied to him out of the Scriptures of the prophets, we will briefly write those things which are spoken of him, and we will show that the same fable sprang from the error of people imagining, and from no truth of the Scriptures prophesying. Now then they do say, that Antichrist shall be born in Babylon of the tribe of Dan, and conceived of the mixture of man and woman in sin, because that Christ was born of a virgin, and conceived of the Holy Ghost. They say, that he shall be an ill favoured personage, because that it is written of Christ, "Comely and beautiful is he, beyond the sons of men." They say, that he shall preach three years and half where Christ preached; and that he shall circumcise himself, and say that he is Christ, and the Messias, sent for the salvation of the Jews. And they say, that he shall three manner of ways seduce the people; by false miracles, gifts, and torments; so that whom he shall not be able to overcome with miracles or with gifts, those shall he go about to overcome with divers kinds of torments; and those that he shall seduce, will he mark with his tokens in their forehead or hands. He shall sit in the temple of God, and cause himself to be worshipped as God. He shall fight, as they say, with the two witnesses of Christ, Enoch and Elijah, and shall kill them; and he himself shall finally be slain with lightning. To this imagined man of their own imagination, but by none of the prophets foreshowed (at least in no such wise as this is), do they apply the prophets, as this of Daniel: "When the continual sacrifice shall be taken away, and abomination shall be placed to desolation:" that is, say they, when the worshipping of God shall be taken away, and desolation (to wit, Antichrist) shall abominably show forth himself to be worshipped, then shall there be twelve hundred and ninety days: that is to say, three years and a half; and this time do they say is the time, times, and half a time. And when it is said in Daniel, "Blessed is he that looketh for, and cometh to one thousand three hundred and thirty-five days," this, do they say, is thus to be understood: forty-five days of repentance to such as have worshipped Antichrist; which forty-five days added to the one thousand two hundred and ninety, make one thousand three hundred and thirty-five days; which days, they that shall reach unto, shall be called blessed.

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They apply also to this Antichrist, this saying of the Apocalypse, "I saw a



beast rising up out of the sea, having seven heads and ten horns, who had power given him to make forty-two months:" which months, as they say, do make three years and a half, in which Antichrist shall reign. And many other things there are told, and applied unfitly to this imagined Antichrist, that are not truly ground upon the Scriptures.

Now let us show the errors of this fable: first of all, if there shall come such a one (saying expressly that he is Christ), what Christian would be seduced by him, though he should do ever so many miracles? Neither shall he come after the manner of a seducer, who shall show himself an express adversary. Neither is it likely that the Jews can be seduced by such a one, seeing that Christ is not promised unto them of the stock of Dan by any of the prophets, but of the stock of Judah: nor yet is he promised to them to be a king warlike, but peaceable, taking war away, and not making war. For of Christ saith Isaiah [chap. ii.], "And in the last days, shall there be prepared the mountain of the house of the Lord, in the top of the mountains, and it shall be exalted above the hills; and to it shall all the nations have great recourse, and many people shall go and say: Come, let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, and to the house of the God of Jacob, and he shall teach us his ways, and we shall walk in his paths. For out of Sion shall there go a law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem, and he shall judge the nations, and reprove much people. And they shall turn their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into scythes. There shall not a nation lift up itself against another nation, nor yet shall they be any more exercised to war." And again [Isaiah ix.], "A little babe is born to us, and a son is given to us, and his imperial kingdom upon his shoulder; and his name shall be called, the great Counsellor, the mighty God, the Father of the world to come, the Prince of Peace. His empire shall be multiplied, and there shall be no end of his peace. He shall sit upon the seat of David, and upon his kingdom; that he may make it steadfast and strong in judgment and in justice, from henceforth and for evermore." Zachariah [chap. ix.] doth say of Christ: "Rejoice thou greatly, O thou daughter Sion! be thou exceeding merry, O daughter Jerusalem! Behold, thy king shall come a righteous person and a Saviour unto thee, and yet he a poor man, and getting up upon an ass, even upon a young colt of the she-ass. And I will scatter abroad the chariot of Ephraim, and the horse of Jerusalem; and the bow of war shall be dispersed, and he shall speak peace to the nations, and his power shall be from the sea to the sea, and from the flood unto the borders of the earth."

By which things it is manifest, that the wise Jews knew well enough, Christ to be promised to them of the stock of Judah, and not of the stock of Dan; and that he was given all to peace, and not to war: therefore it is not likely that they can be seduced by such a one. But if there should have been, in time to come, some such singular Antichrist, then would Christ, seeing he loved his, have said somewhat unto them of him. Now, of one singularly, doth he not speak, but of many, saying, "Many shall come in my name, and say, I am Christ; and they shall seduce many persons." But now let us see, how the prophecies in Daniel, and in the Apocalypse, aforesaid, be falsely and erroneously applied to the same imagined Antichrist. For in Daniel [chap. ix.], thus it is written: "And after seventy-two weeks shall Christ be slain, and they which will deny him shall not be his people. And the city and sanctuary shall a people, with their captain that shall come with them, destroy; whose end shall be utter desolation, and after the end of the war a determined destruction. Now he shall in one week confirm his covenant towards many; and in the half week, shall the offering and sacrifice cease; and in the temple shall there be an abomination of desolation; and even to the fulfilling up of all, and to the end shall the desolation continue." It is plain and manifest that this prophecy is now fulfilled. For the people of Rome, with their captain, destroyed Jerusalem even to the ground, and the people of the Jews were slain and scattered. And the abomination, that is, the idol of desolation, was placed by Adrian, in the last destruction, in Jerusalem, in the holy place; that is to say, in a place of the temple. And from that time hitherto have passed near about twelve hundred and ninety days, taking a day for a year, as Daniel takes it in his prophecies, and other prophets likewise. For Daniel, speaking of the sixty-two weeks, doth not speak of the weeks of days, but of years. So, therefore, when he saith, "From the time that the continual sacrifice was taken away," &c.,

Richard  
II.

A. D.  
1392.

Touching these forty-two months, see vol. ii. page 724. The old imagination touching Antichrist, confuted. Antichrist cometh not so grossly as the papists imagine.

Christ cannot come of the tribe of Dan.

The abomination, or idol of desolation, standing in the holy place.

*Richard II.*

A. D. 1392.

Anti-christ to reign only three years and a half, is false.

Look before in the story of the ten first persecutions, vol. i. Apoc. xiii.

The purple beast in the Apocalypse meaneth Rome.

For the forty-two months, look before, page 724, vol. ii.

twelve hundred and ninety days must be taken for so many years, from the time of the desolation of Jerusalem, even unto the revealing of Antichrist; and not for three years and a half, which, they say, Antichrist shall reign. And again; whereas Daniel said, "How long till the end of these marvellous matters?" it was answered him, "For a time, and times, and half a time;" behold also, how unfitly they did assign this time, by three years and a half, which they say Antichrist shall reign. For whereas it is said "a time, times, and half a time;" there is a going downward from the greater to the less, from the whole to the part, because it is from a time to half a time. If, therefore, there be a going downward from the whole to the part, by the midst (which is greater than the whole itself), the going downward is not meet or agreeing. And this is done when it is said, that a time, times, and half a time, is a year, two years, and half a year. Wherefore, more fitly it is said, that a time, times, and half a time, doth signify twelve hundred and ninety years, as is before said in the chapter preceding. Thus therefore is the prophecy of Daniel falsely applied to that imagined Antichrist.

Likewise is the process of the Apocalypse applied to the same imagined Antichrist too erroneously. Because that the same cruel beast which came up out of the sea, having seven heads and ten horns, to whom there was power given over every tribe, people, and tongue, and the power given for the space of forty-two months: this beast doth note the Roman emperors, who most cruelly did persecute the people of God, as well Christians as Jews. For when the condemnation of the great whore, sitting upon the many waters, was showed to John, he saw the same woman sitting upon the purple-coloured beast, full of the names of blasphemy, having seven heads and ten horns, and he saw a woman being drunken with the blood of the saints and martyrs of Jesu. And the angel, expounding and telling him the mystery of the woman and the beast that carried her, said, "The seven heads are seven hills, and are seven kings: five are fallen, one is, the other is not yet come: and when he shall come, he must reign a short time. And the ten horns which thou sawest, are ten kings, who have not yet taken their kingdom, but shall receive their power as it were in one hour under the beast." And, finally, he saith, "The woman whom thou sawest is the great city, which hath the kingdom over the kings of the earth." And it is manifest that the city of Rome, at the time of this prophecy, had the kingdom over the kings of the earth. And this city was borne up and upholden by her cruel and beastly emperors; who, by their cruelty and beastliness, did subdue unto themselves, in a manner, all the kingdoms of the world, of zeal to have lordship over others, and not virtuously to govern the people that were their subjects, seeing that they themselves did lack all virtue, and drew back others from the faith, and from virtue.

Wherefore that cruel beast coming up out of the sea, doth rightly note the Roman emperors, who had power over every language, people, and country. And the power of the beast was for forty-two months, because that from the first emperor of Rome, that is to say, Julius Caesar, unto the end of Frederic, the last emperor of Rome, there were forty-two months, taking a month for thirty days, as the months of the Hebrews and Grecians are, and taking a day always for a year, as it is commonly taken in the prophets. By which things it may plainly appear how unfitly this prophecy is applied to that imagined Antichrist, and the forty-two months taken for three years and a half, which, they say, he shall reign in, against the saying of the prophets, because days are taken for years. As in the second chapter of the Apocalypse, "They shall be troubled ten days;" which do note the most cruel persecution of Dioclesian against the Christians, that endured ten years. And in another place of the Apocalypse it is written of "the smoke coming up out of the bottomless pit:" out of which pit there came forth grasshoppers into the earth, and to them was power given, as scorpions have power, to vex and trouble men five months. Now, it is manifest, that from the beginning of the friars minors and preachers, to the time that Armachanus began to disclose and uncover their hypocrisy, and their false foundation of valiant begging under the poverty of Christ, were five months, taking a month for thirty days, and a day for a year: and to Ezekiel were days given for years. Wherefore it is an unfit thing to assign the

(1) The beginning and end of the valiant beggarly friars spoken of in the Apocalypse, expounded by Armachanus, see vol. ii. p. 736.

forty-two months, being appointed to the power of the beast, unto three years and a half, for the reign of that fantastical and imagined Antichrist; especially seeing that they do apply to his reign the twelve hundred and ninety days in Daniel, which make forty-two months, and in the Apocalypse they assign him forty-two months. It is plain that the psaltery and the harp agree not. And, therefore, seeing that it is sufficiently showed that the same fabling tale of that imagined Antichrist to come, is a fable and erroneous; let us go forward to declare whether Antichrist be already come, and yet is he hid from many, and must be opened and disclosed within a little while according to the truth of the holy Scripture, for the salvation of the faithful.

And because that in the first conclusion of mine answer I have conditionally put it: Who is the Antichrist lying privy in the hid Scriptures of the prophets? I will pass on to the declaration of that conclusion, bringing to light those things which lay hid in darkness, because nothing is hid which shall not be disclosed, and nothing covered which shall not be known. And therefore the thing which was said in the darkness, let us say in the light; and the thing that we have heard in the ear, let us preach upon the house-tops. I, therefore, as I have before said, so say, that if the high bishop of Rome, calling himself the servant of God and the chief vicar of Christ in this world, do make and justify many laws contrary to the gospel of Jesu Christ, then is he the chief of many, who, coming in the name of Christ, have said "I am Christ," who have seduced many: which is the first part of the first conclusion, and is manifest; for Christ is called by the Hebrews the very same that we call anointed; and amongst them there was a double sort of legal anointing by the law, the one of kings, and the other of priests; and as well were the kings, as the priests, called in the law, Christs. The kings, as in the Psalm, "The kings of the earth stood up together, and the princes assembled themselves in one against the Lord, and against his Christ or anointed." And in the Books of the Kings very often are the kings called Christs; and our Saviour was Christ, or anointed king, because he was a king for evermore upon the throne of David, as the Scripture doth very oftentimes witness. The priests also were called anointed, as where it is written, "Do not ye touch my Christs;" that is, mine anointed ones, "and be not ye spiteful against my prophets." And so was our Saviour Christ "a priest for ever, according to the order of Melchizedec."

Seeing then that the bishops of Rome do say that they are the high priests, they say also therein that they are kings, because they say that they have the spiritual sword pertaining to their priesthood, and the corporal sword which agreeth for a king's state. So is it plain, that, really and in very deed, they say that they are Christs, albeit that expressly they be not called Christs. Now, that they come in the name of Christ it is manifest, because they say that they are his principal vicars in this world, ordained of Christ specially for the government of the christian church. Therefore, seeing they say that really and in very deed they are Christs, and the chief friends of Christ; if they make and justify many laws contrary to the gospel of Jesus Christ, then is it plain that they themselves in earth are the principal Antichrists, because there is no worse plague and pestilence than a familiar enemy. And if in secret they be against Christ, and yet in open appearance they say that they are his friends, they are so much the more meet to seduce and deceive the christian people: because a manifest enemy shall have much ado to deceive a man, because men trust him not; but a privy enemy, pretending outward friendship, may easily seduce, yea those that be wise.

But that this matter may be more fully be known, let us see what is the law and doctrine of Christ, that ought to be observed by all faithful people; which being known, it shall be an easy thing to see, if the bishop of Rome do make or maintain any laws contrary to the law of the gospel of Jesus Christ.

I say then, that the law of Christ is charity, which is the perfect love of God and of Christ. This thing is plain and manifest. For Christ being demanded of a certain doctor of the law, "What is the greatest commandment in the law?" answered: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind: this is the principal and greatest commandment. And as for the second it is like unto this: Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thine own self. On these two commandments the whole law and prophets depend." And in another place [John xiii.] Christ said: "All manner

*Richard II.*

*A. D. 1392.*

*Whether Antichrist be already come.*

*The pope proved Antichrist.*

*Anointing double in Scripture. Kings and priests anointed.*

*Popes make themselves priests and kings. The pope maketh himself Christ, and cometh in his name; he proved Antichrist's outward friend, and privy enemy to Christ.*

*The law of love commanded in the gospel.*

*Richard*  
*II.*

A.D.  
1392.

of things, therefore, that you would that men should do to you, the same also do you unto them, for this is the law and the prophets." And in the same chapter of John, Christ saith, "And now do I say unto you, I give you a new commandment, that you should love each other; as I loved you, in like manner that you also should love one another. In this shall all men know that you are my disciples, if you shall have love one towards another." And John, chapter xv. "This is my commandment, that you love together as I have loved you. Greater love than this hath nobody, that a man should give his life for his friends." The apostle Peter saith, in his first epistle, chapter iv. "Above all things having continually charity one towards another; for charity covereth the multitude of sins. Be ye harbourers, and entertain ye one another without grudging; every one as he hath received grace, so let him bestow it upon another man, as the good stewards of the manifold grace of God. If any man speak, let him speak as the word of God. If any man do ought for another, let it be done with singleness and unfeigned verity, ministered of God to usward, that in all things God may be honoured through Jesus Christ our Lord." James, in his epistle, chapter ii. says, "If ye perform the royal law accordingly to the Scriptures, 'thou shalt love thy neighbour,' ye do well: but if ye be partial in receiving and preferring men's personages, ye work wickedness, being blamed of the law as transgressors." And again, "So speak ye, and so do ye, as ye should now begin to be judged by the law of liberty. What shall it avail, my brethren, if a man say he have faith, and have no works? Never shall that faith be able to save him. For if a brother or sister be naked, and have need of daily food, and some of you say to them, Go ye in peace, be ye made warm and satisfied; and if ye shall not give those things that are necessary for the body, what shall it avail? Even so faith, if it have not works, is dead in itself."

John, in his first epistle, chapter iii. "This is the tidings which you have heard from the beginning, that you should love one another." And again, "We know that we are translated from death to life, if we love the brethren: he that loveth not, abideth in death." And again, "Herein do we know the love of God, because that he hath laid down his life for us, and we ought to lay down our lives for the brethren. He that shall have the substance of this world, and shall see his brother have need, and shall shut up his bowels from him, how abideth the love of God in him? My little children, let us not love in word nor tongue, but in deed and truth." And again, chapter iv. "Most dearly beloved, let us love together; for love is of God. He that loveth not, knoweth not God; for God is love. In this thing hath the love of God appeared in us, that God hath sent his only begotten Son into the world, that we should live by him. Herein is love; not that we have loved God, but that he hath first loved us, and hath sent his Son an atonement for our sins. Most dearly beloved, if God have loved us, we so ought to love together. No man hath seen God at any time; if we love together, God abideth in us, and his love is perfect in us." And again, "Let us love God, for he hath first loved us. If a man shall say, I love God, and do hate his brother, he is a liar: for he that loveth not his brother whom he seeth, how can he love God whom he seeth not? And this commandment have we of God, that who so loveth God, should love his brother also." Paul the apostle, in his epistle to the Romans, chapter xiii. "Owe ye nothing to nobody, saving that you should love together; for he that loveth his brother hath fulfilled the law. For thou shalt not commit adultery, thou shalt not murder, thou shalt not steal, thou shalt not bear false witness, thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's goods; and if there be any other commandment, it is plentifully fulfilled in this word: 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.'" Wherefore the fulfilling of the law is love.

Paul to the Corinthians [chapter xiii.] saith, "If I should speak with the tongues of men and angels, and yet have not charity, I am become as it were a piece of sounding metal or tinkling cymbal. And if I have all prophecy, and know all mysteries and all knowledge, and shall have all faith, so that I might remove mountains, and yet shall not have charity, I am nothing. And if I shall give abroad all my goods to feed the poor, and shall give up my body to be burned, and yet have not charity, it profits me nothing." To the Galatians [chapter v.] saith Paul, "For you my brethren are called unto liberty: do ye not give your liberty for an occasion of the flesh, but by charity of the spirit

serve ye one another. For all the law is fulfilled in one saying: "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thine own self." To the Ephesians [chapter iv.] he saith, "I therefore that suffer bonds in the Lord do beseech you, that you would walk worthy of the calling wherewith ye are called, with all humbleness and mildness, with patience, forbearing one another in love, being careful to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace: that you be one body and one spirit, even as you be called in one hope of your calling." And again, chapter v. "Be ye followers of me as most dear children, and walk ye in love, as Christ also hath loved us, and hath delivered up himself for us, an offering and sacrifice to God of a sweet savour." To the Philippians, thus he speaketh, in chapter i. "Only let your conversation be worthy of the gospel of Christ, that either when I shall come and see you, or else in mine absence I may hear of you, that you stand steadfast in one spirit, labouring together with one accord for the faith of the gospel. And in nothing be ye afraid of the adversaries, which is to them a cause of damnation, but to you of salvation, and that of God. For to you it is given, not only that you should believe in him, but also that you should suffer with him, you having the like fight and battle that you have both seen in me, and also now do hear of me. If, therefore, there be any consolation in Christ, if any comfort of charity, if any fellowship of the spirit, if any bowels of compassion, fulfil you my joy, that you may be of one judgment, having one and the selfsame charity, being of one accord, of one manner of judgment, doing nothing of contention or of vain glory, but in humbleness accounting others amongst you, every one, better than yourselves; not every body looking upon the things that be his own, but on those that belong to others." And to the Colossians [chapter iii.] thus he writeth, "You, therefore, as the elect of God, holy and beloved, put upon you the bowels of mercy, gentleness, humbleness, lowliness, modesty, patience, bearing one with another, and giving place to yourselves: if any have a quarrel against any body, even as the Lord forgave you, so do you also. Above all things have ye charity, which is the bond of perfection, and let the peace of Christ triumph in your hearts, in which peace you also are called in one body; and be ye kind and thankful." And to the Thessalonians, thus Paul writeth, in his first epistle, chapter iv. "As concerning brotherly charity we have no need to write unto you; for you yourselves have learned of God, that you should love one another. And the same thing ye do towards all the brethren throughout all Macedonia."

Out of all these, and many other places of the holy Scripture, it sufficiently appeareth, that the law of Christ is charity; neither is there any virtue commanded by Christ, or any of his apostles, to be observed by the faithful people, but that it cometh out of charity, or else doth nourish charity.

The law is given by Moses, and the truth by Christ. Christ came not to unloose the law and the prophets, but to fulfil them. But yet many things were lawful and might have been observed in the time of the law, which in the time of grace must not be observed; and many things were unlawful to them that were under the law, which in the time of grace are lawful enough. After what sort, then, he did not loose the law, but did fulfil it, it is necessary to declare, for those things which hereafter must be said. For amongst Christians many things are judged to be lawful, because in the former Testament in the law they were lawful: and yet they be expressly contrary to Christ's gospel. But the authors of such things do argue and reason thus: Christ came not to loose the law or the prophets. Now after what sort he did not unloose them, it is manifest by the holy Scripture; that the law given by Moses, was written in tables of stone, to declare the hardness of the people's heart towards the love of God, or of Christ. But Christ hath written his law in the hearts and in the minds of his; that is to say, the law of perfect love of God and of Christ: which law whosoever observeth, he doth observe the law of Moses, and doth much greater works of perfection, than were the works of the law. Thus, therefore, were the morals of the old law fulfilled in the law of the charity of Christ, and not unloosed; because they are much more perfectly observed, than by the Jews: this I say, if the Christians do observe the commandments of Christ in such sort, as he commanded the same to be observed. Christ hath fulfilled the laws moral of the Old Testament, because that the morals and judicials were ordained, that one person should not do injury to another, and that every man should have paid him that is his. Now they that are in charity, will do no injury to

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*Richard II.*

A. D.  
1392.

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others, neither do they take other men's goods away from them ; nay, she seeketh not her own things, for charity seeketh not the things that be her own. Wherefore much less, by a stronger reason, it ought not to seek for other men's goods. And when the judicials and morals were ordained, Christ did not, by the works of the law, justify the believers in him, but by grace justified them from their sins. And so did Christ fulfil that by grace, which the law could not by justice.

Paul to the Romans, declareth in a godly discourse, and to the Galatians likewise, "That none shall be justified by the works of the law, but by grace<sup>1</sup> in the faith of Jesus Christ." As for the morals and ceremonies of the law, as circumcision, sacrifices for offences and for sins, first-fruits, tenths, vows, divers sorts of washings, the sprinkling of blood, the sprinkling of ashes, abstaining from unclean meats, which are ordained for the sanctifying and cleansing of the people from sin, no nor yet the prayers of the priests, neither the preachings of the prophets could cleanse a man from his sin. For death reigned even from Adam to Moses, and sin from Moses to Christ, as Paul declareth to the Romans. [chapter v.] But Christ, willing to have mercy and not sacrifice, "being a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec, and a high priest of good things to come, did neither by the blood of goats nor calves, but by his own blood enter in once into the holy places, when everlasting redemption was found: neither did Jesus enter into the holy places that were made with hands, which are the examples of true things, but into the very heaven, that now he may appear before the countenance of God for us. Nor yet he did so, that he should offer up himself oftentimes, as the high bishop entered into the holy place every year with strange blood (for otherwise he must needs have suffered oftentimes since the beginning of the world); but now, in the latter end of the world, hath he once appeared, by his own sacrifice, for the destruction of sin. And, like as it is decreed for men once to die, and after that cometh judgment, even so was Christ once offered up to consume away the sins of many. The second time shall he appear without sin to the salvation of such as look for him." [Heb. ix. 24—28.] "For the law, having a shadow of good things to come, and not the very image or substance itself of the things, can never, by those sacrifices which they offer, of one self-same sort continually year by year, make them perfect that come unto her: otherwise men would leave off offering, because that those worshippers being once cleansed should have no more prick of conscience for sin afterwards. But in them is there remembrance made of sins every year. For it is impossible, that by the blood of goats and bulls sins should be taken away. Whereas he, entering into the world, doth say, As for sacrifice and offering thou wouldst not have, but a body hast thou framed unto me: and sacrifices for sin have not pleased thee. Then, said I, Behold, I come: in the head, or principal part of the book it is written of me, that I should do thy will, O God. Wherefore he said before, that sacrifices, oblations, and burnt-offerings, and that for sin, thou wouldst not have, neither were those things pleasant to thee which are offered according to the law: then said I, Behold, I come, that I may do thy will, O God. He taketh away the first, that he may establish that that followed. In which will we are sanctified and made holy, by the offering up of the body of Jesus Christ once. And verily every priest is ready every day ministering, and oftentimes offering the self-same sacrifices, which never can take away sins. But this man, offering one sacrifice for sins, doth for ever and ever sit at God's right hand, looking for the rest to come, till that his enemies be placed to be his footstool. For with one offering hath he for ever made perfect those that be sanctified." [Heb. x. 1—14.] By which things it plainly appeareth, that Christ, by one offering, hath cleansed his from their sins, who could not be cleansed from the same by all the ceremonies of the law, and so did fulfil that, which the priesthood of the law could not. Wherefore only the morals and judicials he fulfilled by the law of charity, and by grace; and the ceremonial, by one offering-up of his body on the altar of the cross. And so it is plain that Christ fulfilled the whole law.

Wherefore, since the holy things of the law were a shadow of those things that were to come in the time of grace, it were meet that all those things should utterly cease amongst Christians, which should either be against charity or the

(1) Grace, that is, the free favour mercy, and goodness of God.

grace of Christ. Although in the time of the law they were lawful, and not utterly contrary to it, but were figures of perfections in Christ's faith, yet it were meet that they should cease at the coming of the perfection which they did prefigure; as circumcision, the eating of the paschal lamb, and other ceremonial points of the law. Whereupon also, Paul to the Hebrews, [chapter vii. 11—19,] saith thus, "If, therefore, the making up of the perfection of all, was by the Levitical priesthood (for the people received the law under him), why was it necessary<sup>1</sup> besides, that another priest should rise up after the order of Melchisedec, and not be called after the order of Aaron? For when the priesthood is removed, it must needs be that the law also be removed. For he of whom these things are spoken, is of another tribe, of which none stood present at the altar; because it is manifest that our Lord had his offspring of Judah, in which tribe Moses spake nothing of the priests. And besides this, it is manifest, if according to the order of Melchisedec there do rise up another priest, which was not made according to the law of the carnal commandment, but according to the power of the life that cannot be lost. For thus he beareth witness, That thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec: so that the commandment that went before, is disallowed for the weakness and unprofitableness thereof, for the law hath brought nobody to perfection." By which things it appeareth that Christ, making an end of the priesthood of Aaron, doth also make up a full end of the law belonging to that priesthood.<sup>2</sup> Whereupon I marvel that your learned men do say, that christian folks are bound to this small ceremony of the payment of tithes, and care nothing at all for others, as well the great as the small ceremonies of the law.

*Richard II.*  
A. D.  
1392.

Where the priesthood is removed, there also the law is removed

The cause ceasing the effect also ceaseth.

It is plain, that the tithes were given to the sons of Levi, for their serving in the tabernacle and in the temple of the Lord, as the first-fruits were given to the priests, and also part of the sacrifices; and so were the vows of their ministry, as it appeareth in the Book of Numbers. [chapter xxii.] But forasmuch as the labour of those sacrifices did cease at the coming of Christ, how should those things be demanded, which were ordained for that labour? And, seeing that the first fruits were not demanded of Christians, which first fruits were then rather and sooner demanded than the tithes, why must the tithes be demanded, except it be therefore, peradventure, because the tithes be more worth in value than be the first fruits?

Secondly, Why are the lay people bound to the payment of tithes, more than the Levites and the priests were to the not having of possessions of realties and lordships amongst their brethren, seeing that the selfsame law, in the selfsame place, where he saith, that the tithes ought to be given to Levites, saith also to the Levites, "You shall be contented with the offering of the tithes, and have none other thing amongst your brethren."<sup>3</sup> Wherefore, seeing that the priests be bound to the not having of temporal lordships, how are the lay people bound by that law (of God, he meaneth, and not of man), to the payment of tithes?<sup>4</sup>

Thirdly, as touching circumcision, which is one of the greater ceremonies of the law, and was given before the law, and was an universal ceremony concerning the covenant between God and his people, and was so much regarded in the law, that thereof it was said, "The soul, whose flesh shall not be circumcised in the foreskin, shall perish from among his people:" yet did this ceremony utterly cease at the coming of Christ, although certain of the Jews did say in the primitive church, that the Christians must needs keep the commandment of circumcision with the faith; whom Paul reproveth, writing thus to the Galatians [chapter iv.], where he speaketh of the children of the bond-woman and of the free-woman, which do signify the two Testaments: "But we, O brethren, are the children of the promise after Isaac; but like as at that time he that was born after the flesh, did persecute him which was after the spirit, even so it is now also. But what saith the Scripture? Throw out the

Circumcision ceaseth: ergo, the ceremonies do cease.

(1) Bound, as a matter of religion, or as by the necessity of God's law, and not man's: but now tithes stand by man's law, and not by the old law.

(2) He meaneth, that necessity of tithes standeth by the necessity of the old law, to cease.

(3) If tithes be claimed by force of the old law, by the same law priests are bound to have no temporalities.

(4) He proveth not contrary, but that tithes be due by the profitable law of man; although not by the ceremonial law of Moses.

Richard  
II.A. D.  
1392.Christian  
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bondwoman and her son. The son of the bondwoman shall not be heir with the son of the free-woman. Wherefore brethren, we are not the sons of the bondwoman, but of the free. Stand ye steadfast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath delivered you, and be not ye holden again under the yoke of slavery. Behold, I Paul say unto you, if you be circumcised, Christ shall nothing profit you. For I testify again, to every man that circumciseth himself, that he is bound to keep all the whole law. Ye are utterly void of Christ: whosoever will be justified in the law, are fallen from grace."

In like manner we may reason, if we be bound to tithing,<sup>1</sup> we are debtors and bound to keep all the whole law. For to say, that men are bound to one ceremony of the law, and not to the others, is no reasonable saying. Either therefore we are bound to them all, or to none. Also, that by the same old law, men are not bound to pay tithes,<sup>2</sup> it may be showed by many reasons, which we need not any more to multiply and increase, because the things that be said are sufficient. Whereupon some do say, that by the gospel we are bound to pay tithes, because Christ said to the Pharisees, [Matt. xxiii.] "Wo be to you Scribes and Pharisees, which pay your tithe of mint, of anise-seed, and of cummin, and leave judgment, mercy, and truth undone, being the weightier things of the law; both should ye have done these things, and also not have left the other undone. O ye blind guides, that strain out a gnat, and swallow up a camel." This word soundeth not as a commandment, or manner of bidding, whereby Christ did command tithes to be given; but it is a word of disallowing the hypocrisy of the Pharisees, who, of covetousness, did weigh and esteem tithes because of their own singular commodity, rather than other great and weighty commandments of the law. And me seemeth that our men are in the same predicament of the Pharisees, who do leave off all the ceremonies of the old law, keeping only the commandment of tithing.

It is manifest and plain enough, by the premises and by other places of the Scripture, that Christ was a priest after the order of Melchisedec, of the tribe of Judah, not of the tribe of Levi, who gave no new commandment of tithing of any thing to him and to his priests, whom he would place after him: but, when his apostles said to him, "Behold we leave all things, and have followed thee, what then shall we have?" he did not answer them thus, "Tithes shall be paid you;" neither did he promise them a temporal, but an everlasting reward in heaven; for he, both for food, and also apparel, taught his disciples not to be careful: "Be ye not careful for your life what ye shall eat, or for your body what ye shall put on. Is not the life of man more worth than the meat, and the body more worth than apparel? Behold ye the birds of heaven, which do not sow, nor reap, neither yet lay up in barns, and yet your heavenly Father feedeth them. And as for apparel, why should you be careful? Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow; they labour not, neither do they spin," &c. In conclusion he saith, "Be not ye careful, saying, What shall we eat? or, What shall we drink? or, Wherewithal shall we be covered? (for all these things do the Gentiles seek after;) for your Father knoweth that you have need of all these things. First, therefore, seek ye for the kingdom of God and the righteousness thereof, and all these things shall be cast unto you." [Matt. vi.] And Paul, right well remembering this doctrine, instructeth Timothy, [1 Tim. vi.] and saith thus, "But we having food, and wherewithal to be covered, let us therewith be contented." And, as the Acts of the Apostles do declare in the first conversion of the Jews at Jerusalem, "They had all things common, and to every one was division made, as need required." Neither did the priests make the tithes their own proper goods; for like as it was not meet that the lay people, being converted, should have propriety of goods, even so neither that priests should have propriety of tithes. So that if the priests started back from fervent charity, in challenging to themselves the propriety of tithes, it is no marvel of departing backward (as do the priests from the perfection of charity) also of the laity, to be willing to appropriate to themselves the nine parts remaining after tithes. Wherefore, seeing that neither Christ, nor any of the apostles, commanded to pay tithes, it is manifest and plain, that neither by the law of Moses, nor by Christ's law, christian people are bound to pay tithes; but, by the tradition of men, they are bound.

By the premises now it is plain, that Christ did not undo the law, but by grace

(1) "Bound in one thing," he meaneth, bound in all: either bound to all, or to none.

(2) Here he expresseth his meaning plainly.



did fulfil it. Notwithstanding, in the law many things were lawful, which in the time of grace are forbidden; and many things were then unlawful which now are lawful enough. For nothing that is contrary to charity, is lawful to a Christian.

Let us now hear what manner of commandments Christ hath given us in the gospel, without the observation of which commandments, charity shall not perfectly be kept; by which commandments Christ did not undo the old law, but did fulfil it; by the observation also of which commandments, he teacheth us to pass and go beyond the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, who thought themselves to keep the law most perfectly. This absolute and perfect righteousness, which we are bound to have beyond the righteousness of the Pharisees and the Scribes, he teacheth in the fifth, sixth and seventh chapters of Matthew, which being heard and compared with the traditions made and commanded by the Roman prelates, it shall plainly appear, whether they be contrary or no. Christ therefore saith: "You have heard, that it was said to them of the old time, 'Thou shalt not kill;' for he that killeth shall be guilty of judgment. But I say unto you, that every one that is angry with his brother shall be in danger of judgment." [Matt. v. 21, 22.] In this he doth teach that we ought not to be angry with our brethren; not that he would undo this old commandment, "Thou shalt not kill," but the same should be the more perfectly observed. Again he saith: "You have heard that it was said, thou shalt love thy friend, and hate thine enemy. But I say unto you, love your enemies, do well to them that hate you, pray for them that persecute and slander you, that you may be the children of your Father which is in heaven; which maketh his sun to arise upon the good and the evil people, and raineth upon the just and unjust. For if you love them which love you, what reward shall you have? do not the publicans thus? And if you shall salute your brethren only, what great thing do ye? do not the heathen thus also? Be you therefore perfect, as also your heavenly Father is perfect." [Matt. v. 43—48.]

Again Christ saith: "You have heard that it is said, an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth. But I say unto you, see that you resist not evil; but if any man shall strike you upon the right cheek, give him the other too. And to him that will strive with thee for thy coat in judgment, let him have thy cloak also. And whosoever shall constrain thee one mile, go with him also two others. He that asketh of thee, give him; and he that will borrow of thee, turn not thyself from him." [Matt. vi. 38—42.]

By these things it may plainly appear how that Christ, the king of peace, the Saviour of mankind, who came to save, and not to destroy, who gave a law of charity to be observed by his faithful people, hath taught us not to be angry, not to hate our enemies, nor to render evil for evil, nor to resist evil: for all these things do foster and nourish peace and charity, and do proceed and come forth of charity; and when they be not kept, charity is loosed, and peace is broken. But the bishop of Rome approveth and alloweth wars, and slaughters of men in war, as well against our enemies, that is, the infidels, as also against the Christians, for temporal goods. Now, these things are quite contrary to Christ's doctrine, and to charity, and to peace.

In the decree 23. q. 1. cap. "Paratus," it is taught, that the precepts of patience must always be retained in purpose of the heart; so that patience, with benevolence, must be kept in the mind secret. But apparently and manifestly that thing should be done which seemeth to do good to those, whom we ought to wish well unto; wherein they give to understand, that a Christian may freely defend himself. And for confirmation of this saying they do say, that Christ, when he was stricken on the face by the high bishop's servant, did not fulfil, if we look upon the words, his own commandment; because he gave not to the smiter the other part, but rather did forbid him, that he should not do it, to double his injury. For he said, "If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil; but if well, why dost thou strike me?"<sup>1</sup> I do marvel of this saying, for, first, if those commandments of patience must be kept in secret in the mind, and seeing the body doth work at the motion of the mind, and is and ought to

*Richard II.*  
A. D.  
1392.

Doctrine of Christ, whether it be contrary to the traditions of the pope or not.

Doctrine of Christ and of the pope compared.

Gloss of Gratianus disproved.

[Decreti Pars II. Causa xxiii. quæst. i. cap. 2.]

(1) Christ, in answering to his striker, did not break his rule of patience outwardly. The precept of Christ to turn the other cheek, hath a privy comparison; as if he would say, rather be you content to suffer two blows, than to revenge one.

*Richard*  
*II.*

A. D.  
1392.

This article of Brute must have a relation to the doctrine of the clergy.

War in case allowed.

Patience commended in private causes amongst Christians.

Paul being stricken did not break the rule of christian patience, neither made any bodily resistance.

The fact either of Paul or of any other, doth not derogate from the doctrine of our Saviour.

be moved and ruled by the same, it must then needs be, that if patience be in the mind, it must appear also outwardly in the body.

Secondly, I marvel that it is said, that Christ did not fulfil his own precept of patience: for it is manifest, that albeit he, teaching always as a good school-master those things which were fit for the salvation of souls, speaking the wholesome word of instruction to the high bishop's servant smiting him unjustly, did neither by word forbid another stroke to be given on the other cheek, neither did he defend himself bodily from striking on the same cheek; but, speaking to him, it is likely that he gave him the other cheek; he meaneth, that he turned not the other cheek away. For a man turneth not away from him whom he speaketh to, or whom he informeth; but layeth open before him all his face: even so do I believe that Christ did, that he might fulfil in very deed that which before he had taught in word. Neither yet did Christ, by his word, or by his deed, show any thing of defence, or of bodily resistance.

Thirdly, I marvel why wise men, leaving the plain and manifest doctrine of Christ,<sup>1</sup> whereby he teacheth patience, do seek corners of their own imagining, to the intent they may approve fightings and wars. Why mark they not after what manner Christ spake to Peter, striking the high bishop's servant, saying, "Put up thy sword into the sheath, for every one that shall take the sword, shall perish with the sword?" But in another case we must make resistance; which case may be so righteous, as it is for a man's lord and master being a most righteous man, and yet suffering injury of mischievous persons.

Fourthly, I marvel, seeing that we are bound of charity, and by the law of Christ, to give our lives for our brethren, how they can allow such manner of dissensions and resisting;<sup>2</sup> for when thy brother shall maliciously strike thee, thou mayest be sure, that he is manifestly fallen from charity, into the snare of the devil. If thou shalt keep patience, he shall be ashamed of his doing, and thou mayest bow and bend him to repentance, and take him out from the snare of the devil, and call him back again to charity. If thou resist, and perchance by resistance doth strike again, his fury shall be the more kindled, and he, being stirred up to greater wrath, peradventure shall either slay thee, or thou him. Touching thyself, thou art uncertain, if thou go about to make resistance, whether thou shalt fall from charity, and then shalt thou go backward from the perfection of Christ's commandment. Neither dost thou know but that it may happen thee so greatly to be moved, as that, by the heat and violence of wrath, thou shalt slay him. Whereas, if thou wouldst dispose thyself to patience, as Christ teacheth, thou shouldst easily avoid all these mischiefs, as well on the behalf of thy brother, as also of thine own part. Wherefore the observing of charity, as the precept of patience, is to be observed.

Fifthly, I do marvel why, for the allowing of this corporal resistance, he doth say in the same chapter, that Paul did not fulfil the precept of the patience of Christ, when he, being stricken in the place of judgment by the commandment of the high priest, did say, "God strike thee, O thou painted wall: dost thou sit to judge me according to the law, and dost thou command me to be stricken against the law?" It is manifest that Paul made resistance in nothing, though he spake a word of instruction to the priest, who against the law commanded him to be stricken. And if Paul had overpassed the bounds of patience, through the grief of the stroke, what of that? Must the deed of Paul's impatience for this cause be justified, and the commandment of patience taught by Christ be left undone for Paul's deed, and corporal resistance be allowed? God forbid. For both Paul and Peter might err; but in the doctrine of Christ there may be found no error. Wherefore we must give more credence and belief to Christ's sayings, than to any living man's doings. Wherefore, although Paul had resisted, which I do not perceive in that Scripture, it followeth not thereof, that corporal resistance must be approved, which is of Christ expressly forbidden. I much marvel that always they seek corners and shadows to justify their deeds. Why do they not mark what great things Paul reciteth himself to have suffered for Christ? and where, I pray you, have they found that he, after his conversion, struck any man that did hurt him? or where do they find that he in express words doth teach such a kind of corporal resistance? But, as touching patience, he saith in plain words to the Romans, [chap. xii. 16—21.] "Be not wise in

(1) The cause here again of Christ was private, and his doctrine is to be understood in private cases.

(2) He meaneth resistance for private causes, or for worldly goods.

your own conceits: render ill for ill to nobody; providing good things not only before God, but also before all men, if it be possible. Be at peace with all folks, as much as in you lieth; not defending yourselves, my most dearly beloved, but give you place unto anger: for it is written, Vengeance is mine; and I will recompense them, saith the Lord. But if thine enemy shall be an hungered, give him meat; if he be athirst, give him drink: for thus doing, thou shalt heap coals of fire upon his head. Be not overcome of evil, but overcome thou evil with good."

*Richard II.*

*A. D. 1392.*

To the Corinthians [1 Cor. vi.], as touching judgment and contention,<sup>1</sup> which are matters of less weight than are fightings, thus he writeth: "Now verily there is great fault in you, that you be at law amongst yourselves: why rather take ye not wrong? why rather suffer ye not deceit?" And generally, in all his epistles, he teacheth that patience should be kept, and not corporal resistance by fighting, because charity is patient, it is courteous, it suffereth all things. I marvel how they justify and make good the wars by Christians, saving only the wars against the devil and sin; for, seeing that it is plain that those things which were in the Old Testament were figures of things to be done in the New Testament, therefore, we must needs say, that the corporal wars being then done, were figures of the christian wars against sin and the devil, for the heavenly country, which is our inheritance. It is plain that it was written thus by Christ: "The mighty Lord, and of great power in battle, hath girded himself in force and manliness to the war; and he came not to send peace into the earth, but war." In this war ought christian people to be soldiers, according to that manner which Paul teacheth to the Ephesians, [chap. vi. 11—17.] "Put upon you the armour of God, that you may be able to stand against the deceits of the devil. For we have not to wrestle against flesh and blood, but against princes and potestates, against the rulers of the darkness of the world, against spiritual wickedness in heavenly things, which are in the high places. Wherefore take ye the armour of God, that ye may be able to resist in the evil day, and to stand perfectly in all things. Stand you, therefore, girded about with truth upon your loins, having put upon you the breastplate of righteousness, and your feet shod in a readiness to the gospel of peace; in all things taking the shield of faith, wherewith you may quench all the fiery darts of that wicked one. And take unto you the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God."

Corporal wars in the Old Testament, be figures of the spiritual wars in the New Testament against sin and the devil

By these things it is plain, what are the wars of Christians, and what are the weapons of their warfare. And because it is manifest, that this testament is of greater perfection than the former, we must now fight more perfectly than at that time: for now spiritually, then corporally; now for an heavenly everlasting inheritance, then for an earthly and temporal; now by patience, then by resistance. For Christ saith, "Blessed are they that suffer persecution for righteousness, for theirs is the kingdom of Heaven." [Mat. v. 10.] He saith not, Blessed are they that fight for righteousness.<sup>2</sup> How can a man say that they may lawfully make war and kill their brethren for the temporal goods, which peradventure they unjustly occupy, or unjustly intend to occupy? for he that killeth another to get those goods which another body unjustly occupieth, doth love more the very goods than his own brother; and then he, falling from charity, doth kill himself spiritually: if he go forward without charity to make war, then doth he evil, and to his own damnation. Wherefore he doth not lawfully nor justly in proceeding to the damnation of his own self and his brother, whom, though he seem unjustly to occupy his goods, yet he doth intend to kill.

What be the wars most proper to Christians.

Note this word, without charity.

And what if such kind of wars<sup>3</sup> were lawful to the Jews? this argueth not, that now they are lawful to Christians: because their deeds were in a shadow of imperfection, but the deeds of Christians in the light of perfection. It was not said unto them, "All people that shall take the sword, shall perish with the sword." What if John the Baptist disallowed corporal fightings, and corporal warfare, at such time as the soldiers asked him, saying, "And what shall we do?" who saith to them, "See that you strike no man, neither pick ye quarrels against any, and be ye contented with your wages." This saying of John

How John Baptist allowed war.

(1) He meaneth such wars of Christians, as the Pope alloweth, rising rather from private revenge of princes, for worldly glory or affection, than for any public necessity.

(2) All this taketh not away the lawfulness of wars in case of public necessity, but only in private case for temporal goods.

(3) "Such kind of wars," that is, such kind as be for private revenge of temporal goods.

*Richard**II.**A.D.*  
*1392.*

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alloweth not corporal warfare amongst Christians; for John was of the priests of the Old Testament, and under the law; neither to him it appertaineth, not to follow the law, but to warn the people to the perfect observation of the law: for he, being likewise demanded by the publicans what they should do, said unto them, "Do no other thing than is appointed unto you." But Christ, the author of the New Testament and of greater perfection than was the perfection of the old law, gave new things, as it plainly appeareth by the gospel; so that Christians ought to receive information from Christ, not from John. For of John also doth Christ speak, "Verily I say unto you, there hath not risen amongst the children of women, a greater than John Baptist; but he that is least in the kingdom of Heaven is greater than he:" in which saying, Christ sheweth that those that be least in the kingdom of Heaven in the time of grace, are placed in greater perfection than was John, who was one of them that were the elders; and he lived also in the time of the law in greater perfection. And when certain of John's disciples said unto him, "Master, he that was beyond Jordan, to whom thou gavest witness, behold, he baptizeth, and all people come unto him:" John answered and said, "A man cannot take any thing upon him, unless it shall be given him from above. You yourselves do bear me record, that I said, I am not Christ, but that I was sent before him. He that hath the bride, is the bridegroom; as for the bridegroom's friend, who standeth and heareth him, he rejoiceth with great joy to hear the voice of the bridegroom. This therefore my joy is fulfilled; he must increase, and I must be diminished. He that cometh from on high, is above all; he that is of the earth is earthly, and speaketh of the earth: he that cometh from Heaven, is above all folks; that which he hath seen and heard, the same doth he witness, and yet his witnessing doth no body receive. But he that receiveth his witnessing, hath put to his seal, that God is true. For he whom God hath sent, speaketh the words of God."

By which things it plainly appeareth, that credence is to be given neither to John, nor yet to an angel, if he teach any thing that is not agreeable to Christ's doctrine. For Christ is above the angels, because God infinitely passeth them in wisdom. Now, if Moses the servant of God, a minister of the Old Testament, was so much to be believed, that nothing could be added to, nor yet any thing diminished from, the commandments that were given by him (for so Moses had said, "The thing that I command thee, that do thou only to the Lord, neither add thou any thing, nor diminish,") how much more ought we not to add nor to take away from the commandments given by God himself, and also the Son of God? In the primitive church, because the Christians had fervent love and charity, they observed these precepts as they were given; but their fervent charity afterwards waxing lukewarm, they invented glosses, by drawing the commandments of God back to their own deeds, which they purposed to justify and maintain; that is to say, wars against the infidels.<sup>1</sup> But that they, by wars, should be converted to the faith, is a fact faithless enough: because that by violence, or unwillingly, nobody can believe in Christ, nor be made a Christian, neither did he come to destroy them by battle that believed not in him; for he said to his disciples, "You know not what spirit you are of. The Son of man came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them." Then, to grant pardons and forgiveness of sins to those that kill the infidels, is too much an infidel's fact, seducing many people; for what greater seducing can there be, than to promise to a man forgiveness of sins, and afterwards the joy of Heaven, for setting himself against Christ's commandments in the killing of the infidels, that would not be converted to the faith? whereas Christ doth say, "Not every one that saith to me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of Heaven, but he that doth the will of my Father which is in Heaven, this person shall enter into the kingdom of Heaven." Now the will of the Father is, that we should believe in his only Son Jesus Christ, and that we should obey him by observing of those things which he himself hath commanded. Wherefore Christ's precepts of patience must be fulfilled; wars, fightings, and contentions must be left, because they are contrary to charity.

(Objection.)

But peradventure some man will thus reason against Christ: "The saints, by whom God hath wrought miracles, do allow wars as well against the faithful

(1) He meaneth those wars against infidels, stirred up and procured by the pope, upon blind superstition, to fight for the Holy Land, and not taken by princes in the necessary defence of themselves and of their country.

people, as also against the infidels; and the holy kings were warriors, for whose sakes miracles also have been showed, as well in their death, as also in their life, yea in the very time wherein they were at warfare: wherefore it seemeth that their facts were good and lawful; for, otherwise, God would not have done miracles for them."

*Richard II.*

A. D. 1392.

ANSWER.  
Legibus agendum non exemplis.

To this again I say, that we for no miracles must do contrary to the doctrines of Christ, for in it can there be no error; but in miracles there oftentimes changeth error,<sup>1</sup> as it is plain as well by the Old, as by the New Testament. God forbid then that a Christian should, for deceivable miracles, depart from the infallible doctrine of Christ. In Exodus [chapter vii.] it is manifest, how that the wicked wise men of the Egyptians, through the enchantments of Egypt, and certain secret workings, threw their wands upon the earth, which were turned into dragons; even as Aaron, before time, in the presence of Pharaoh, threw his wand upon the earth, which, by the power of God, was turned into a serpent. In the first book of Kings, [chapter xxii.] Micaiah did see the Lord "sitting upon his throne, and all the host of heaven standing about him on the right hand and on the left. And the Lord said, Who shall deceive Ahab the king of Israel, that he may go up and be slain in Ramoth-gilead? And one said this way, and another otherwise. Now there went forth a spirit, and stood before the Lord, and said, I will deceive him. To whom the Lord spake: By what means? And he said, I will go forth, and be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his prophets. And the Lord said, Thou shalt deceive him and prevail: go thy ways forth, and do even so." Thus also it is written in Deuteronomy: "If there shall arise a prophet amongst you, or one that shall say, he hath seen a dream, and shall foretell a sign and a wonder; and if that shall come to pass that he hath spoken, and he shall say unto thee, Let us go and follow strange gods (whom thou knowest not), and let us serve them, thou shalt not hearken unto the words of that prophet or dreamer; for the Lord your God tempteth you, to make it known whether ye love him or no, with all your heart, and with all your soul."

Ahab deceived by false prophets.

In Jeremy, [chap. xxiii.], "Are not my words even like fire, saith the Lord? and like a hammer that breaketh the stone?" "Therefore, behold, I will come against the prophets which have dreamed a lie, saith the Lord, which have showed those things, and have seduced the people through their lies and their miracles, when I sent them not, neither commanded them; which have brought no profit unto this people, saith the Lord." In Mark [chapter xiii.], saith Christ, "For there shall arise false Christs and false prophets, and shall show great signs and wonders, to deceive, if it were possible, even the very elect." Paul [2 Cor. xi.], "Such false apostles are deceitful workers, transforming themselves into the apostles of Christ. And no marvel, for even Satana transformeth himself into an angel of light; therefore it is no great thing though his ministers transform themselves, as though they were the ministers of righteousness, whose end shall be according to their works."

Prophets must be tried by doctrine.

False prophets.

In the Apocalypse [chapter xiii.], John saw "a beast ascending up out of the earth, and it had two horns like a lamb, but he spake like the dragon, and he did all that the first beast could do before him; and he caused the earth and the inhabitants thereof to worship the first beast, whose deadly wound was healed, and did great wonders, so that he made fire come down from heaven on the earth, in the sight of men, and deceived them that dwell on the earth, by means of the signs which were permitted to him to do in the sight of the beast."

By these things it is most manifest and plain, that in miracles this manifold error oftentimes happeneth, through the working of the devil, to deceive the people withal; wherefore we ought not for the working of miracles, to depart from the commandments of God. I would to God that they who put confidence in miracles, would give heed unto the word of Christ, in thus speaking [Matthew, chap. vii.], "Many shall say unto me in that day, Lord, Lord, have we not in thy name prophesied? and in thy name cast out devils, and in thy name done many great works?" &c. "I will profess unto them, I never knew you, depart from me, all ye which work iniquity"

Miracles are to be tried.

By this saying it is most manifest that the servants of Christ are not discerned by

{1} True miracles here of holy men not disproved, but speaking universally, the stable doctrine and word of God is the sure rule for men to follow.

*Richard  
II.*

A. D.  
1392.

The servants of Christ discerned by working not of miracles, but of virtues. Men or women are not rashly to be judged saints.

working of miracles, but by the working of virtues, departing from iniquity, and obeying the commandments of God. Wherefore it is wonderful, that any in this life dare presume to prevent the day of the judgment of God, to judge by means of miracles, that some are saints; whom men ought to worship; whom, peradventure, God will in the last judgment condemn, saying, "Depart from me all ye which work iniquity." If any man could here on earth judge sinners to be condemned; then, if this judgment were certain, Christ should not judge the second time; and whatsoever such judges bind in earth, the same ought to be bound in Heaven. But if such a judgment be uncertain, then it is perilous and full of deceit, when by it men on earth may, instead of saints, worship such as are damned with the fellowship of the devils, and in prayer require their aid, who, even like as the devils their companions, are more ready, and more of might, to evil than to good, more to hurt than to profit. I wonder they mark not what Christ said, when his kinswoman came unto him, desiring and requiring something of him, and saying, "Command that these my two sons may sit one upon thy right hand, and the other upon thy left hand in thy kingdom." But Jesus answering, said, Ye know not what ye ask, can ye drink of the cup which I shall drink of? They said unto him, We can. He said unto them, Of my cup indeed ye shall drink, but to sit at my right hand, or at my left, it is not mine to give, but unto whom it is prepared of my Father." Christ, being equal unto the Father according to his Godhead, and exceeding all manner of men, according to his manhood, namely in goodness and wisdom; said, "To sit at my right hand, or at my left, is not mine to give, but unto whom it is prepared of my Father." If it were none of his to give, "to sit at the right hand, or at the left," &c., how then is it in the power of any sinful man to give unto any man a seat, either on the right hand, or on the left, in the kingdom of God, which sinful man knoweth not whether such have any seat prepared for them of the Father in his kingdom? They much extol themselves, who exercise this judicial power in giving judgment that there are some saints who ought to be honoured by men, by reason of the evidences of dreams, or of deceitful miracles; of which men they are ignorant, whether God in his judgment will condemn them or not, together with the devils for ever to be tormented. Let them beware, for the infallible Truth saith, that "every one that exalteth himself shall be brought low."

By these things is gathered that the wars of Christians are not lawful;<sup>1</sup> for that by the doctrine and life of Christ they are prohibited, by reason of the evidence of the deceitful miracles of those who have made wars amongst the Christians, as well against the Christians, as also against the infidels: because Christ could not err in his doctrine, forasmuch as he was God; and forasmuch as heaven and earth shall pass away, but the words of Christ shall not pass away. He, therefore, who establisheth his laws, allowing wars and the slaughter of men in the war, as well of Christians as of infidels, doth he not justify those things which are contrary to the gospel and law of Christ? Therefore in this he is against Christ, and therefore Antichrist, seducing the people, and making men believe that to be lawful and meritorious unto them, which is expressly prohibited by Christ.

And thus much concerning the first part, touching peace and war, wherein he declareth Christ and the pope to be contrary, that is, the one to be given all to peace, the other all to war, and so to prove, in conclusion, the pope to be Antichrist: where, in the mean time, thou must understand, gentle reader, his meaning rightly; not that he so thinketh no kind of wars among Christians in any case to be lawful, for he himself before hath openly protested the contrary; but that his purpose is, to prove the pope in all his doings and teachings more to be addicted to war than to peace, yea, in such cases where is

(1) This proposition of Walter Brute, concerning the wars of Christians not to be lawful, is not to be taken universally, but in particular case, as he meaneth, which is this, that such wars allowed by the pope, not for the necessary defence of public peace, liberty, and safeguard of our countries, or against public injuries offered; but only to go and kill the infidels, because they believe not, having no other cause, these wars of the pope he liketh not.

no necessity of war; and therein proveth he the pope to be contrary to Christ, that is, to be Antichrist. *Richard II.*

Now he proceedeth further to the second part, which is of mercy; in which part he sheweth how Christ teacheth us to be merciful, "because mercy," as he saith, "proceedeth from charity, and nourisheth it." *A. D. 1392.*

In this doctrine of mercy, Christ breaketh not the law of righteousness, for he himself, by mercy, hath cleansed us from our sins, from which we could not by the righteousness of the law be cleansed. But whom he hath made clean by mercy, undoubtedly it becometh those same to be also merciful; for in Matthew [chap. v.] he saith, "Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy." And again in Matthew [chap. vi.], he saith, "If ye forgive unto men their sins, your Father will forgive unto you your sins." And again in Matthew [chap. vii.], "Judge not and ye shall not be judged; condemn not, and ye shall not be condemned; and with what measure ye measure, with the same shall it be measured unto you again." In Matthew [chap. xviii.], Peter asked the Lord, saying, "Lord, how often shall my brother sin against me, and shall I forgive him? seven times? Jesus said unto him, I say not unto thee seven times, but seventy times seven. Therefore is the kingdom of Heaven likened unto a certain king, which would take account of his servants. And when he had begun to reckon, one was brought unto him which oweth him ten thousand talents; and because he had nothing wherewithal to pay, his master commanded him to be sold, and his wife and his children, and all that he had, and the debt to be paid. The servant therefore fell down, and besought him, saying, Have patience with me, and I will pay thee all. And the lord had pity on that servant, and loosed him, and forgave him the debt. But when the servant was departed, he found one of his fellow servants, which owed him an hundred pence, and he laid hands on him, and took him by the throat, saying, Pay me that thou owest; and his fellow fell down, and besought him, saying, Have patience with me, and I will pay thee all. But he would not, but went and cast him into prison, till he should pay the debt. And when his other fellows saw the things that were done, they were very sorry, and came and declared unto their master all that was done. Then his master called him, and said unto him, O thou ungracious servant, I forgave thee all that debt when thou desiredst me: oughtest thou not then also to have such pity on thy fellow, even as I had pity on thee? And his lord was wroth, and delivered him unto the gaolers, till he should pay all that was due unto him. So likewise shall my heavenly Father do unto you, except ye forgive from your hearts each one his brother their trespasses." *Doctrine of christian mercy declared. Mercy and pity commended.*

By this doctrine it is most plain and manifest, that every Christian ought to be merciful unto his brother, how often soever he offendeth against him: because we, so often as we offend, do ask mercy of God. Wherefore, forasmuch as our offence against God is far more grievous than any offence of our brother against us, it is plain that it becometh us to be merciful unto our brethren, if we will have mercy at God's hand. But, contrary to this doctrine of mercy, the Romish bishop maketh and confirmeth many laws, which punish offenders, even unto the death; as is plain by the Decrees, Causa xxiii. quest. 5. cap. 8, where it is declared and determined, that "to kill men 'ex officio,'" that is, having authority and power so to do, "is not sin;" and again, "The soldier who is obedient unto the higher power, and so killeth a man, is not guilty of murder;" and again, "He is the minister of the Lord, who smiteth the evil in that they are evil, and killeth them." And many other such like things are, throughout the whole process of that question, determined: that for certain kinds of sins men ought, by the rigour of the law, to be punished even unto death. But the foundation of their saying they took out of the old law, in which, for divers transgressions, were appointed divers punishments. It is very wonderful unto me, why that wise men, being the authors and makers of laws, do always, for the foundation of their sayings, look upon the shadow of the law, and not the light of the gospel of Jesus Christ; for they give not heed unto the figure of perfection, nor yet unto the perfection figured. Is it not written in John iii., *Necessary to all Christians. The pope contrary to Christ in showing mercy.*

*Richard  
II.*

*A. D.  
1392.*

The makers  
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the pope's  
law follow  
not the  
perfect  
rule.

"God sent not his Son into the world, to judge the world, but to save the world by him?" In John viii., "The Scribes and Pharisees bring in a woman taken in adultery, and set her in the midst, and said unto Christ, Master, even now this woman was taken in adultery. But in the law, Moses hath commanded us to stone such: what sayest thou therefore? This they said to tempt him, that they might accuse him. But Jesus stooped down, and with his finger wrote on the ground. And while they continued asking him, he lift himself up, and said unto them, Let him that is among you without sin, cast the first stone at her. And again he stooped and wrote on the ground. And when they heard it, they went out one by one, beginning at the eldest: so Jesus was left alone, and the woman standing in the midst. When Jesus had lift up himself again, he said unto her, Where be they which accused thee? hath no man condemned thee? She said, No man, Lord. And Jesus said unto her, Neither do I condemn thee, go thy way, and sin now no more."

It is manifest by the Scriptures, that Christ was promised he should be king of the Jews, and unto the kings pertained the judgments of the law: but because he came not to judge sinners according to the rigour of the law, but came according to grace, to save that which was lost, in calling the sinner to repentance, it is most plain, that in the coming of the law of grace, he would have the judgment of the law of righteousness to cease; for otherwise he had dealt unjustly with the aforesaid woman, forasmuch as the witnesses of her adultery bare witness against her. Wherefore, seeing the same King Christ was a judge, if it had been his will that the righteousness of the law should be observed, he ought to have adjudged the woman to death, according as the law commanded;<sup>1</sup> which thing, forasmuch as he did not, it is most evident that the judgments of the righteousness of the law are finished in the coming of the King, being King of the law of grace; even as the sacrifices of the priesthood of Aaron are finished in the coming of the Priest, according to the order of Melchisedec, who hath offered himself up for our sins; because, as it is before said, neither the righteousness of the law, nor sacrifices for sin, brought any man to perfection: wherefore it was necessary that the same, by reason of their imperfection, should cease. And seeing among all the laws of the world, the law of Moses was most just, forasmuch as the author thereof was God, who is the most just judge; and by that law always look, what manner of injury one had done unto another, contrary to the commandment of the law, the like injury he should receive for his transgression, according to the upright judgment of the law; as death for death, a blow for a blow, burning for burning, wound for wound, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, and most just punishments were ordained according to the quantity of the sins: but if this law of righteousness be clean taken away in the coming of the law of grace, how then shall the law of the Gentiles remain among Christians, which was never so just? Is not this true, that in them who are converted unto the faith, there is no distinction between the Jew and the Grecian? for both are under sin, and are justified by grace in the faith of Christ, being called unto faith, and unto the perfection of the gospel.

If therefore the Gentiles converted are not bound to play the Jews, to follow the law of the Jews, why should the Jews converted, follow the laws of the Gentiles which are not so good? Wherefore it is to be wondered at,<sup>2</sup> why thieves are, among Christians, for theft put to death, when after the law of Moses they were not put to death. Christians suffer adulterers to live, Sodomites, and they who curse father and mother, and many other horrible sinners; and they who according to the most just law of God were condemned to death, are not put to death. So we neither keep the law of righteousness given by God, nor the law of mercy taught by Christ.

Wherefore the law-makers and judges do not give heed unto the aforesaid sentence of Christ unto the Scribes and Pharisees, who said, "He which amongst you is without sin, let him cast the first stone at her."<sup>3</sup> What is he

(1) Here is meant, and to be understood, not what public magistrates may do, in cases of righteousness, but what ecclesiastical persons, according to the office of their profession, should do, in not revenging by death, as they do by offices.

(2) His marvel is not so much, why thieves are put to death, but why the judicial law of Moses in this point is broken, and in other points is straitly kept. Mark his meaning!

(3) Take his meaning wisely, gentle reader. Walter Brute's mind is not so, that no magistrate, being not without sin, may punish a transgressor, but he speaketh against such churchmen, who, professing the rule of mercy, show no mercy at all, but all rigour by their law, 'ex officio.'

Whether  
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Moses  
fully (now  
after the  
coming of  
Christ)  
standeth  
in force,  
or not.  
The law  
of Moses,  
of all laws  
most just.



that dareth be so bold as to say, he is without sin, yea, and without a grievous sin, when the transgression of the commandment of God is a grievous sin? and who can say that he never transgressed this commandment of God, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself?" or the other commandment which is of greater force, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart," &c. Wherefore thou, whatsoever thou art, that judgest thy brother unto death, thinkest thou that thou shalt escape the judgment of God, who peradventure hast offended more grievously than hath he whom thou judgest? How seest thou a mote in thy brother's eye, and seest not a beam in thine own eye? Knowest thou not that with what measure thou measurest, that same shall be measured to you again? Doth not the Scripture say, "Unto me belongeth vengeance, and I will render again, saith the Lord?" How can any man say that these men can with charity keep these judgments of death? Who is it that offendeth God, and desireth of God just judgment for his offence? He desireth not judgment, but mercy. If he desire mercy for himself, why desireth he vengeance for his brother offending? How therefore loveth he his brother as himself? or how dost thou show mercy unto thy brother, as thou art bound by the commandment of Christ, who seeketh the greatest vengeance upon him that thou canst infer unto him? for death is the most terrible thing of all, and a more grievous vengeance than death, can no man infer. Wherefore they who will keep charity, ought to observe the commandments of Christ touching mercy; and they who live in the law of charity,<sup>1</sup> ought to leave the law of vengeance<sup>2</sup> and judgments.

Ought we to believe that Christ in his coming, by grace, abrogated the most just law which he himself gave unto the children of Israel by Moses his servant, and established the laws of the Gentiles, being not so just, to be observed by his faithful? Doth not Daniel [chap. ii.] expound the dream of Nebuchadnezzar the king, concerning the image, whose head was of gold, the breast and arms of silver, the belly and thighs of brass, the legs of iron, one part of the feet of iron, and the other part of clay? Nebuchadnezzar saw that a stone was cut out of a mountain, without hands, and strake the image in his feet of iron and of clay, and brake them to pieces. Then were the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver, and gold, broken all together, and became like the chaff of the summer floor, which is carried away by the wind, and there was no place found for them; and the stone that smote the image became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth. He applieth therefore four kingdoms unto the four parts of the image; namely, the kingdom of the Babylonians, unto the head of gold; the kingdom of the Medes and Persians, unto the breast and arms of silver; the kingdom of the Grecians, unto the belly and thighs of brass; but the fourth kingdom, which is of the Romans, he applieth unto the feet and legs of iron. And Daniel addeth, "In the days of their kingdoms shall God raise up a kingdom which shall never be destroyed: and his kingdom shall not be delivered unto another, but it shall break and destroy those kingdoms; and it shall stand for ever, according as thou sawest, that the stone was cut out of the mountain, without hands, and brake in pieces the clay and iron, brass, silver, and gold." Seeing therefore it is certain, that this stone signifieth Christ, whose kingdom is for ever; it is also a thing most assured, that he ought to reign every where, and to break in pieces the other kingdoms of the world. Wherefore, if terrestrial kings, and the terrestrial kingdom of the Jews, and their laws and judgments, have ceased<sup>3</sup> by Christ the King calling the Jews unto the perfection of his gospel, namely, unto faith and charity; it is not to be doubted, but that the kingdom of the Gentiles (which is more imperfect) and their laws, ought to cease among the Gentiles, departing from their Gentility unto the perfection of the gospel of Jesus Christ. For there is no distinction between the Jews and Gentiles being converted unto the faith of Christ; but all of them, abiding in that eternal kingdom, ought to be under one law of charity and of virtue. Therefore they ought to have mercy, and to leave the judgments of death, and the desire of vengeance. Wherefore they who do make laws, mark

*Richard II.*

A. D. 1392.

The dream of Nebuchadnezzar concerning the image, expounded by Daniel.

(1) He meaneth, of the pope and of the clergy.

(2) He speaketh against the desire of revenge, not against the execution of necessary law done by magistrates.

(3) The judicial necessity of those laws he meaneth to cease, notwithstanding christian princes may borrow both out of those laws, and out of all others, what they think good and expedient for their commonweal.

*Richard**II.*

A. D.

1392.

not the parable of Christ, saying, "The kingdom of heaven is like unto a man which sowed good seed in his field; but when men were on sleep, the enemy came and sowed tares in the midst of the wheat, and went his way. But when the herb was grown and brought forth fruit, then appeared the tares. And the servants came unto the good man of the house, and said unto him, Lord! didst not thou sow good seed in thy field? from whence then come these tares? And he said unto them, The enemy hath done this. And the servants said unto him, Wilt thou that we go and gather them up? And he said, No, lest peradventure gathering up the tares, ye pluck up the wheat by the roots; suffer them both to grow until the harvest, and in the time of the harvest, I will say unto the harvest-men, gather first the tares and bind them in bundles, that they may be burnt, but gather the wheat into my barn." Christ himself expoundeth this parable in the self-same chapter, saying, "He which soweth the good seed is the Son of Man; but the field is the world; and the good seed, those are the children of the kingdom. But the tares are the naughty children; and the enemy which soweth them is the devil. And the harvest is the end of the world; and the harvest-men are the angels. Even as, therefore, the tares are gathered and burnt with fire, so shall it be in the end of the world. The Son of Man shall send his angels, and they shall gather out of his kingdom all offenders, and those which commit iniquity, and shall put them into a furnace of fire; there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth."

By which plain doctrine it is manifest, that Christ will have mercy showed to sinners, even unto the end of the world, and will have them to remain mingled with the good; lest peradventure, when a man thinketh he doth right well to take away the tares, he taketh away the wheat.<sup>1</sup> For how great a sinner soever a man be, we know not whether his end shall be good, and whether in the end he shall obtain mercy of God; neither are we certain of the time, wherein God will, by grace, judge him whom we abhor as a sinner. And, peradventure, such a one shall more profit after his conversion in the church, than he whom we think to be just, as it came to pass in Paul. And if God justifieth a man by grace, although at his end, why darest thou be so bold to be his judge, and to condemn him? Yea rather, although a man seem to be obstinate and hardened in his evil (so that he is not corrected by a secret correction), correct him before one alone; if he do not receive open correction, being done before two or three witnesses, neither do pass upon a manifest correction when his sin is made known unto the church, Christ doth not teach to punish such a one with the punishment of death. Yea rather, he saith, "If he hearken not unto the church, let him be unto thee as an ethnack and a publican." And Paul, following this doctrine, in 1 Cor. v., saith, "There goeth a common saying, that there is fornication among you, and such fornication as is not once named among the Gentiles, that one should have his father's wife. And ye are puffed up, and have not rather sorrowed, that he which hath done this deed might be put from among you. For I, verily, as absent in body, but present in spirit, have already determined, as though I were present, that he which hath done this thing, when ye are gathered together, and my spirit, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that such a one, by the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, be delivered unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus." Paul teacheth not to kill this man, as some gather by this text, but to separate him from the other faithful, and so from Christ, who is the head of the church of the faithful; and so is he delivered unto Satan, who is separated from Christ, that the flesh may be killed, that is, that the carnal concupiscence, whereby he luxuriously lusted after the wife of his father, may be destroyed in him by such a separation, that the spirit may be saved: and not that his body should be killed, as some say; as it is manifest in the self-same chapter, where he saith, "I wrote unto you an epistle, that you should not keep company with fornicators; and I meant not of all the fornicators of this world, either of the covetous, or extortioners, or idolaters, for then must ye needs have gone out of the world. But now I have written unto you, that ye keep not company together; if any that is called a brother be a fornicator, or covetous person, or a worshipper of images, either a cursed speaker, or drunkard, or an extortioner: with him that is such, see that ye eat not."

(1) His purpose is not that no evil doer should be punished in a commonwealth, but his relation is to Causa xxiii. quest. 5, aforesaid [see p. 159], noting causes of religion, which the pope and his prelates are wont to punish with death, taking many times for tares that which is pure wheat.

By which it is manifest, that Paul would have the aforesaid fornicator separated from the fellowship of the faithful; that his carnal concupiscence might be mortified, for the health of the spirit, and not that the body should be killed: wherefore they do ill understand Paul, who by this saying do confirm the killing of men. And forasmuch as heresy is one of the most grievous sins<sup>1</sup> (for a heretic leadeth men into errors, whereby they are made to stray from faith, without which they cannot be saved), it doth most great hurt in the church.

Further, as concerning such a wicked man, Paul thus speaketh, "Flee from the man that is a heretic after the first and second correction, knowing that such a one is subverted and sinneth, forasmuch as he is, by his own judgment, condemned. Behold, Paul teacheth not to kill this man, but with Christ to separate him from the fellowship of the faithful."<sup>2</sup> But some say, that Peter, in the primitive church, slew Ananias and Sapphira for their sins, wherefore, they say, it is lawful for them to condemn wicked men to death. We will declare, by showing the whole process, how falsely they speak in alleging of Peter, to justify their error.

In Acts iv. it is written, "As many as were possessors of lands or houses, sold them, and offered the price of that which they sold, and laid it before the feet of the apostles; and it was divided unto every one as he had need thereof. But a certain man, called Ananias, with Sapphira his wife, sold a piece of land, and kept back a part of the price of the field, his wife being privy unto it, and bringing a certain part thereof, he laid it at the feet of the apostles. But Peter said unto Ananias, Ananias! why hath Satan tempted thy heart, that thou shouldst lie unto the Holy Ghost, to keep back a part of the price of the land? Did it not, whilst it remained, remain unto thee; and being sold, was it not in thine own power? why hast thou conceived this thing in thine heart? Thou hast not lied unto men, but unto God. And when Ananias heard these words, he fell down and gave up the ghost, and great fear came on all them that heard these things. And the young men rose up and took him up, and carried him out, and buried him. And it came to pass, about the space of three hours after, that his wife came in, being ignorant of that which was done. And Peter said unto her, Tell me, woman, sold ye the land for so much? And she said, Yea, for so much. But Peter said under her, Why have ye agreed together to tempt the Spirit of the Lord? Behold the feet of them which buried thy husband are at the door, and shall carry thee out. And straightway she fell down before his feet, and gave up the ghost; and the young men entering in, found her dead, and they carried her out, and buried her by her husband. And great fear came on all the church, and all those which heard these things." It is marvel that any man that is wise, will say that by this process Peter slew Ananias or his wife. For it was not his act, but the act of God, who made a wedding to his Son, and sent his servants to call them that were bidden unto the wedding, and they would not come. "The king then sent forth his servants to the out- corners of the high-ways, to gather all that they could find, both good and evil, and so they did: and the marriage was full furnished with guests. Then came in also the king to view and see them sitting; among whom he perceived there one sitting, having not a wedding garment, and saith unto him, Friend, how camest thou hither? And he, being dumb, had not a word to speak. Then said the king to the servitors, Take and bind him hand and foot, and cast him into the outward darkness; there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth. Many there be called, but few chosen," &c.

It is manifest, that this wedding garment is charity, without which because Ananias entered into the marriage of Christ, he was given to death, that by one many might be informed to learn and understand, that they who have faith and not charity, although they appear to men to have, yet it cannot be privy to the Spirit of God, that they do feign. Such there are here no doubt, but they shall be excluded from the marriage of Christ, as we see this exemplified in the death of Ananias and his wife by the hand of God, and not by the hand of Peter. And how should Peter there have judged Ananias (albeit he had judged him) worthy of death by the rigour of the old law? For why? by the law he had not been

*Richard  
II.*

*A. D.  
1392.*

The example of Peter slaying Ananias and Sapphira falsely wrested by the papists.

Peter not the cause of the death of Ananias and Sapphira.

The wedding garment. The death of Ananias and his wife, what information it giveth to the church.

(1) Hereby it appeareth that all his relation in this matter, toucheth only the cases of heresy and opinions in religion,

(2) By this it appeareth again, that his respect is only to the pope and his prelates of the Church, and not to civil magistrates.

Richard  
II.A. D.  
1392.

guilty of death, for that part which they did fraudulently and dissemblingly reserve to themselves: yea, and if they had stolen as much from another man, which was greater, neither yet for his lie committed, he had not therefore, by that law of justice, been found guilty of death. Wherefore, if he did not condemn him by the law of justice, it appeareth that he condemned him by the law of grace and mercy, which he learned of Christ: and so, consequently, it followeth much more apparent, that Peter could not put him to death. Furthermore, to say that Peter put him to death by the mere motion of his own will, and not by the authority of the old law, or by the new, it were derogatory and slanderous to the good fame and name of Peter. But if Peter did kill him, why then doth the bishop of Rome, who pretendeth to be successor of Peter, excuse himself and his priests from the judgment of death against heretics and other offenders, although they themselves be consenting to such judgments done by lay-men? For that which was done by Peter without offence, may reasonably excuse him and his fellow priests from the spot of crime. [Acts v.]

It is manifest that there was another who did more grievously offend than Ananias, and that Peter rebuked him with more sharp words; but yet he commanded him not so to be put to death. "For Simon Magnus also remaining at Samaria, after that he believed and was baptized, he joined himself with Philip; and when he saw that the Holy Spirit was given by the apostles (laying their hands upon men), he offered them money, saying, Give unto me this power, that upon whomsoever I shall lay my hand, he shall receive the Holy Ghost. To whom Peter answered, 'Destroyed be thou and thy money together; and for that thou supposest the gift of God to be bought with money, thou shalt have neither part nor fellowship in this doctrine. Thy heart is not pure before God, therefore repent thee of thy wickedness, and pray unto God that this wicked thought of thy heart may be forgiven thee; for I perceive thou art even in the bitter gall of wickedness, and band of iniquity.'" Behold here the grievous offence of Simon Peter's hard and sharp rebuking of him, and yet thereupon he was not put to death. Whereby it appeareth that the death of Ananias aforesaid, proceeded of God and not of Peter. Of all these things it is to be gathered, seeing the judgments of death are not grounded upon the express and plain Scriptures, but only under the shadow of the old law, that they are not to be observed of Christians because they are contrary to charity. Ergo, the bishop of Rome approving such judgments, alloweth those that are contrary to the law and doctrine of Christ; as before is said of wars, where he approveth and justifieth that which is contrary to charity. The order of priesthood, albeit it doth justify the judgments to death of the laity, whereby offenders are condemned to die, yet are they themselves forbidden to put in execution the same judgments. The priests of the old law being imperfect, when Pilate said unto them concerning Christ, whom they had accused as worthy of death, "Take him unto you, and according to your law judge him," answered, "That it was not lawful for them to put to death any man." John xviii.

Whereby it appeareth, that our priests, being much more perfect, may not lawfully give judgment of death against any offenders: yet, notwithstanding, they claim unto them the power judicial upon offenders; because, say they, it belongeth unto them to know the offences by the auricular confession of the offenders, and to judge upon the same being known, and to enjoin divers penances unto the parties offending, according to the quantity of their offences committed, so that the sinner may make satisfaction, say they, unto God, for the offences which he never committed. And to confirm unto them this judicial power, they allege the Scriptures in many places, wresting them to serve their purpose.

First, They say that the bishop of Rome (who is the chief priest and judge among them) hath full power and authority to remit sins. Whereupon they say, that he is able, fully and wholly, to absolve a man 'a pœna et culpa;' so that if a man, at the time of his death, had this remission, he should straightways fly unto heaven without any pain of purgatory. The other bishops, as they say, have not so great authority. The priests constituted under every bishop, have power, say they, to absolve the sins of them that are confessed, but not all kind of sins: because there are some grievous sins reserved to the absolutions of the bishops; and some again, to the absolution only of the chief and high bishop. They say also, that it behoveth the offender, for the necessity of his

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soul's health, to call to remembrance his offences, and to manifest the same, with all the circumstances thereof, unto the priest in auricular confession, supplying the place of God, after the manner of a judge; and afterwards humbly to fulfil the penance enjoined unto him by the priest for his sins, except the said penance so enjoined, or any part thereof, be released by the superior power. All these things, say they, are manifestly determined, as well in the decrees as decretals. And although these things have not expressly their foundation in the plain and manifest doctrine of Christ or any of the apostles, yet the authors of the decrees and decretals concerning this matter, have grounded the same upon divers places of the Scriptures, as in the process of Christ, in the gospel of St. Matthew, chap. xvi. Whereupon they ground the pope's power judicial to surmount the powers of other priests, as where Christ said unto his disciples, "Whom do men say that I am? And they answered, Some say thou art John Baptist, some Elias, and some Jeremy, or one of the prophets. To whom he said, But who say you that I am? Simon Peter, making answer, said, Thou art Christ, the son of the living God. And Jesus answered and said unto him, Blessed art thou Simon, the son of Jonas; for flesh and blood have not opened this unto thee; but my Father which is in heaven. And I say unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church, and hell-gates shall not prevail against it. And I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven. And whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, shall also be bound in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose upon earth, shall be loosed also in heaven."

Richard II.

A. D.  
1392.

The pope's usurped power falsely founded upon Scripture.

Out of this text of Christ, divers expositors have drawn divers errors. For when Christ said, "And I say unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church;" some thereupon affirm, that Christ meant he would build his church upon Peter by authority of that text, as it is written in the first part of the decrees, dist. 19. cap. "Ita Dominus noster." The exposition hereof is ascribed to pope Leo; the error whereof is manifestly known. For the church of Christ is not builded upon Peter, but upon the rock of Peter's confession, for that he said, "Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God." And for that Christ said singularly unto Peter, "I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind," &c., by this saying they affirm, that Christ gave unto Peter specially, as chief of the rest of the apostles, a larger power to bind and to loose, than he did unto the rest of the apostles and disciples. And because Peter answered for himself and all the apostles, not only confessing the faith which he had chiefly above the rest, but also the faith which the rest of the apostles had even as himself, by the revelation of the heavenly Father, it appeareth that as the faith of all the apostles was declared by the answer of one, so, by this that Christ said unto Peter, "Whatsoever thou shalt bind," &c., are given unto the rest of the apostles the same power and equality to bind and to loose, as unto Peter; which Christ declareth in the gospel of St. Matthew, chap. xviii., in these words, "Verily I say unto you, what things soever you shall bind upon earth, shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever you shall loose upon earth, shall be also loosed in heaven." And further he added, "And again I say unto you, that if two of you shall consent upon earth, and request, whatsoever it be, it shall be granted unto you of my Father which is in heaven: for when two or three be gathered together in my name, I am there in the midst of them." And in John, chap. xx., he saith generally unto them, "Receive ye my Spirit. Whose sins ye shall remit, shall be remitted unto them; and whose sins you shall retain, shall be retained."

The place of Christ giving the keys to Peter, Mat. xvi. aptly expounded

By this it appeareth, that the power to bind and to loose is not specially granted to Peter, as chief and head of the rest, and that by him the rest had their power to bind and to loose; for that the head of the body of the church is one, which is Christ, and the head of Christ is God. Peter and the rest of the apostles are the good members of the body of Christ, receiving power and virtue of Christ, whereby they do confirm and glue together the other members (as well the strong and noble, as the weak and unable) to a perfect composition and seemliness of the body of Christ; that all honour, from all parts and members, may be given unto Christ as head and chief, by whom, as head, all the members are governed. And therefore Paul, 1 Cor. iii., "When one man saith, I hold of Paul, and another saith, I hold of Apollos, are ye not

Christ only the head of the church.

*Richard II.*

A.D.  
1392.

carnal men? for what is Apollos? what is Paul? The minister of him in whom ye have believed, and he, as God giveth unto every man. I have planted, Apollos hath watered, but God hath given the increase. Therefore, neither he that planteth is any thing, neither he that watereth, but God that giveth the increase." And Paul to the Galatians, chap. ii., "God hath no respect of persons. Those that seemed to be great and do much, availed or profited me nothing at all: but contrariwise, when they saw that the gospel of the uncircumcision was committed unto me, as the circumcision was unto Peter (for he that wrought with Peter in the apostleship of the circumcision, wrought with me also among the Gentiles), and when they knew the grace which was given me, Peter, James, and John, straightway, joined themselves with me and Barnabas; that we, among the Gentiles, and they in circumcision only, might be mindful of the poor, which to do, I was very careful." Hereby it appeareth that Paul had not his authority of Peter to convert the Gentiles, to baptize them, and to remit their sins, but of him who said unto him, "Saul! Saul! why persecutest thou me? It is hard for thee to kick against the pricks." [Acts ix.] Here is Paul, the head of the church, and not Peter: by which head they say, that all the members are sustained and made lively.

The third error.

The third error which the authors of the canons conceive in the said text of Christ, which was said to Peter, "Unto thee will I give the keys," &c., is this: They say that in this sentence which was said to Peter of the authority to bind and loose, was meant, that as Christ gave unto Peter, above all the rest of the apostles, a special, and as it were an excellent power above all the apostles; even so, say they, he gave power unto the bishops of Rome (whom they call Peter's chief successors), the same special power and authority, exceeding the power of all other bishops of the world.

Other apostles had like power to bind and to loose as Peter had.

The first part of this similitude and comparison, doth appear manifestly by the premises to be erroneous; wherein is plainly showed, that the other apostles had equal power with Peter to bind and loose. Wherefore consequently it followeth that the second part of the similitude, grounded upon the same text, is also erroneous. But and if the first part of the said similitude were truth, as it is not, yet the second part must needs be an error, wherein is said, that the bishops of Rome are Peter's chief successors. For although there be but one catholic christian church of all the faithful sort converted, yet the first part thereof, and first converted, was of the Jews, the second of the Greeks, and the third part was of the Romans or Latins: whereof the first part was most perfectly converted unto the faith, for that they faithfully observed the perfection of charity, as appeareth in the Acts of the Apostles, by the multitude of the believers. "They were of one heart, and one soul, neither called they any thing that they possessed their own, but all was common amongst them." [Acts ii.]

Peter ruled three churches.

Hereupon Paul to the Romans, chap. i.: "Salutation to every believer; first to the Jew, and to the Greeks after the Jews." The Greeks were the second, and after the Jews next converted; and after them the Romans, taking their information from the Greeks, as appeareth by the chronicles, although indeed some Romans were converted to the faith by Peter and Paul; and as Christ said thrice unto Peter, "Feed my sheep," so Peter ruled these three churches, as witness the chronicles. But first he reformed the church of the Jews in Jerusalem and Judea, as appeareth by the testimony of the Acts of the Apostles, chap. i.; for it is there manifest how Peter, standing up amongst his brethren, spake unto them concerning the election of an apostle in the place of Judas the traitor, alleging places unto them out of the Scripture, that another should take upon him his apostleship: and so by lot was Matthias constituted in the twelfth place of Judas [Acts ii.] "After that the Holy Ghost was come upon the apostles, and that they spake with the tongues of all men, the hearers were astonished at the miracle; and some mocked them, saying, These men are full of new wine: but Peter stood up and spake unto them, saying, That it was fulfilled in them which was prophesied by Joel the prophet. And he preached unto the people Christ, whom they of ignorance had put to death; to whom was a Saviour promised by the testimony of the prophets. And when they heard the words of Peter, they were pricked at the heart, saying unto him and the rest of the apostles, What shall we then do? And Peter said unto them, Repent, and let every one of you be baptized in the name of

Jesus Christ, for the remission of your sins, and ye shall receive the Holy Ghost. And there were joined unto them the same day about three thousand souls." And by Acts iii. iv. v., it appeareth that Peter, above the rest, did those things which belonged to the ministry of the apostleship, as well in preaching as in answering. Whereupon some chronicles say, that Peter governed the church of the Jews at Jerusalem four years before he governed Antioch. And by the testimony of Paul to the Galatians, as before is said, the gospel of the uncircumcision was committed to Paul, even as the circumcision to Peter; and he that wrought with Peter in the apostleship of circumcision, wrought with Paul amongst the Gentiles [Gal. iii.]: whereby it appeareth that the church of the Jews was committed to the government of Peter. And in the process of the Acts of the Apostles it appeareth, that Peter believed that the faith of Christ was not to be preached unto those Gentiles, who always lived in uncleanness of idolatry. "But when Peter was at Joppa, Cornelius, a Gentile, sent unto him that he would come and show him the way of life: but Peter, a little before the coming of the messengers of Cornelius, being in his chamber, after he had prayed, fell into a trance, and saw heaven open, and a certain vessel descending even as a great sheet, letten down by four corners from heaven to earth; in which were all manner of four-footed beasts, serpents of the earth, and fowls of the air. And a voice spake unto him, saying, Arise Peter, kill and eat: and Peter said, Not so, Lord, because I have never eaten any common or unclean thing. This was done thrice. And Peter descended, not knowing what the vision did signify, and found the messengers of Cornelius."

*Richard II.*

**A.D. 1392.**

Peter governed the church at Jerusalem four years before he governed Antioch.

As concerning the authority judicial of the clergy, many things are written thereof in the canons of decrees greatly to be marvelled at, and far from the truth of the Scripture. The authors of the canons say, that Christ gave unto the priests, power judicial over sinners that confessed their sins unto them. And this they ground upon the text of Christ: "I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever thou loosest," &c. And these keys of the kingdom of heaven, they call the knowledge to discern, and the power to judge, which they say only belongeth to the priests, except in case of necessity: then they say, a lay-man may absolve a man from sin. And as touching absolution, they say, there are three things to be required on the sinner's part: First, hearty contrition, whereby the sinner ought to bewail his offending of God through sins. The second is, auricular confession, whereby the sinner ought to show unto the priest his sins, and the circumstances of them. The third is, satisfaction through penance enjoined unto him by the priest for his sins committed. And of his part that giveth absolution there are two things, say they, to be required: that is to say, knowledge to discern one sin from another; whereby he ought to make a difference of sins, and appoint a convenient penance, according to the quantity of the sins. The second is, authority to judge, whereby he ought to enjoin penance to the offender. And further they say, that he that is confessed ought with all humility to submit himself to this authority, and wholly and voluntarily to do those penances which are commanded him by the priest, except the said penance be released by a superior power: for all priests, as they say, have not equal authority to absolve sins. The chief priest, whom they call Peter's successor, hath power fully and wholly to absolve. But the inferior priests have power, some more, some less. The more, as they are near him in dignity; the less, as they are further from the dignity of his degree. All this is declared by process in the decrees, but not by the express doctrine of Christ, or any of his apostles; for although Christ absolved men from their sins, I do not find that he did it after the manner of a judge, but of a Saviour. For Christ saith [John iii.], "God sent not his Son into the world to judge sinners, but that the world should be saved by him:" whereupon he spake unto him whom he healed of the palsy, "Behold thou art made whole, go thy ways and sin no more;" and to the woman taken in adultery, Christ said, "Woman, where be thy accusers? hath no man condemned thee?" who said, "No man, Lord." To whom then Jesus thus said, "No more will I condemn thee; go, and now sin no more." [John v.]

The keys of Christ's kingdom.

Three things required in popish absolution; contrition, confession, satisfaction. Two things required on his part that giveth popish absolution.

By which words and deeds of Christ, and many other places of the Scripture, it appeareth he was not, as a judge, at his first coming, to punish sinners according to the quantity of their offences; but that day shall come hereafter, wherein he shall judge all men, according to their works, as in Mat. xxv., where

*Richard II.*

A. D.  
1392.

The  
saints  
shall  
judge  
with  
Christ.

he saith, "When the Son of Man shall come in his majesty, and all his angels with him, then shall he sit upon the seat of his majesty, and all nations shall be gathered together before him, and he shall separate them one from another, as a shepherd separateth the sheep from the goats," &c. Neither shall he judge alone, but his saints also with him: for he saith, "You that have followed me in this generation, when the Son of Man shall sit in the seat of his majesty, shall sit also upon twelve seats, and judge the twelve tribes of Israel." If then Christ came not as a judge, why do the priests say, that they supply the room of Christ on earth, to judge sinners according to the quantity of their offences? And yet not only this, but it is more to be marvelled at, how the bishop of Rome dareth to take upon him to be a judge before the day of judgment, and to prevent the time; judging some to be saints in heaven, and to be honoured of men, and some again to be tormented in hell eternally with the devils? Would God these men would weigh the saying of St. Paul, 1 Cor. iv., "Judge ye not before the time until the coming of the Lord, who shall make light the dark and secret places, and disclose the secrets of hearts; and then every one shall have his praise." Let the bishop of Rome take heed, lest that in Ezekiel be spoken of him, "Because thy heart is elevate, and thou saidst unto thyself, I am God, I have sitten in the seat of God, and in the heart of the sea, when thou art but man, and not God." It is manifest that the remission of sins principally belongeth to God, who, through grace, washeth away our sins. For it is said, "The Lamb of God taketh away the sins of the world." And unto Christians it belongeth as the ministers of God. For in John xx. Christ saith, "Receive unto you the Holy Ghost: whose sins you shall remit, they are remitted unto them; and whose sins you shall retain, they are retained."

The mi-  
nisterial  
power to  
remit sin,  
belongeth  
as well to  
one priest  
as to  
another.

Seeing, therefore, that all Christians that are baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, receive the Holy Ghost, it appeareth that they have power given to them of Christ, to remit sins ministerially. Hath not every Christian authority to baptize? and in the baptism all the sins of the baptized are remitted. Ergo, they that do baptize do remit sins. And thus ministerially all such have power to remit sins. Therefore, to say that one man hath more authority to remit sins than all other Christians have, is too much to extol him, and to place him even in God's seat. I pray you how are the sins remitted him that is baptized by the priest (yea although he were by the pope himself baptized), more than if he were baptized by another Christian? Surely I think no more. For seeing that before baptism he remaineth a sinner, and of the kingdom of the devil by sin, after baptism he entereth into the kingdom of heaven: it appeareth that he that doth baptize, openeth the gate of the kingdom of heaven to him that is baptized, which he cannot do without the keys of the kingdom of heaven. Therefore every one that doth baptize, hath the keys of the kingdom of heaven; as well the inferior priest, as the pope. But these keys are not the knowledge to discern, and power to judge, because these do nothing avail in baptism. Ergo, there are other keys of the kingdom of heaven than these. Wherefore it seemeth that the authors of the canons erred in mistaking the keys, whereupon they ground the authority judicial of the clergy.

The keys  
of the  
kingdom  
of  
heaven,  
mistaken  
in the  
pope's  
canons.

Faith and  
hope, the  
keys of  
heaven.

Now a little error in the beginning granted, groweth to great inconvenience in the end. Wherefore, in my judgment, it seemeth that the keys of the kingdom of heaven are faith and hope: for by faith in Jesus Christ, and hope in him for the remission of sins, we enter the kingdom of heaven. This faith is a spiritual water, springing from Jesus Christ the fountain of wisdom, wherein the soul of the sinner is washed from sin. With this water were the faithful patriarchs baptized before the law; and the faithful people of the Hebrews, and the faithful Christians, after the law. Wherefore I greatly marvel of that saying in the decrees, which is ascribed unto Augustine, that little children that are not baptized shall be tormented with eternal fire, although they were born of faithful parents, that wished them with all their hearts to have been baptized: as though the sacrament of baptism in water were simply necessary to salvation, when nevertheless many Christians are saved without this kind of baptism, as martyrs. If that kind of sacrament be not necessary to one of elder years, how then is it necessary to an infant born of the faithful? Are not all baptized with the Holy Ghost, and with fire? but yet not with material fire; no more is the lotion of water corporally necessary to wash away sins, but only spiritual



water, that is to say, the water of faith. Are not the quick baptized for them that are dead? as witnesseth Paul, 1 Cor. xv., "If the dead rise not at all, why are the living then baptized for them?" If the living be baptized for the dead, why then is not the infant saved by the baptism of his parents; seeing the infant itself is impotent at the time of death, and not able to require baptism? Christ saith, "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved." He saith not, he that is baptized not, but he that believeth not, shall be damned. Wherefore in John, chapter xii., Christ saith, "I am the resurrection and life; he that believeth in me, yea, although he were dead, shall live." The faith, therefore, is necessary which the infant hath in his faithful parents, although he be not washed with corporal water. How then is the infant damned and tormented with eternal fire? Were not they that were before the coming of Christ, and dead before his death by a thousand years, saved also by his death and passion? All that believed in him were baptized in his blood, and so were saved and redeemed from sin and the bondage of the devil, and made partakers of the kingdom of heaven. How then, in the time of grace, shall the infant be damned that is born of faithful parents, that do not despise, but rather desire, to have their children baptized? I dare not consent to so hard a sentence of the decrees, but rather believe that he is saved by virtue of the passion of Christ, in faith of his faithful parents, and the hope which they have in Christ; which faith and hope are the keys of the heavenly kingdom. God were not just and merciful, if he would condemn a man that believeth not in him, except he showed unto him the faith which he ought to believe. And therefore Christ saith, "If I had not come and spoken unto them, sin could not have been laid unto their charge; but now they have no excuse for sin." Therefore, seeing the faith of Christ is not manifest unto the infant departing before baptism, neither hath he denied it, how then shall he be damned for the same? But if God speaketh inwardly, by way of illumination, of the intelligence of the infant, as he speaketh unto angels, who then knoweth, save God alone, whether the infant receiveth, or not receiveth, the faith of Christ? What is he, therefore, that so rashly doth take upon him to judge the infants begotten of faithful parents dying without baptism, to be tormented with eternal fire?

Now let us consider the three things which the canons of decrees affirm to be requisite for the remission of the sins of those that sin after baptism: that is to say, contrition of heart; auricular confession; and satisfaction of the deed through penance enjoined by the priest for the sins committed. I cannot find in any place in the gospel, where Christ commanded that this kind of confession should be done unto the priest; nor can I find that Christ assigned any penance unto sinners for their sins, but that he willed them to sin no more. If a sinner confess that he hath offended God through sin, and sorrow heartily for his offences, minding hereafter no more to sin, then is he truly repentant for his sin, and then he is converted unto the Lord. If he shall then, humbly and with good hope, crave mercy at God and remission of his sins, what is he that can hinder God to absolve that sinner from his sin? And as God absolveth a sinner from his sin, so hath Christ absolved many, although they confessed not their sins unto the priests, and although they received not due penance for their sins. And if Christ could, after that manner, once absolve sinners, how is he become now not able to absolve, except some man will say that he is above Christ, and that his power is diminished by the ordinances of his own laws? How were sinners absolved by God in the time of the apostles, and always heretofore, unto the time that these canons were made? I speak not these things as though confession to priests were wicked, but that it is not of necessity requisite unto salvation. I believe verily that the confession of sins unto good priests, and likewise to other faithful Christians, is good, as witnesseth St. James the apostle, "Confess ye yourselves one to another, and pray ye one for another, that ye may be saved; for the continual prayer of the just availeth much. Elias was a man that suffered many things like unto you, and he prayed that it should not rain upon the earth, and it rained not in three years and six months. And again he prayed, and it rained from heaven, and the earth yielded forth her fruit." This kind of confession is good, profitable, and expedient; for if God, peradventure, heareth not a man's own prayer, he is helped with the intercession of others. Yet, nevertheless, the prayers of the priests seem too much to be extolled in the decrees, where they treat of penitence, and that saying is

*Richard  
II.*

*A.D.  
1392.*

*Children  
departing  
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baptism  
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*Auricular  
confes-  
sion.*

Richard  
II.A. D.  
1392.[Decreti  
Pars II.  
Causa 33,  
quest. 3,  
Dist. 1,  
cap. 49.]

ascribed unto pope Leo, dist. i. cap. "Multiplex misericordia Dei," &c. which followeth; "So is it ordained by the providence of God's divine will, that the mercy of God cannot be obtained but by the prayer of the priests," &c. The prayer of a good priest doth much avail a sinner, confessing his faults unto him. The counsel of a discreet priest is very profitable for a sinner, to give the sinner counsel to beware hereafter of sin, and to instruct him how he shall punish his body by fasting, by watching, and such like acts of repentance, that hereafter he may be better preserved from sin.

After this manner I esteem confession to priests very expedient and profitable to a sinner. But to confess sins unto the priest as unto a judge, and to receive of him corporal penance for a satisfaction unto God for his sins committed: I see not how this can be founded upon the truth of the Scripture. For before the coming of Christ, no man was sufficient or able to make satisfaction to God for his sins, although he suffered ever so much penance for his sins; and therefore it was needful that he that was without sin, should be punished for sins, as witnesseth Isaiah, chapter liii., where he saith, "He took our griefs upon him, and our sorrows he bare;" and again, "He was wounded for our iniquities, and vexed for our wickedness;" and again, "The Lord put upon him our iniquity;" and again, "For the wickedness of my people have I stricken him." If therefore Christ, through his passion, hath made satisfaction for our sins, whereas we ourselves were unable to do it, then, through him, have we grace and remission of sins. How can we say now that we are sufficient to make satisfaction unto God by any penance enjoined unto us by man's authority, seeing that our sins are more grievous after baptism, than they were before the coming of Christ? Therefore, as in baptism the pain of Christ in his passion was a full satisfaction for our sins; even so after baptism, if we confess that we have offended, and be heartily sorry for our sins, and mind not to sin again afterwards.

Hereupon John writeth in his first epistle, chapter i., "If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us. If we confess our sins, God is faithful and just; he will remit them, and cleanse us from all our iniquities. If we say we have not sinned, we make him a liar, and his word is not in us. My well beloved children, thus I write unto you, that ye sin not; but if any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous, and he is the propitiation for our sins; and not for our sins only, but for the sins of the whole world." Therefore we ought to confess ourselves chiefly unto God, even from the heart, for that he chiefly doth remit sins, without whose absolution little availeth the absolution of man. This kind of confession is profitable and good. The authors of the canons say, that although auricular confession made unto the priest be not expressly taught by Christ, yet, say they, it is taught in that saying which Christ said unto the diseased of the leprosy, whom he commanded, "Go your ways and show yourselves unto the priest," [Luke xvii.,] because, as they say, the law of cleansing lepers, which was given by Moses, signified the confession of sins unto the priest. And whereas Christ commanded the lepers to show themselves unto the priests, they say, that Christ meant that those that were unclean with the leprosy of sin, should show their sins unto the priests by auricular confession. I marvel much at the authors of the canons; for, even from the beginning of their decrees unto the end, they ground their sayings upon the old law, which was the law of sin and death, and not, as witnesseth Paul, upon the words of Christ, which are spirit and life. Christ saith, "The words which I speak unto you, are the spirit and life." They ground their sayings in the shadow of the law, and not in the light of Christ: "For every evil doer hateth the light, and cometh not unto it, that his deeds be not reprov'd; but he that doth the truth, cometh into the light, that his works may be openly seen, because they are done in God." [John iii.]

Now let us pass to the words that Christ spake to the leper: "Lord, if thou wilt, thou canst make me clean. And Jesus stretching forth his hand touched him, saying, I will, be thou clean: and straightways he was cleansed of his leprosy. And Jesus said unto him, See thou tell no man, but go and show thyself to the priests, and offer the gifts that Moses commanded for a witness of these things." [Luke v.] This gospel witnesseth plainly, that the diseased of leprosy were cleansed only by Christ, and not by the priests; neither did Christ command the leper to show himself unto the priests, for any help of cleansing that he should receive of the priests, but to fulfil the law of Moses, in offering

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reprov'd.The story  
of the  
lepers ex-  
pounded.

a sacrifice for his cleansing, and for a testimony unto the priests, who always of envy accused Christ as a transgressor of the law. For if Christ, after he had cleansed the leper, had licensed him to communicate with others that were clean, before he had showed himself cleansed unto the priests, then might the priests have accused Christ, as a transgressor of the law; because it was a precept of the law, that the leper, after he was cleansed, should show himself unto the priests. And they had signs in the book of the law, whereby they might judge whether he were truly cleansed or not. And if he were cleansed, then would the priests offer a gift for his cleansing; and if he were not cleansed, then would they segregate him from the company of others that were clean. Seeing every figure ought to be assimilated unto the thing that is figured, I pray you then what agreement is there between the cleansing of lepers by the law, and the confession of sins? By that law the priest knew better whether he were leprous, than he himself that had the leprosy. In confession the priest knew not the sins of him that was confessed, but by his own confession. In that law the priest did not cleanse the leprous. How now, therefore, ought the priests to cleanse sinners from their sin, and how is it, that without them they cannot be cleansed? In this law the priest had certain signs, by which he could certainly know whether a man were cleansed from his leprosy or not. In confession the priest is not certain of the cleansing of sins, because he is ignorant of his contrition. He knoweth not, also, whether he will not sin any more; without which contrition and granting to sin no more, God hath not absolved any sinner. And if God hath not absolved a man, without doubt then is he not made clean. And how then is confession figured under that law? Doubtless so it seemeth to me (under the correction of them that can judge better in the matter), that this law beareth rather a figure of excommunication, and reconciliation of him that hath been obstinate in his sin, and is reconciled again. For so it appeareth by the process of the gospel, that when the sinner doth not amend for the private correction of his brother, nor for the correction of two or three, neither yet for the public correction of the whole church, then is he to be counted as an ethnick and a publican, and as a certain leper to be avoided out of the company of all men: which sinner, notwithstanding, if he shall yet repent, is then to be reconciled, because he is then cleansed from his obstinacy.

But he who pretendeth himself to be the chief vicar of Christ, and the high priest, saith, that he hath power to absolve ‘a pœna et culpa:’ which I do not find how it is founded in the Scripture, but that of his own authority he enjoineth to sinners penance for their sins. And grant that from their sins he may well absolve them, yet, from the pain (which they call ‘a pœna,’) he doth not simply absolve, as in his indulgences he promiseth. But if he were in charity, and had such power as he pretendeth, he would suffer none to lie in purgatory for sin: forasmuch as that pain doth far exceed all other pain which here we suffer, what man is there being in charity, but if he see his brother to be tormented in this world, if he may, he will help him and deliver him? Much more ought the pope then to deliver out of pains of purgatory, indifferently, as well rich as poor. And if he sell to the rich his indulgences, doublewise, yea treblewise, he seduceth them. First, in promising to deliver them out of the pain from whence he doth not, neither is able to deliver them; and so maketh them falsely to believe that, which they ought not to believe. Secondly, he deceiveth them of their money, which he taketh for his indulgences. Thirdly, he seduceth them in this, that he, promising to deliver them from pain, doth induce them into grievous punishment indeed, for the heresy of simony, which both of them do commit, and, therefore, are both worthy of great pain to fall upon them: for so we read that Jesus cast out buyers and sellers out of his temple. Also Peter said unto Simon, the first author of this heresy, “Thy money,” said he, “with thee be destroyed, for that thou hast thought the gift of God to be possessed for money.” Moreover, whereas Christ saith, “Freely you have received, freely give;” and whereas, contrary, the pope doth sell that thing which he hath taken; what doubt is there, but that he doth grievously deserve to be punished, both he that selleth, and he that buyeth, for the crime of simony which they commit? Over and besides, by many reasons and authorities of the Scripture it may be proved, that he doth not absolve a man contrite for his sins, although he do absolve him from the guilt.

But this marvelleth me, that he, in his indulgences, promiseth to absolve men

*Richard*

*II.*

A. D.  
1392.

It maketh  
nothing  
for auri-  
cular con-  
fession.

The  
cleansing  
of the  
leprosy,  
and the  
cleansing  
of the  
priest in  
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sion agree  
not.

The  
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absolving  
from sins,  
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Scripture.  
He can  
absolve  
none from  
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ment.

The pope  
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deceiveth  
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Pro-  
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to sin in  
simony.

*Richard*  
*II.*

A.D.  
1392.

The pope  
saith he  
can remit  
the debt  
to God,  
but yet  
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man.

from all manner of deadly sins, and yet cannot absolve a man from debt; forasmuch as the debt which we owe to God, is of much greater importance than is the debt of our brother. Wherefore, if he be able to remit the debt due to God, much more it should seem that he is able to forgive the debt of our brother.

Another thing there is that I marvel at, for that the pope sheweth himself more strait in absolving a priest for not saying, or negligently saying his matins, than for transgressing the commandment of God; considering that the transgression of the commandment of God, is much more grievous than the breach of man's commandment.

For these and many other errors concurring, and in this matter of the pope's absolutions, blessed be God, and honour be unto Him for the remission of our sins. And let us firmly believe and know, that he doth and will absolve us from our sins, if we be sorry from the bottom of our hearts that we have offended him, having a good purpose and will to offend him no more. And let us be bold to resort unto good and discreet priests, who, with wholesome discretion and sound counsel, can instruct us how to avoid the corruption of sin hereafter; and who, because they are better than we, may pray to God for us: whereby we may both obtain sooner the remission of our sins past, and also may learn better how to avoid the danger of sin to come.<sup>1</sup>

And thus much concerning the judgment and doctrine of this Walter Brute, for christian patience, charity, and mercy; which, as they be true and infallible notes and marks of true Christianity, so the said Walter, making comparison herein between Christ and the pope, goeth about purposely to declare and manifest; whereby all men may see what contrariety there is between the rule of Christ's teaching, and the proceedings of the pope; between the examples and life of the one, and the examples of the other: of which two, as one is altogether given to peace; so is the other, on the contrary side, as much disposed to wars, murder, and bloodshed, as is easy to be seen. Whoso looketh not upon the outward shows and pretended words of these Romish popes, but adviseth and considereth the inward practices and secret works of them, shall easily espy, under the visor of peace, what discord and debate they work, who, bearing outwardly the meek horns of the lamb mentioned in the Apocalypse, within do bear the bowels of a wolf, full of cruelty, murder, and bloodshed. Which if any do think to be spoken by me contumeliously; would God that man could prove as well the same to be spoken by me not truly! But truth it is, I speak it sincerely, without affection of blind partiality, according to the truth of histories both old and new. Thus, under 'in Dei nomine, Amen,' how unmercifully doth the pope condemn his brother! And while he pretended it not to be lawful for him to kill any man, what thousands hath he killed of men? And likewise in this sentence, pretending 'in visceribus Jesu Christi,' as though he would be a mediator to the magistrate for the party; yet, indeed, will he be sure to excommunicate the magistrate, if he execute not the sentence given. Who be true heretics, the Lord when he cometh shall judge; but give them to be heretics whom the pope condemneth for heretics, yet what bowels of mercy are here, where is nothing but burning, faggoting, drowning, prisoning, chaining, famishing, racking, hanging, tormenting, threatening, reviling, cursing, and oppressing; and not instructing, nor yet indifferent hearing of them, what they can say? The like cruelty also may in their wars appear, if we consider how pope Urban VI, besides the racking and murdering of seven or eight

cardinals, set up Henry Spencer, bishop of Norwich, to fight against the French pope.<sup>1</sup> Innocent IV. was in war himself against the Apulians.<sup>2</sup> Likewise Alexander IV., his successor, stirred up the son of king Henry III. to fight against the son of Frederic II., the emperor, for Apulia.<sup>3</sup> Boniface VIII. moved Albertus, who stood to be emperor, to drive Philip the French king out of his realm.<sup>4</sup> Honorius III. excited Louis the French king three sundry times to mortal war against the earl Raimund<sup>5</sup> and city of Toulouse,<sup>6</sup> and Avignon,<sup>7</sup> where Louis, the said French king, died. Gregory IX., by strength of war, many ways resisted Frederic II., and sent out twenty-five galleys against the coasts of the emperor's dominions.<sup>8</sup> The same pope also besieged Ferrara.<sup>9</sup> To pass over the war at Pavia,<sup>10</sup> with many other battles and conflicts of popes against the Romans,<sup>11</sup> Venetians,<sup>12</sup> and divers other nations, Innocent III. set up Philip, the French king, to war against king John.<sup>13</sup> What stir pope Gregory VII., otherwise named Hildebrand, kept against the emperor Henry IV., is not unknown.<sup>14</sup> And who is able to recite all the wars, battles, and fields, fought by the stirring up of the pope? These, with many other like examples considered, did cause this Walter Brute to write in this matter so as he did, making yet thereof no universal proposition, but that christian magistrates, in case of necessity, might make resistance in defence of public right. Now he proceedeth further to other matter of the sacrament.

Richard II.

A. D. 1392.

What wars have been stirred up by popes.

See Appendix.

### The Judgment and Belief of Walter Brute, touching the Lord's Supper, the Order of Priests, &c.

Touching the matter, saith he, of the sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, divers men have divers opinions, as the learned do know. As concerning my judgment upon the same, I firmly believe whatsoever the Lord Jesus taught implicitly or expressly to his disciples and faithful people to be believed. For he is, as I believe and know, the true bread of God which descended from heaven, and giveth life to the world: of which bread whosoever eateth, shall live for ever; as it is in John vi. declared. Before the coming of Christ in the flesh, although men did live in body, yet in spirit they did not live, because all men were then under sin, whose souls thereby were dead; from which death no man, by the law, nor with the law, was justified: "For by the works of the law shall no flesh be justified." [Gal. ii.] And again in the same epistle [chap. iii.], "That by the law no man is justified before God, it is manifest; for the just man shall live by his faith: the law is not of faith; but whosoever hath the works thereof, shall live in them." And again, "If the law had been given, which might have justified, then our righteousness had come by the law. But the Scripture hath concluded all under sin, that the promise might be sure by the faith of Jesus Christ to all believers. Moreover, before that faith came, they were kept and concluded all under the law, until the coming of that faith which was to be revealed. For the law was our schoolmaster in Christ Jesus, that we should be justified by faith." Also the said Paul [Romans v.], saith, "That the law entered in the mean time, whereby sin might more abound. Where then sin hath more abounded, there also hath grace super-abounded; that like as sin hath reigned unto death, so grace might also reign by righteousness unto eternal life, through Jesus Christ our Lord." Whereby it is manifest, that by the faith which we have in Christ, believing him to be the true Son of God who came down from heaven to redeem us from sin, we are justified from sin; and so do live by him who is the true bread and meat of the soul. And the bread which Christ gave is his flesh given for the life of the world. [John vi.] For he, being God, came down from heaven, and being true carnal man,

Justification by faith, not by the law.

(1) Suprà, pp. 18, 50.—Ed.

(3) Ibid. p. 599.—Ed.

(7) Ibid. pp. 376—383.—Ed.

(10) Ibid. p. 490.—Ed.

(13) Ibid. p. 329.—Ed.

(2) Suprà, vol. ii. p. 498.—Ed.

(5) Ibid. pp. 356, 376.—Ed.

(8) Ibid. p. 480.—Ed.

(11) Ibid. p. 411.—Ed.

(14) Ibid. p. 125.—Ed.

(3) Suprà, p. 537.—Ed.

(6) Ibid. pp. 372, 377.—Ed.

(9) Ibid. p. 485.—Ed.

(12) Ibid. p. 615.—Ed.

*Richard II.*

A. D.  
1392.

True eating of Christ is true believing in him. Eating of the flesh of Christ, what it is.

This is my body, expounded.

Note well, gentle reader :

Bread by similitude.

Bread substantially,

did suffer in the flesh for our sins, for which in his divinity he could not suffer, Wherefore, like as we believe by our faith that he is true God, so must we also believe that he is true man, and then do we eat the bread of heaven, and the flesh of Christ. And if we believe that he did voluntarily shed his blood for our redemption, then do we drink his blood.

And thus, except we eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, we have not eternal life in us ; because the flesh of Christ verily is meat, and his blood is drink indeed : and whosoever eateth the flesh of Christ, and drinketh his blood, abideth in Christ, and Christ in him [John vi.] : and as, in this world, the souls of the faithful live, and are refreshed spiritually with this heavenly bread, and with the flesh and blood of Christ, so, in the world to come, the same shall live eternally in heaven, refreshed with the deity of Jesus Christ, as touching the most principal part thereof, that is, to wit, 'intellectum ;' forasmuch as this bread of heaven, in that it is God, hath in itself all delectable pleasantness. And as touching the intelligible powers of the same, as well exterior as interior, they are refreshed with the flesh ; that is to say, with the humanity of Jesus Christ, which is as a queen standing on the right hand of God, decked with a golden robe of divers colours : for this queen of heaven alone, by the word of God, is exalted above the company of all the angels ; that by her all our corporal power intellective, may fully be refreshed, as is our spiritual intelligence, with the beholding of the deity of Jesus Christ ; and even as the angels shall we be fully satisfied. And in the memory of this double refection, present in this world, and in the world to come, hath Christ given unto us, for eternal blessedness, the sacrament of his body and blood in the substance of bread and wine ; as it appeareth in Matthew xxvi. : "As the disciples sat at supper, Jesus took bread and blessed it, brake it, and gave it unto his disciples, and said, Take, eat, this is my body. And he took the cup, and thanked, and gave it them, saying, Drink ye all of this ; for this is my blood of the New Testament which shall be shed for many, for the remission of sins." And Luke, in his gospel [chap. xxii.], of this matter thus writeth : "And after he had taken the bread, he gave thanks, he brake it, and gave it unto them, saying, This is my body which shall be given for you ; do you this in my remembrance. In like manner he took the cup after supper, saying, This is the cup of the New Testament in my blood, which shall be shed for you." That which Christ said, "This is my body," in showing to them the bread, I firmly believe, and know that it is true : that Christ, forasmuch as he is God, is the very truth itself, and by consequence all that he saith is true. And I believe that the very same was his body, in such wise as he willed it to be his body : for in that he is Almighty, he hath done whatsoever pleased him. And as, in Cana of Galilee, he changed the water into wine really, so that after the transubstantiation, it was wine and not water : so, when he said, "This is my body," if he would have had the bread really to be transubstantiated into his very body, so that after this changing it should have been his natural body, and not bread as it was before, I know that it must needs have been so. But I find not in the Scripture, that his will was to have any such real transubstantiation or mutation.

And as the Lord God Omnipotent, in his perfection essential being the Son of God, doth exceed the purest creature, and yet, when it pleased him, he took upon him our nature, remaining really God as he was before, and was really made man, so that after this assuming of our substance, he was really very God and very man : even so, if he would, when he said, "This is my body," he could make this to be his body really, the bread still really remaining as it was before. For less is the difference of the essence between bread and the body of a man, than between the Deity and humanity ; because that of the bread is naturally made the body of a man. Of the bread is made blood ; of the blood natural seed ; and of natural seed the natural substance of man is engendered. But in this that God became man, this is an action supernatural. Wherefore, he that could make one man to be very God and very man, could, if he would, make one thing to be really very bread, and his very body. But I do not find it expressly in the Scripture, that he would have any such identity or conjunction to be made. And, as Christ said, "I am very bread," not changing his essence or being into the essence or substance of bread, but was the said Christ which he was before really, and yet bread by a similitude or figurative speech ; so, if he would, it might be, when he said, "This is my body," that this should

really have been the bread as it was before, and sacramentally or memorially to be his body. And this seemeth unto me most nearly to agree to the meaning of Christ, forasmuch as he said, "Do this in remembrance of me." Then, forasmuch as in the supper it is manifest that Christ gave unto his disciples the bread of his body, which he brake, to that intent to eat with their mouths, in which bread he gave himself also unto them, as one in whom they should believe (as to be the food of the soul); and by that faith they should believe him to be their Saviour who took his body, wherein also he willed it to be manifest, that he would redeem them from death; so was the bread eaten with the disciples' mouths, that he, being the true bread of the soul, might be in spirit received and eaten spiritually by their faith who believed in him.

The bread which in the disciples' mouths was chewed, from the mouth passed to the stomach. For as Christ saith, "Whatsoever cometh to the mouth, goeth into the belly, and from thence into the draught [Matt. xv.] But that true and very bread of the soul, was eaten by the spirit of the disciples, and by faith entered their minds, and abode in their inward parts, through love. And so the bread broken seemeth unto me to be really the meat of the body, and the bread which it was before; but, sacramentally, to be the body of Christ; as Paul [1 Cor. x.], "The bread which we break, is it not the participation of the body of the Lord?" So the bread which we break is the participation of the Lord's body: and it is manifest that the heavenly bread is not broken, neither yet is subject to such breaking, therefore Paul calleth the material bread which is broken, the body of Christ which the faithful are partakers of. The bread therefore changeth not its essence, but is bread really, and is the body of Christ sacramentally: even as Christ is the very vine, abiding really and figuratively the vine, so the temple of Jerusalem was really the material temple; and, figuratively, it was the body of Christ, because he said, "Destroy you this temple, and in three days I will repair the same again." And this spake he of the temple of his body; whereas others understood it to be the material temple, as appeared by their answer. For, said they, "Forty and seven years hath this temple been in building, and wilt thou build it up in three days?"

Even so may the consecrated bread be really bread, as it was before, and yet, figuratively, the body of Christ. And if, therefore, Christ would have this bread to be only sacramentally his body, and would not have the same bread really to be transubstantiated into his body, and so ordained his priests to make this sacrament as a memorial of his passion, then do the priests grievously offend, who beseech Christ in their holy mass, that the bread which lieth upon the altar may be made really the body of Christ, if he would only have the same to be but a sacrament of his body; and then be they both greatly deceived themselves, and also do greatly deceive others. But whether the bread be really transubstantiated into the body of Christ, or is only the body of Christ sacramentally, no doubt but that the people are marvellously deceived; for the people believe that they see the body of Christ, nay rather Christ himself, between the hands of the priests, for so is the common oath they swear, "By him whom I saw this day between the priest's hands." And the people believe that they eat not the body of Christ but at Easter, or else when they lie upon their death-bed, and receive with their bodily mouth the sacrament of the body of Christ. But the body of Christ (admit the bread be transubstantiated really into the body) is in the sacrament 'indivisibiliter,' that is, not able to be divided; and so 'immensurabiliter,' that is, not able to be measured. Ergo, 'invisibiliter,' that is, not able to be seen. To believe therefore that he may be seen corporally in the sacrament, is erroneous. And forasmuch as the body of Christ is the soul's food, and not the food of the body in this world, (for that whosoever believeth, doth eat spiritually and really, at any time when he so believeth) it is manifest that they do greatly err who believe that they eat not the body of Christ, but when they eat with their teeth the sacrament of the body of Christ.

And although it should be to the great honour of priests, that the bread really were changed into the body of Christ, by virtue of the sacramental words pronounced, yet, if Christ would not have it to be so, then they, desiring to do this contrary to the will of Christ, and informing the people what is to be done, so contrary to the will of Christ, are in great peril, most dangerously seducing both themselves and the people. And then, although thereby they get a little worldly and transitory honour for a short time, it is to be feared lest

*Richard II.*

A. D. 1392.

and the body sacramentally.

The bread which the Lord gave entereth not into the bodies, but the body which he gave entereth into the minds of the disciples.

Paul calleth it material bread. Note, reader!

The vain prayer of the priests at their mass.

The people greatly deceived in the sacrament.

The priests seek their own honour in their transubstantiation. Mark here ye good priests.

Richard  
II.

A. D.  
1392.

The makers of the canon law contrary to themselves. Contrariety in the pope's canons.

The recantation of Berengarius is heretical.

The sacrament left by the priest's negligence to be eaten of a mouse, returneth again from body to bread.

Whether external signs in a priest be the signs of Anti-christ or else grounded upon Christ.

perpetual shame finally shall follow and ensue upon the same ; for Christ saith "Every one that exalteth himself shall be brought low." Let them therefore take heed, lest they, extolling themselves for this sacrament above the company of angels who never sinned, for the error which they be in, for evermore be placed with the sinful angels under the earth.

Let every man therefore think lowly of himself, in what state or degree soever he be : neither let him presume to do that which he is not able to do ; neither desire to have that thing done, which God would not have done.

I greatly marvel at those who were the makers of the canons, how variably, and contrary one to another, they write of this sacrament of the body of Christ. In the last part of the decrees where this matter is touched, not only in the text, but also in the process of the matter, divers do diversely write, and one contrary to another. For in the chapter that thus beginneth, "*Prima inquit hæresis,*"<sup>1</sup> it is thus written, "You shall not eat this body which you see, nor shall drink this blood which they shall shed who shall crucify me : I will commend unto you a certain sacrament spiritually understood that quickeneth you ; for the flesh profiteth you nothing at all." And in the end of the same chapter it is thus written, "Till the world shall have an end, the Lord's place is in heaven : yet notwithstanding the verity of the Lord is here abiding with us. For the body wherewith he rose, ought to be in one place ; but his verity is in every place diffused and spread abroad." And in the chapter following, which thus beginneth, "*Omnia quæcumque voluit,*"<sup>2</sup> &c. it is written, "Although the figure of the bread and wine seem to be nothing, yet, notwithstanding, they must, after the words of consecration, be believed to be none other thing than the very flesh of Christ, and his blood. Whereupon the Verity himself said unto his disciples, 'This is,' saith he, 'my flesh, which is given for the life of the world,' and to speak yet more marvellously, this is none other flesh than that which was born of the Virgin Mary, and suffered upon the cross, and rose out of the sepulchre."

See how far this chapter differeth from the first. And in the chapter which beginneth, "*Ego Berengarius,*" &c., this is the confession which Berengarius himself confessed touching this sacrament, and his confession is of the church allowed : "I confess," saith Berengarius, "that the bread and wine which is laid upon the altar after the consecration, is not only a sacrament, but also that it is the very body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ : and the same not only sensually to be a sacrament, but also verily to be handled with the priest's hands, and to be broken, and chewed with the teeth of faithful men." This confession doubtless is heretical : for why ? If the body of Christ be in the sacrament (as of the church it is so determined), it is there then 'multiplicative,' and so 'indivisibiler ;' wherefore not 'sensualiter.' And if it be there 'indivisibiler,' that is, in such sort as it cannot be divided or separated, then can it not be touched, felt, broken, or with the teeth of men chewed.

The writers of this time and age do affirm, that if, by the negligence of the priest, the sacrament be so negligently left, that a mouse, or any other beast or vermin eat the same ; then they say, that the sacrament returneth again into the nature and substance of bread. Whereby they must needs confess, that a miracle is as well wrought by the negligence of the priest, as first there was made by the consecration of the priest in making the sacrament. For either by the eating of the mouse the body of Christ is transubstantiated into the nature of bread, which is a transubstantiation supernatural, or else of nothing by creation is this bread produced ; and therefore either of these operations is miraculous and to be marvelled at. Now, considering the disagreeing opinions of the doctors, and for the absurdities which follow, I believe with Paul, that the bread which we break, is the participation of the body of Christ ; and, as Christ saith, that the bread is made the body of Christ for a memorial and remembrance of him. And in such sort as Christ willed the same to be his body, in the same manner and sort do I believe it to be his body.

But, whether women may make the body of Christ, and minister it unto the people ; or whether priests be divided from the lay people for their knowledge, pre-eminence, and sanctity of life, or else by external signs only ; also, whether the sign of tonsure and other external signs of holiness in priests, be signs of

(1) De Consec. dist. 2. [cap. 44.—ED.]

(2) Ibid. [cap. 74.—ED.]



Antichrist and his characters; or else introduced and taught by our Lord Jesus Christ: consequently it remaineth next to speak unto the faithful sort, according to the process of the holy Scripture; first, of the three kinds of the priests. I remember that I have read, the first of them to be Aaronical, legal, and temporal; the second to be eternal and regal, according to the order of Melchisedec; the third to be Christian. The first of these ceased at the coming of Christ; for as St. Paul to the Hebrews saith, 'The priesthood of Aaron was translated to the priesthood of the order of Melchisedec.' The legal sort of priests of Aaron were separated from the rest of the people by kindred, office, and inheritance: by kindred, for that the children of Aaron only were priests: by office, for that it only pertained to them to offer sacrifice for the sins of the people; and to instruct the people in the precepts and ceremonies of the law: by inheritance, because the Lord was their portion of inheritance; neither had they any other inheritance amongst their brethren, but those things which were offered unto the Lord, as the first fruits, parts of the sacrifices, and vows; except places for their mansion houses, for them and theirs, as appeareth by the process of Moses' law. The priesthood of Christ did much differ from this priesthood, as Paul doth witness to the Hebrews, in chapters vii. viii. ix. x.

First, in kindred: because that our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ came of the stock and tribe of Judah, of which tribe none had to do with the altar, and in which tribe nothing at all was spoken of the priests of Moses.

Secondly, for that others were made priests without their oath taken; but he, by an oath by him who said, 'The Lord swore and it shall not repent him, thou art a priest for ever according to the order of Melchisedec.'

Thirdly, by durability; for that many of them were made priests but during the term of their lives; 'but he, for that he remaineth for ever, hath an eternal priesthood. Wherefore he is able to save us for ever, having by himself access unto God, which ever liveth to make intercession for us.' The law made also such men priests as had infirmities; but 'Sermo' (that is, the Word, which, according to the law, is the eternal Son and perfect), by an oath.

The priesthood of Christ also did differ from the priesthood of Aaron and the law in the matter of the sacrifice, and in the place of sacrificing. In the matter of their sacrifice: because they did use in the sacrifices strange bodies for the matter of their sacrifices, and did shed strange blood for the expiation of sins; but he offering himself unto God his Father for us, shed his own blood for the remission of our sins. In the place of sacrificing: because they did offer their sacrifice in the tabernacle or temple; but Christ suffering death without the gates of the city, offered himself upon the altar of the cross to God his Father, and there shed his precious blood. In his supping chamber, also, he blessed the bread, and consecrated the same for his body, and the wine which was in the cup he also consecrated for his blood; delivering the same to his apostles to be done for a commemoration and remembrance of his incarnation and passion. 'Neither did Jesus enter into the sanctuary made with man's hands, which be examples and figures of true things, but he entered into heaven itself, that he might appear before the Majesty of God for us. Neither doth he offer himself oftentimes, as the chief priest in the sanctuary did every year with strange blood (for then should he oftentimes have suffered from the beginning); but now once for all, in the latter end of the world, to destroy sin by his peace-offering hath he entered. And even as it is decreed, that man once shall die, and then cometh the judgment, so Christ hath been once offered, to take away the sins of many. The second time he shall appear without sin to them that look for him; to their salvation. For the law having a shadow of good things to come, can never, by the image itself of things (which every year without ceasing they offer by such sacrifices), make those perfect that come thereunto; for otherwise that offering should have ceased, because that such worshippers, being once cleansed from their sins, should have no more conscience of sin. But in these, commemoration is made every year of sin; for it is impossible that by the blood of goats and calves, sins should be purged and taken away. Therefore, coming into the world he said, sacrifice and oblation thou wouldst not have, but a body hast thou given me; peace-offerings for sins have not pleased thee: then said I, Behold I come; in the volume of the book it is written of me, that I should do thy will, O God: saying, as above, Because thou wouldest have no sacrifice nor burnt-offerings for sin, neither dost thou take pleasure in those things that

*Richard II.*

A. D.  
1392.

Three orders or sorts of priests. Levitical priests divided from the people by kindred, office, and inheritance.

How the priesthood of Christ differeth from the Levitical priesthood.

See Appendix.

The law bringeth none to perfection.

Richard  
II.

A.D.  
1392.

The  
priest-  
hood of  
Christ  
differeth  
from  
allothers.

The  
third  
priest-  
hood.  
The name  
of Sacer-  
dos or  
Priest not  
used in  
the New  
Testa-  
ment.

The  
fourth  
priest-  
hood,  
which is  
the  
Roman.

The  
office of  
priests  
after the  
pope's  
order.

The body  
of Christ  
not left to  
be a sacri-  
fice for  
sin, but  
only for a  
sacra-  
ment.

are offered according to the law. Then said I, Behold I come, that I may do thy will O God. He taketh away the first to establish that which followeth. In which will we are sanctified, by the oblation of the body of Jesus Christ once for all. And every priest is ready daily ministering, and oftentimes offering like sacrifices, which can never take away sins. But this Jesus, offering one sacrifice for sin, sitteth for evermore on the right hand of God, expecting the time till his enemies be made his footstool. For by his one only oblation, hath he consummated for evermore those that are sanctified.'

All these places have I recited which Paul writeth, for the better understanding and declaration of those things of which I mean to speak; by all which it appeareth manifestly, how the priesthood of Christ differeth from the legal priesthood of Aaron: and by the same also appeareth, how the same differeth from all other priesthood Christian, that imitateth Christ; for the properties of the priesthood of Christ, above recited, are found in no other priest, but in Christ alone.

Of the third priesthood, that is, the 'Christian priesthood,' Christ, by express words, speaketh but little to make any difference between the priests and the rest of the people; neither yet doth use this name of 'sacerdos,' or 'presbyter,' in the gospel, but some he calleth 'disciples,' some 'apostles,' whom he sent to baptize and to preach, and in his name to do miracles. He calleth them the 'salt of the earth,' in which name wisdom is meant: and he calleth them 'the light of the world,' by which good living is signified: for he saith, 'Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven.' And Paul, speaking of the priests to Timothy and Titus, seemeth not to me to make any diversity betwixt the priests and the other people, but in that he would have them to surmount others in knowledge and perfection of life.

But the fourth priesthood is the Roman priesthood, brought in by the church of Rome, which church maketh a distinction between the clergy and the lay people, and, after that, the clergy is divided into sundry degrees, as appeareth in the decretals. This distinction of the clergy from the laity, with the tonsure of clerks, began in the time of Anacletus, as it doth appear in the chronicles. The degrees of the clergy were afterwards invented and distinguished by their offices, and there was no ascension to the degree of the priesthood, but by inferior orders and degrees. But in the primitive church it was not so; for, immediately after the conversion of some of them to faith and baptism received, they were made priests and bishops, as appeareth by Anianus, whom Marcus made of a tailor or shoemaker to be a bishop; and of many others it was in like case done, according to the traditions of the church of Rome. Priests are ordained to offer sacrifices, to make supplication and prayers, and to bless and sanctify. The oblation of the priesthood only to priests, as they say, is congruent; whose duties are upon the altar to offer for the sins of the people the Lord's body, which is consecrated of bread. Of which saying I have great marvel, considering St. Paul's words to the Hebrews before recited. If Christ, offering for our sins one oblation for evermore, sitteth at the right hand of God, and with that one oblation hath consummated for evermore those that are sanctified: if Christ evermore sitteth at the right hand of God, to make intercession for us, what need he to leave here any sacrifice for our sins by the priests to be daily offered? I do not find in the Scriptures of God, or of his apostles, that the body of Christ ought to be made a sacrifice for sin; but only as a sacrament and commemoration of the sacrifice passed, which Christ offered upon the altar of the cross for our sins. For it is an absurdity to say that Christ is now every day really offered as a sacrifice upon the altar by the priests; for then the priests should really crucify him upon the altar, which is a thing of no Christian to be believed. But, even as in his supper his body and his blood be delivered to his disciples, in memorial of his body that should be crucified on the morrow for our sins: so after his ascension, did his apostles use the same (when they brake bread in every house) for a sacrament, and not for a sacrifice, of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ. And by this means were they put in remembrance of the great love of Christ, who so entirely loved us, that willingly he suffered the death for us, and for the remission of our sins. And thus did they offer themselves to God by love, being ready to suffer death for the confession of his name, and for the saving health of their brethren, fulfilling the new

commandment of Christ, which said unto them, 'A new commandment do I give unto you, that you love one another, as I have loved you.' But when love began to wax cold, or rather to be frozen for cold, through the anguish and anxiety of persecution for the name of Christ, then priests did use the flesh and blood of Christ, instead of a sacrifice. And because many of them feared death, some of them fled into solitary places, not daring to give themselves a sacrifice oy death unto God through the confession of his name, and for the saving health of their brethren: some others worshipped idols, fearing death; as did also the chief bishop of Rome, and many others besides, in divers places of the world. And thus it came to pass, that that which was ordained and constituted for a memorial of the one and only sacrifice, was altered, for want of love, into the reality of the sacrifice itself.

*Richard,  
II.*

*A. D.  
1392.*

How the  
memorial  
of the  
sacra-  
ment  
came to  
the  
reality of  
the sacri-  
fice itself

After these things thus discussed, he inferreth consequently upon the same, another brief tractation of women and lay-men: whether, in defect of the other, they may exercise the action of prayer, and administration of sacraments belonging to priests, wherein he declareth the use received in the pope's church for women to baptize, which, saith he, cannot be without remission of sins: wherefore, seeing that women have power by the pope to remit sin, and to baptize, why may not they as well be admitted to minister the Lord's Supper, in like case of necessity? Wherein also he maketh relation of pope Joan VIII., a woman pope, moving certain questions of her. All which, for brevity, I omit, proceeding unto the ministration of Prayer, and blessing of Sanetification, appropriate to the office of priests, as followeth.

### Walter Brute, on the Order and Office of Prayer, &c.

Furthermore, as touching the function and office of praying and blessing, whereunto priests seem to be ordained (to omit here the question whether women may pray in churches, in lack of other meet persons), it remaineth now also to prosecute. Christ, being desired of his disciples to teach them to pray, gave them the Common-Prayer both to men and women, to which prayer, in my estimation, no other is to be compared. For in that, first, the whole honour due unto the Deity is comprehended. Secondly, whatsoever is necessary for us, both for the time present or past, or for time to come, is there desired and prayed, for. He informeth us besides to pray secretly, and also briefly: secretly to enter into our close chamber, and there in secrecy he willeth us to pray unto his Father: and saith, moreover, 'When ye pray, use not much babbling, or many words, as do the heathen. For they think, in their long and prolix praying, to be heard. Therefore be you not like to them.' [Matt. vi.] By which doctrine he calleth us away from the errors of the heathen Gentiles, from whom proceed these superstitious manners of arts (or rather of ignorances), as necromancy, the art of divination, and other spices of conjuration, not unknown to them that be learned: for these necromancers believe one place to be of greater virtue than another; there to be heard sooner, than in another. Like as Balaam being hired to curse the people of God by his art of soothsaying or charming, when he could not accomplish his purpose in one place, he removed to another; but he, in the end, was deceived of his desire: for he, intending first to curse them, was not able to accuse them whom the Lord blessed, so that his curse could not hurt any of all that people. After like sort, the necromancers turn their face to the East, as to a place more apt for their prayers. Also the necromancers believe that the virtue of the words of the prayer, and the curiosity thereof, cause them to bring to effect that which they seek after; which is also another point of infidelity, used much of charmers, sorcerers, enchanters, soothsayers, and such like. Out of the same art, I fear, proceedeth the practice of exorcising, whereby devils and spirits be conjured to do that, whereunto they are enforced by the exorcist. Also, whereby other creatures likewise are exorcised or conjured, so that, by the virtue of their exorcism, they may have their power and strength exceeding all natural operation.

The  
Lord's  
Prayer.

The arts  
of necro-  
mancy,  
soothsay-  
ing, and  
witch-  
craft, how  
and from  
whom  
they  
came.

Exorcis-  
ing.

*Richard*  
*II.*

A. D.  
1392.

Conjuring or hallowing in the popish church. Holy water conjured.

Absurdity and abomination in the popish exorcisms detected.

Romish conjurers.

The good life of a priest, a great matter to deal in God's matters.

In the church of Rome many such exorcisms and conjurations be practised, and are called by them benedictions, or hallowings. But here I ask of these exorcisers, whether they believe the things and creatures so exorcised and hallowed, have that operation and efficacy given them which they pretend? If they so believe, every child may see that they are far beguiled. For holy water, being of them exorcised or conjured, hath no such power in it, neither can have, which they in their exorcism do command. For there they enjoin and command, that wheresoever that water is sprinkled, all vexation or infestation of the unclean spirit should void, and that no pestilent spirit there should abide, &c. But most plain it is, that no water, be it ever so holy, can have any such power so to do, as it is commanded; to wit, to be a universal remedy to expel all diseases.

This, I would ask, of these exorcists: whether in their commanding, they do conjure, or adjure, the things conjured to be of a higher virtue and operation, than their own nature doth give: or else, whether they, in their prayers, desire of God, that he will infuse into them that virtue, which they require? If they, in their commanding, do so believe, then do they believe that they have that power in them, to which the inferior power of the thing exorcised must obey, in receiving that which is commanded. And so doing, they are much more deceived, forasmuch as they see themselves, that they who are so authorized to the office of exorcising, say to the devil being conjured, 'Go,' and he goeth not; and to another, 'Come,' and he cometh not: and many things else they command the inferior spirit their subject to do, and he doth not. So, in like case, when they pray to God to make the water<sup>1</sup> to be of such virtue, that it may be to them health of mind and body, and that it may be able to expulse every unclean spirit, and to chase away all manner of distemperature and pestilence of the air (being an unreasonable petition asked, and sore displeasing to God), it is to be feared lest their benediction, their hallowing and blessing, is changed into cursing, according to that saying that followeth: 'And now, O you priests, I have a message to say unto you; if you will not hear and bear well away in your minds to give the glory unto my name, saith the Lord God of hosts, I will send scarcity among you, and I will curse your blessings.' What things, and how many are blessed, or hallowed in the church, that in hallowing thereof displease God, and are accursed? And therefore, according to the saying of St. James [chap. iv.], they ask and are not heard, because they ask not as they should, that they in their own desires may perish. Let a man behold the blessing or hallowing of their fire, water, incense, wax, bread, wine, the church, the altar, the churchyard, ashes, bells, copes, palms, oil, candles, salt, the hallowing of the ring, the bed, the staff, and of many such like things; and I believe that a man shall find out many errors of the heathen magicians, witches, soothsayers and charmers. And notwithstanding the ancient and old magicians, in their books, command those that be conjurers, that they in any wise live devoutly (for otherwise, as they say, the spirits will not obey their commandments, and conjurations), yet the Roman conjurers do impute it to the virtue of the holy words, because they be they which work, and not the holiness of the conjurers. How cometh it to pass that, they say, the things consecrated by a cursed and vicious javel<sup>2</sup> should have as great virtue in pronouncing (as they say) the holy and mystical words, as if they were pronounced by a priest ever so holy? But I marvel that they say so, reading this saying in the Acts of the Apostles: because the charmers, pronouncing the name of Jesus, which is above all names, would have healed those that were possessed with devils, and said; 'In the name of Jesus, whom Paul preacheth, go ye out of the men;' and the possessed with devils answered, 'Jesus we know, and Paul we know, but what are ye? And they all to-be-beat the conjurers.'

And now, considering this and many such like things, I marvel wherefore the vicious priests do sell their prayers and blessings dearer (as also their masses and trentals<sup>3</sup> of masses) than those that be devout lay-men, and holy women, who, with all their heart, desire to flee from vice, and take hold of virtue: forasmuch as God, in divers places of the Scripture, doth promise that he will not hear

(1) Where was the pope's holy water then, in the great pestilence in the time of king Edward (11 ?

(2) "Javel." A slanderer.—Ed.

(3) "Trental." An office for the dead, which lasts for thirty days, and consists of thirty masses —Ed.

sinner and wicked persons; neither should he seem to be just, if he should sooner hear the prayers of his enemies, than of his faithful friend. How, I pray you, shall a sinful priest deliver another man from sin by his prayers, or else from the punishment of sin, when he is not able to deliver himself, by his prayers, from sin? What then doth God so much accept in the mass of a vicious priest, that for his mass, his prayer or oblation, he might deliver any man either from sin, or from the pain due for sin? No, but for this, that Christ hath once offered himself for our sins, and now sitteth on the right hand of God the Father, always showing unto him what and how great things he hath suffered for us. And every priest always maketh mention in his mass of this oblation; neither do we this that we might bring the same oblation into the remembrance of God, because that he always, in his presence, seeth the same; but that we should have in remembrance this so great love of God, that he would give his own Son to death for our sins, that he might cleanse and purify us from all our sins. What doth it please God, that the remembrance of so great love is made by a priest, who more loveth sin than God? Or how can any prayer of such a priest please God, in what holy place soever he be, or what holy vestments soever he put on, or what holy prayers soever he maketh? And, whereas Christ and his apostles do command the preaching of the word of God, the priests now be more bound to celebrate the mass, and more straitly bound to say the canonical hours; whereat I cannot but greatly marvel. For why? To obey the precepts of men more than the commandments of God, is in effect to honour man as God, and to bestow the sacrifice upon man which is due unto God, and this is also spiritual fornication. How, therefore, are priests bound, at the commandment of man, to leave the preaching of the word of God, at whose commandment they are not bound to leave the celebration of the mass, or singing of matins? Therefore, as it seemeth, priests ought not, at the commandment of any man, to leave the preaching of the word of God, to which they are bound both by divine and apostolical precepts. With which agreeth that of Jerome in the *Decretum*,<sup>1</sup> saying in this wise; 'Let none of the bishops swell with the envy of devilish temptation; let none be angry, if the priest do sometimes exhort the people; if they preach in the church, &c. For to him that forbiddeth me these things I will say, "He that is unwilling that priests should do those things which be commanded of God, let him say who is above Christ; or what may be preferred before his body and his blood," &c.

Do priests therefore sin or not, who bargain for money to pray for the soul of any dead man? It is well known that Jesus did whip those that were buyers and sellers out of the temple, saying, 'My house shall be called the house of prayer, but you have made the same a den of thieves.' Truly he cast not out such merchants from out of the church, but because of their sins. Whereupon Jerome, upon this text, saith; 'Let the priests be diligent and take good heed in this church, that they turn not the house of God into a den of thieves. He doubtless is a thief who seeketh gain by religion, and by a show of holiness studieth to find occasion of merchandise.' Hereupon the holy canons do make accursed simoniacal heresy, and do command that those should be deprived of the priesthood, who, for the surpassing or marvellous spiritual grace, do seek gain or money. Peter the apostle said to Simon Magus, 'Let thy money and thou go both to the devil, which thinkest that the gifts of God may be bought for money.' Therefore the spiritual gifts of God ought not to be sold.

Verily prayer is the spiritual gift of God, as is also the preaching of the Word of God, or the laying on of hands, or the administration of other the sacraments. Christ, sending forth his disciples to preach, said unto them, 'Heal ye the sick, cast out devils, raise the dead; freely ye have received, freely give ye again.' If the priest have power, by his prayers, to deliver souls being in purgatory from grievous pains, without doubt he hath received that power freely from God. How, therefore, can he sell his act, unless he resist the commandments of God, of whom he hath received that authority? This truly cannot be done without sin, which is against the commandment of God. How plainly spake Christ to the Pharisees and priests, saying; 'Woe be unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites,' because ye have eaten the whole houses of such as be widows by making long prayers, and, therefore, have you received greater damnation.' Wherein, I pray you, do our pharisees and priests differ from them? Do not our priests devour widows' houses and possessions, that by their long prayers

*Richard II.*

A. D. 1392.

The prayers of a vicious priest little availeth before God.

Remembrance of Christ's passion needeth not to God, but to man.

Priests more bound to say mass, commanded by man, than to preaching, commanded of God. Spiritual fornication. See Appendix.

Whether priests may bargain to sing for souls departed. Jerome.

Selling prayer simoniacal &c.

(1) *Decreti Pars I. Distinctio xcv. cap. 6. "Eccce ego."* This passage is cited by John Huse, *supra*, p. 67.—Ed.

*Richard II.*

A.D.  
1392.

Religious men and women devourers of windows' houses. Praying for souls in purgatory.

Evil gotten lands, as evil bestowed, for praying for souls in purgatory.

Buying and selling of prayers and pardons in the pope's church. Person, place, apparel, curiosity or eloquence of prayer, not regarded of God.

That prayer doth more for money, than for charity, disproved.

they might deliver the souls of their husbands from the grievous pains of purgatory? How many lordships, I pray you, have been bestowed upon the religious men and women to pray for the dead, that they, by their prayer, might deliver those dead men from the pain, as they said, that they suffer in purgatory, grievously tormented and vexed? If their prayers and speaking of holy words shall not be able to deliver themselves from pain, unless they have good works, how shall other men be delivered from pain by their prayers, who, whilst they lived here, gave themselves over to sin? Yea, peradventure those lordships or lands, which they gave unto the priests to pray for them, they themselves have gotten by might, from other faithful men, unjustly, and violently: and the canons do say, that sin is not forgiven, till the thing taken away wrongfully be restored: how then shall they be able, who do unjustly possess such lordships or lands, to deliver them by their prayers from pain, who have given to them these lordships or lands, seeing God, from the beginning, hath hated all extortion in his burnt sacrifices? 'Not every one that saith unto me, Lord! Lord! shall enter into the kingdom of heaven: but he which doth the will of my Father which is in heaven.' And again, 'Not the hearers of the law, but the doers of the law shall be justified.'

If, therefore, the words of him that prayeth, do not deliver himself from sin, nor from the pain of sin, how do they deliver other men from sin or from the pain of sin, when no man prayeth more earnestly for another man, than for himself? Therefore many are deceived in buying or selling of prayers, as in the buying of pardons, that they might be delivered from pain; when commonly they pay dearer for the prayers of the proud and vicious prelates, than for the prayers of devout women and devout men of the lay-people. But, out of doubt, God doth not regard the person of him that prayeth, neither the place in which he prayeth, nor his apparel, nor the curiousness of his prayer, but the humility and godly affection of him that prayeth. Did not the pharisee and the publican go up into the temple to pray? The publican's prayer, for his humility and godly affection, is heard. But the pharisee's prayer, for his pride and arrogance, is contemned. Consider that neither the person, nor the place, nor the state, nor the curiousness of his prayer, doth help the pharisee: because the publican, not thinking himself worthy to lift up his eyes unto heaven, for the multitude of his sins, saying, 'O God! be merciful unto me a sinner,' is justified by his humility, and his prayer is heard. But the pharisee, boasting in his righteousness, is despised; because God thrusteth down the proud, and exalteth the humble and those that be meek. The rich glutton also, that was clothed with purple and silk, and fared every day daintily, prayed unto Abraham, and is not heard, but is buried in pains and torments of hell-fire. But Lazarus, who lay begging at his gate, being full of sores, is placed in the bosom of Abraham. Behold that neither the riches of his apparel, nor the deliciousness of his banquets, nor the gorgeousness of his estate, neither the abundance of his riches, doth help any thing to prefer the prayers or petitions of the rich glutton, nor yet diminish his torments, because that mighty men in their mightiness, shall suffer torments mightily. How dare any man, by composition, demand or receive any thing of another man for his prayers? If he believe that he can, by his prayer, deliver his brother from grievous pain, he is bound by charity to relieve his brother with his prayers, although he be not hired thereunto: but and if he will not pray unless he be hired, then hath he no love at all. What therefore helpeth his prayer who abideth not in charity? Therefore let him first take compassion of himself by prayer, that he may come into charity, and then he shall be the better able to help others. If he believe not, or if he stand in doubt whether he shall be able to deliver his brother by his prayer, wherefore doth he make with him an assured bargain, and take his money, and yet know not whether he shall relieve him ever a whit the more or not, from his pain? I fear lest the words of the prophet are fulfilled, saying, 'From the least to the most, all men apply themselves to covetousness; and from the prophet to the priest, all work deceitfully.' For the poor priests excuse themselves of such bargaining and selling of their prayers, saying, 'The young cock learneth to crow of the old cock.' 'For,' say they, 'thou mayest see that the pope himself, in stalling of bishops and abbots, taketh the first fruits: in the placing or bestowing of benefices he always taketh somewhat, and especially if the benefices be great. And he selleth pardons or bulls; and, to speak more plain, he taketh money for

them. Bishops, in giving orders, in hallowing churches and church-yards, do take money; in ecclesiastical correction they take money for the mitigation of penance; in the grievous offences of convict persons, money is required, and caused to be paid. Abbots, monks, and other religious men that have possession, will receive no man into their fraternity, or make them partakers of their spiritual suffrages, unless he bestow somewhat upon them, or promise them somewhat. Curates and vicars, having sufficient livings by the tithes of their parishioners, yet in dirges and years-minds, in hearing confessions, in weddings and burials, do require and have money. The friars, also, of the four orders of beggars, who think themselves to be the most perfect men of the church, do take money for their prayers, confessions, and burials of the dead; and when they preach, they believe that they shall have either money, or some other thing worth money. Wherefore then be the poor priests blamed? ought not they to be held excused, although they take money for their prayers by composition? Truly, me thinketh, that this excuse by other men's sins, doth not excuse them, forasmuch as to heap one mischief upon another's head, is no sufficient discharge. I would to God that all the buyers and sellers of spiritual suffrages would, with the eyes of their heart, behold the ruin of the great city, and the fall of Babylon, and that which they shall say after that fall. Doth not the prophet say, 'And the merchants of the earth shall weep and mourn for her, because no man shall buy any more their merchandise; that is, their merchandise of gold and silver, and of precious stone, and of pearl, and of silk and purple?' And again, he saith, 'And the merchants which were made rich by her, shall stand aloof for fear of her torments, weeping, mourning, and saying, Alas! Alas! that city Babylon, that great city, which was wont to wear purple, white silk, crimson, gold, pearl, and precious stone, because that in one hour all those riches are come to nought.' And again; 'And they cast dust upon their heads, and cried out, weeping, and mourning, and saying, Alas! Alas! that great and mighty city Babylon, by whom all such as had ships upon the sea, were made rich by rewards; because that in one hour she is become desolate.'

This Babylon, this great city, is the city of Rome, as it appeareth by the process of the apostle, because the angel who showed unto St. John the destruction of the mighty harlot sitting upon many waters, with whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication, and all they who dwell upon the earth are made drunk with the wine of her whoredom, said unto him, 'And the woman which thou sawest, is the great city which hath dominion above kings,' &c. [Apoc. 18.] And indeed, in the days of St. John, the whole world was subject to the temporal empire of the city of Rome, and afterwards it was subject to the spiritual empire or dominion of the same. But, touching the temporal government of the city of Rome, it is fallen already; and so that other also, for the multitude of her spiritual fornication, shall fall. The emperors of this city gave themselves to idolatry, and would have that men should honour them as gods, and put all those to death that refused such idolatry; and by the cruelty of their torments all infidels gat the upper hand.

Hereupon, by the image of Nabuchadnezzar, the empire of the Romans is likened to iron, which beateth together, and hath the mastery of all metals. And in the vision of Daniel, wherein he saw the four winds of heaven to fight in the main sea, and four very great beasts coming out of the sea, the kingdom of the Romans is likened to the fourth terrible and marvellous beast, which had great iron teeth, eating and destroying, and treading the rest under his feet; and this beast had ten horns, and, as Daniel saith, he shall speak words against the Most Highest, and shall tear with his teeth the saints of the Most Highest, and he shall think that he may be able to change times and laws; and they shall be delivered into his power, until a time, times, and half a time. In the Apocalypse, St. John saw a beast coming out of the sea, having seven heads and ten horns, and power was given to him to continue for forty-two months. So long time endured the empire of the Romans, that is to say, from the beginning of Julius Cæsar, who was the first emperor of the Romans, unto the end of Frederic, who was the last emperor of the Romans. Under this empire Christ suffered, and other martyrs also suffered for his name's sake. And here is fallen Rome as Babylon, which is all one, according to the manner of speaking in the Apocalypse, as touching the temporal and corporal power of governing. And

*Richard II.*

A. D.  
1392.

Selling of pardons, orders, church hallowings, discipline, fraternity, dirges, year-minds, confessions, weddings, burials, sermons, &c.

Example to be taken by the fall of Babylon.

The city of Rome, Babylon.

The temporal and spiritual dominion of the city of Rome.

The fourth beast in the prophecy of Daniel signifieth Rome.

The beast with seven heads in the Apoc signifieth Rome.

*Richard II.*

A. D.  
1392.

The feet of the image in the dream of Nabuchadnezzar signifieth Rome.

The beast with two horns like the lamb, signifieth the spiritual dominion of Rome.

Jesus is Christ two manner of ways, as King and Priest ;

The double sword of the pope.

The bishop of Rome seeketh to be worshipped as God. His commandments more regarded than Christ's

thus shall she fall, also, touching the spiritual power of governing, for the multitude of iniquities, and spiritual fornication and merchandise that are committed by her in the church.

The feet of the image which Nabuchadnezzar saw, did betoken the empire of Rome, and part of them were of iron, and part of clay and earth. The part that was of iron fell, and the power thereof vanished away, because the power thereof was at an end after certain months. That part of clay and earth yet endureth, but it shall vanish away by the testimony of the prophets ; whereupon St. John in the Apocalypse : 'After that, he saw the part made of iron rising out of the sea, to which each people, tribe, and tongue, submitted themselves. And he saw another beast coming out of the earth, which had two horns like to the horns of a lamb, and he spake like a dragon, and he vanquished the first beast in his sight.'

This beast, as seemeth me, doth betoken the clay and earthen part of the feet of the image, because he came out of the earth ; for that by terrene help he is made the high and chief priest of the Romans in the church of Christ, and so from below he ascended on high. But Christ from heaven descended, because that he who was God, and Author of every creature, became man ; and he that was Lord of lords, was made in the shape of a servant. And although in the heavens the company of angels minister unto him, he himself ministered or served on earth, that he might teach us humility, by which a man ascendeth into heaven, even as by pride a man goeth down into the bottomless pit. This beast hath two horns most like a lamb, because he challengeth to himself both the priestly and kingly power above all other here on earth. The Lamb, that is Christ, is a king for ever upon the kingly seat of David, and he is a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec, but his kingdom is not of this world, but the kingdom of this beast is of this world, because those that be under him fight for him. And, as Jesus is Christ two manner of ways, because 'Christus' is as much as to say, 'Unctus,' he verily was anointed king, and anointed priest : so this beast saith, that he is chief king and priest. Wherefore doth he call himself Christ ; because Christ, knowing that before, said, 'Many shall come in my name, saying, I am Christ, and shall deceive many.' And thus, because he is both king and priest, he challengeth to himself the double sword ; that is, the corporal sword, and the spiritual sword. The corporal sword is in his right hand, and the spiritual sword is in his right eye, by the testimony of Zachariah. But he speaketh subtilly, like a dragon, because, by the testimony of Christ, he shall deceive many, as the Apocalypse witnesseth. He did great wonders, that also he might make more fire to come from heaven into the earth in the sight of men, that he might deceive those that dwell upon the earth, because of the wonders that are permitted him to do in the sight of the beast ; and he overcame the first beast which ascended out of the sea, for that beast challenged unto himself authority of government over the whole world. He hath put to death and tormented those that resist his commandments, and would be honoured as a god upon the earth. The bishop of Rome saith, that the whole world ought to be in subjection unto him : those that be disobedient unto his commandments he putteth in prison, and to death, if he can. If he cannot, he excommunicateth them, and commandeth them to be cast into the devil's dungeon. But he that hath no power over the body, much less hath he power over the soul. And truly his excommunication, or the excommunication of any priest under him, shall at that time little hurt him that is excommunicated, so that the person of him that is excommunicated be not first excommunicated of God, through sin.

And thus it seemeth a truth unto me, that God thus turns their blessings into cursings, because they give not due glory unto his name : so when they unjustly excommunicate and curse, he turneth their cursings into blessings. Also the bishop of Rome doth make men to worship him as God, because the special sacrifice that God doth require of us, is to be obedient unto him in keeping his commandments. But now the pope's commandments be commanded to be kept, and be kept in very deed, but the commandments of Christ are contemned and rejected. Thus sitteth the bishop of Rome in the temple of God, showing himself as God, and extolling himself above all which is called God, or worshipped as God. But in his fall he shall be revealed, because every kingdom divided in itself shall be made desolate. He, teaching a truth, is the head of the



church; but the prophet, teaching a lie, is the tail of the dragon. He, seducing the world, shall be acknowledged to be the verity of the doctrine of Christ; but after he is known, he shall be rejected and nought esteemed. He giveth to small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, marks in their right hands and in their foreheads, that no man should buy or sell, but those that shall have the marks of the name of the beast, or that look to have of him some recompense, small, mean, or great, or else the number of his name, which number is three hundred. The pope saith, that, in the administration of every sacrament, he doth imprint certain characters or marks, into the soul of him that receiveth it. In baptism, he saith, that he doth imprint into the soul of him that is baptized, a mark that cannot be wiped out; and so likewise in other sacraments. And I know that in a sacrament are two things, that is, the sacramental sign, and the spiritual grace represented by the same sign: the sacramental sign is given to man by man, but the spiritual grace is given by Christ.

*Richard II.*

*A.D. 1392.*

In every sacrament two things.

Wherefore, although a vicious or naughty priest doth baptize any man, if he that is baptized or his parents (if he be a child) do ask with faithful meaning, baptism, and do mean faithfully hereafter to observe the words of baptism, he is as well baptized, as if he were baptized of ever so virtuous a priest. So also the sinner, who, with all his heart, is sorry for his sins, and doth ask faithfully mercy of God, is as well absolved by a vicious priest, as by a virtuous: because the Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world, wipeth away inwardly our sins by his grace, because he is the bishop and pastor of our souls. All other priests do outwardly work absolution, who know not for a certainty whether they have absolved or not: so also is it in the others, because that the grace of the sacrament is given by God, and the sacramental sign by man. In giving of orders the chief bishop doth imprint the corporal mark; but of the spiritual marks I know none, unless a man will say, that by receiving the order he hath some belief that he may work some things pertaining to that order which, before the receiving of the order, he could not. But this one thing is certain, that none in the church ought to sell spiritual merchandise (of which things we have spoken before), unless he have the mark of the beast. My counsel is, let the buyer be aware of those marks; because that after the fall of Babylon, 'If any man hath worshipped the beast and her image, and hath received the mark upon his forehead, and upon his hand, he shall drink of the wine of God's wrath, which is mixed with the wine in the cup of his anger, and he shall be tormented in fire and brimstone in the sight of the holy angels, and in the sight of the Lamb: and the smoke of their torments shall evermore ascend, although he look for a recompense, small, mean, or great, of the beast, or else the number of his name.' The beast, doubtless, doth recompense his friends with his small reward: that is, with great gifts and benefices corporal: with a mean reward, that is, with great spiritual gifts, in authority of blessing, loosing, binding, praying, and exercising other spiritual works; and with his greatest reward, which, after they be dead, maketh them to be honoured on earth among the saints. The number of his name, according to the opinion of some men, is, 'Dux cleri' the 'captain of the clergy,' because by that name he is named, and maketh his name known, and that name is six hundred and sixty-six.

Caveat emptor

The rewards of the beast

The number of the name of the beast. Dux Cleri.

This is my opinion of the beast ascending out of the earth, and shall be, until such time as I shall be of the same beast better instructed. And although this beast doth signify the Roman bishops, yet the other cruel beast ascending out of the sea doth signify the Roman emperors. And although the dragon, being a cruel beast, and the false prophet giving the mark, must be thrown into the lake of fire and brimstone to be tormented for ever, I would have no man to judge; but I leave such things altogether to the final judgment of Christ to be determined. But Martin, the pope's confessor, who maketh the chronicle of the emperors and popes, reciteth many errors of the popes, more horrible and abominable than of the emperors: for he speaketh of the idolatrous popes, heretical, simoniacal, and popes that were murderers, that used necromancy and witchcraft, that were fornicators, and defiled with all kind of vice. But I have partly declared how the pope's law is contrary to Christ's law, and how he saith, that he is the chief vicar of Christ on earth; and in his deeds is contrary to Christ, and doth forsake both his doctrine and life. I cannot see who else may be so well Antichrist, and a seducer of the people, for there is not a greater pestilence than a familiar enemy.

More wicked popes than emperors.

*Richard II.*

A. D.  
1392.

Matters  
of idolatry.

Images.

Oaths,  
how far  
tolerable.

Whether  
temporal  
goods may  
be taken  
away from  
ecclesiastical  
persons  
offending.

Popes  
take from  
emperors,  
their be-  
nefactors,  
temporal  
dominion,  
when they  
offend: ergo,  
much  
more may  
emperors  
take from  
popes  
temporal  
dominion  
when they  
offend. A  
prophecy of  
Walter  
Brute,  
that tem-  
poral  
goods  
shall be  
taken  
away  
from the  
clergy for  
the multi-  
tude of  
their sins.

As concerning idols and the worshipping of them, I think of them as Moses, Solomon, Isaiah, Jeremy, and the rest of the prophets did, who all spake against the making of images, as also the worshipping of images. And faithful David, full of the Spirit of God, saith, 'Let all those be confounded that worship images, and that rejoice in idols.' And again he saith, 'Let them be made like unto them that make them, and all such as put their trust in them.' Wherefore I pray God that this evil come not upon me, which is the curse of God pronounced by David the prophet: nor will I be, by God's grace, either a maker or else a worshipper of images.

As concerning oaths, I believe and obey the doctrine of the Almighty God, and my master Jesus Christ, who teacheth, that christian men, in affirmation of a truth, should pass the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees of the Old Testament, or else he excludeth them from the kingdom of heaven. For he saith, 'Unless your righteousness exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, ye cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven.' And concerning oaths he saith, 'It hath been said to them of old time, Thou shalt not forswear thyself, but shalt perform unto the Lord those things which thou knowest. But I say unto you, Thou shalt not swear at all, neither by the heaven, nor yet by the earth, &c. But let your communication be yea, yea, nay, nay; for whatsoever shall be more than this, proceedeth of evil.' Therefore, as the perfection of the ancient men of the Old Testament was, not to forswear themselves, so the perfection of christian men is, not to swear at all, because they are so commanded of Christ, whose commandment must in no case be broken, although the city of Rome is contrary to this doctrine of Christ, even as in many things she is found contrary to herself.

As touching the taking away of temporal goods, from those that are ecclesiastical persons offending 'habitualiter,' by such as are temporal lords, I will not affirm any thing to be lawful in this matter (as in other matters before) that is not agreeable to charity. And that, because it is a hard matter for a man to take another man's goods from him without breaking of charity; because, peradventure, he that taketh away is the more moved to such manner of taking away, by reason of the desire he hath to those goods, which he endeavoureth to take away; or else, because of some displeasure or hatred to the person from whom he goeth about to take away those goods, than that he, from whom those goods be taken, should be amended. Therefore, unless he that taketh away be only moved of charity to the taking away of such goods, I dare not affirm that such taking is lawful. And if such taking away proceed of charity, I dare not judge it unlawful; because the bishop of Rome, who received his temporal dominion of the emperor, when the emperor rebelled and was not obedient unto him, deprived him from his temporal jurisdictions: how much more then may temporal lords do the same, who have bestowed upon them many temporal dominions and lordships, only to the intent that they might the better intend to serve God, and keep his commandments? Now if they perceive that they be against the laws of God, and that they be over-busily occupied about worldly matters, I cannot see but that they may well enough take from them those temporal goods, which to a good purpose they gave them. But if, in time to come after this, those that be temporal lords shall take from ecclesiastical persons such temporalities, let him that desireth to understand this, read the prophet Ezekiel, in the chapter of the shepherds of Israel who fed themselves instead of their flock, and also let him read, in the Apocalypse, of the fall of Babylon: let him also read the pope's decretals against heretics; and in those he shall find, that the taking away of the temporalities from the clergy, shall come to pass for the multitude of their sins.

Thus, reverend father, have I made mine answer to the matter whereof I am accused: beseeching you that as I have been obedient to your desire, and that even as a son, declaring unto you the secrets of my heart in plain words, although rudely, so I desire to know your opinion, and crave your fatherly benevolence, that now your labour may be for my instruction and amendment, and not to accusation and condemnation. For like as in the beginning, I have promised you, if any man, of what state, sect, or condition soever he be, can show me any error, in any of my writings, by the authority of holy Scripture, or by any probable reason grounded on the Scriptures, I will receive his information willingly and humbly.

After all the aforesaid things were exhibited and given by the aforesaid Walter Brute unto the said bishop of Hereford, he further appointed to the same Walter the third day of the month of October, at Hereford, with the continuance of the days following, to hear his opinion : which third day now at hand, being Friday, A.D. 1393, the said Walter Brute appeared before him, sitting in commission in the cathedral church of Hereford, at six o'clock, or thereabout, having for his assistants in the same place, divers prelates and abbots, and twenty bachelors of divinity, whereof twelve were monks, and two doctors of the law. Amongst these was Nicholas Hereford, accompanied with many other prelates and worshipful men, and wise graduates in sundry faculties. Now was the aforesaid Walter apposed of his writings aforesaid, and the contents therein. Earnest were they in picking out of those writings, his heresies, and in showing his schisms, sundry errors, and divers other things. Now, after they had continued all that day and the two days following (that is, Friday, Saturday, and Sunday), in their informations and examinations against the same Walter Brute, the same Walter Brute submitted himself to the determination of the church, and to the correction of the said John, the bishop, as it appeareth, word for word, in a scroll written in the English tongue : the tenor of which scroll is as followeth :—

*Richard II.*A.D.  
1393.

Walter Brute again commanded to appear. A commission sitting upon Walter Brute. Nicholas Hereford there also present.

Writings of Walter Brute examined.

I, Walter Brute, submit myself principally to the evangely of Jesus Christ, and to the determination of holy kirk, and to the general councils of holy kirk. And to the sentence and determination of the four doctors of holy writ ; that is, Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome, and Gregory. And I meekly submit me to your correction, as a subject ought to his bishop.

The tenor of his submission.

This scroll, as before is recited, in the English tongue, the aforesaid Walter Brute read, with a loud and intelligible voice, at the cross in the churchyard, on Monday ; that is to say, the sixth of the said month of October, before the sermon made unto the people, in presence of the said bishop of Hereford and others above written, as also other barons, knights, and noblemen, and clergy, and also a great multitude of people. After which reading of the scroll, the aforesaid Thomas Crawlay, bachelor of divinity, made a sermon unto the people, and took for his theme the words of the apostle to the Romans, chapter xii, that is as followeth : “ Be not over-wise in your own conceits, but stand in fear,” &c.

The submission openly read at Hereford.

Out of these declarations and writings of Walter Brute, the bishop, with the monks and doctors above rehearsed, did gather and draw out certain articles, to the number of thirty-seven, which they sent to the university of Cambridge to be confuted, unto two learned men, Master Colwill and Master Newton, bachelors of divinity : which Masters Colwill and Newton did both labour in the matter, to the uttermost of their cunning, in replying and answering to the said thirty-seven articles.

Besides them also, William Woodford, a friar, who wrote likewise against the articles of Wickliff, labouring in the same cause, made a solemn and a long tractation ; compiling the articles of the said Brute, to the number of nine and twenty<sup>2</sup>: all which treatises as I wish to come to the reader's hand, that the slenderness of them might be known ; so it may happen percase, that the same being in my hands

*See Appendix.*(1) See *suprà*, p. 49—*Ed.*

(2) See the Appendix.

*Richard II.**A.D. 1393.*

may hereafter be further published, with other like tractations more, as convenient time, for the prolixity thereof, may hereafter better serve than now.

What, after this, became of this Walter Brute, or what end he had, I find it not registered; but like it is, that he for this time escaped. Certain other writings I find, moreover, which, albeit they bear no name of this Walter, nor of any certain author, yet, because they are in the same register adjoined to the history of him, I thought, therefore, most fit here to be inserted: of which one was a letter sent to Nicholas Hereford, a little above specified, who being, at the first, a great follower of John Wickliff, as appeareth before, was now in the number of them who sat upon this Walter, as is above recorded. The copy of this letter, bearing no name of any special author, but only as sent by a certain Lollard, as the register doth term him, is written in manner and form as followeth.

The Copy of a Letter sent to Master Nicholas Hereford, by a Lollard, as in the Register it is said.

Forasmuch as no man that putteth his hand to the plough and looketh back, is meet for the kingdom of God, as our Saviour Christ saith, what marvel is it, although Master Nicholas Hereford, who at the first (by the visitation of the Spirit of God, peradventure) put his hand, that is, gave his diligence unto the plough; that is, to the sowing of the word of God and holy Scripture, as well in preaching as in doing good works, is now so blind and unskilful to expound the Scripture, that he knoweth not what is understood by the kingdom of heaven? Truly, it is no marvel, O thou that art master of the Nicolaitans! who, like Nicholas, the most false deacon, hast left or forsaken the infallible knowledge of the holy Scripture: for the true knowledge of the theological verity is shut up as well from thee, as from all the other Nicolaitans following thy conditions; forasmuch as thou goest not in by the door to expound the same evangelical verity.

Nicola-  
tans.

Therefore, when thou didst recite the other day, first, the pharisaical and hypocritical woe (nothing at all to any purpose), thou shouldst have said justly in this sort, both of thyself, and other thy followers and religious Antichrists: 'Woe be unto us Scribes and Pharisees, which shut up the kingdom of heaven;' that is to say, the true knowledge of the holy Scriptures before men, by our false glosses and crooked similitudes: and neither we ourselves enter into the same kingdom or knowledge, nor suffer others to enter into it. Wherefore, it seemeth unto the faithful sort, that wrongfully, falsely, and without any reverence, ye have expounded that text of Gregory [1 quæst. 1], that is to say, 'Quicumque studet,' &c. For this is the true understanding of the same: knowing, first, that there be some priests after the thing and name only; and it doth show that this is true, that whosoever studieth to receive the holy order by giving of money, he is not a priest, 'Secundum rem et nomen:' but, to say the truth, he desireth to be called a priest; that is, to be a priest 'Secundum nomen tantum.' And such a priest, who is a priest in name only, is no priest; no more than St. Mary painted is St. Mary; or a false doctor a doctor, but no doctor; and a man painted is not a man, but no man. And thus such a priest in name only, is not a priest; because all faithful men do firmly believe with St. Gregory, that no man buying the holy orders, may then be called a priest; as he saith [1 quæst. 1], 'They that buy or sell holy orders can be no priest.' Whereupon is written, 'anathema dandi,' and 'anathema accipiendi;' that is, 'simoniacal heresy.' And it followeth, 'How, therefore, if they be accursed and not blessed, can they make others blessed? And when they be not in the body of Christ, how can they either receive or deliver the body of Christ? He that is accursed, how can he bless?' as though he would say, It is impossible. As pope Urban saith [1 quæst. 1], 'Si quis a simoniacis,' &c., 'They that willingly know and suffer themselves to be consecrated, nay rather execrated, of those that are infected with simony, we judge that

their consecration is altogether void.' Also pope Leo [1 quest. 1], saith in this wise: 'Grace, if it be not freely given and received, is not grace. Spiritual usurers do not receive freely: therefore, they receive not the spiritual grace, which specially worketh in the ecclesiastical orders. If they receive it not, they have it not: if they have it not freely, they cannot give it freely. And by this it is more clear than the light, that they who know so much, and receive orders by spiritual usury or simony, are neither priests nor deacons, neither after the manner nor character. For if such character or mark were otherwise given in giving orders, it were requisite always that there should be a certain grace imprinted in the man; but there is no such grace given or imprinted, as afore is manifest. Therefore there is no such character to be feigned. Therefore such character or mark abideth not in him, forasmuch as he never had, nor hath, the same.' And yet furthermore, in the same place, 'What then do the simoniacal prelates give?' And he maketh answer, 'Truly even that which they have, as the spirit of lying. How prove we this? Because that if it be the spirit of verity, as the same verity doth testify from whom it cometh, it is freely received.' And it followeth for the whole purpose no doubt, 'it is convicted to be the spirit of lying, which is not freely received.'

By this it appeareth manifestly to the faithful sort, that those who wittingly and simoniacally are made priests, forasmuch as they receive not the character of the Lord, but only the spirit of lying, and the mark of Simon Magus and of Judas the traitor, they be not priests, either according to the mark or manner: and such do no more make the sacraments of church, than other laymen may in the time of necessity; nor yet so truly, during their heretical naughtiness. And yet indeed, brother mine, 'univoce in natura,' but yet 'æquivoce in moribus;' I do not write thus sharply unto you, through anger, or any imperfect hate, but through the perfect hate of your horrible heresy, and denying the faith of Christ, that I may say with David in the Psalm, 'Perfecto odio oderam,' &c. And I am very sorry for you, that you, who, in times past have excellently well and fruitfully preached the gospel in the pulpit, do now as well fail in the congruity of the Latin tongue, as in the other science natural. For, as it was heard, thrice in one lecture you said 'appetit,' that is to say, pronouncing the middle syllable long, which thing not only the masters, but also the young scholars understood. And many other faults there were in grammaer, which for shame I dare not recite. I send unto you these five conclusions.

Richard  
II.  
A.D.  
1393.

Brother  
in nature:  
in man-  
ners no  
drother.

1. It is an infallible verity that the words of the four chief doctors, expounding the holy Scripture according to the verity which the words do pretend, are to be holden and kept.

Five con-  
clusions.  
See  
Appendix.

2. He who importeth any equivocation out of any of the doctors expounding, for the colouring of his text, his equivocation is always to be left.

3. No perversion of any reprobate is able to turn the congregation of the elect from the faith, because all things that shall come to pass, are eternally in God, devised and ordained for the best unto the elect Christians.

4. Like as the mystical body of Christ is the congregation of all the elect, so Antichrist, mystically, is the church of the wicked and of all the reprobates.

5. The conclusions of Swinderby be agreeable to the faith in every part.

This letter was thus subscribed: 'By the Spirit of God, sometime visiting you.'

Besides this epistle above prefixed, there is also found annexed to the same, a device of another certain letter counterfeited under the name of Lucifer, Prince of Darkness, writing to the pope and all popish prelates, persecuting the true and right church with all might and main, to maintain their pride and domination in this earth, under a colourable pretence and visor of the catholic church and succession apostolical: which letter, although it seemeth in some authors to be ascribed to Oclam, above mentioned; yet, because I find it in the same register of the church of Hereford contained, and inserted among the tractations of Walter Brute, and devised, as the register

*Richard  
II.*  
A.D.  
1393.

saith, by the Lollards, I thought no meetter place than here to annex the same; the tenor whereof thus proceedeth in words as follow.<sup>1</sup>

The Device or Counterfeit of a certain Letter, feigned under the name of Lucifer, Prince of Darkness, writing to the persecuting Prelates of the Popish Clergy.

I Lucifer, prince of darkness, emperor of the gloomy regions of profound Acheron, commander-in-chief of Erebus, king of the infernals, and governor of hell: To all the members of our kingdom, the children of pride; and especially to the princes of the modern church, whereof our adversary Jesus Christ by his prophet said, 'I hate the congregation of the wicked:—health, and that you may ever obey our behests, and follow (as you have begun) the laws of Satan, and diligently observe the precepts of our code.

The difference between the bishops of the primitive and of the later church. Humility edifieth. Pride destroyeth.

In times past the vicars of Christ, following his steps, and eminent for miracles and virtues, converted almost the whole world by their preaching and works from the yoke of our tyranny to their own doctrine and manner of life, to the great derision and contempt of our infernal kingdom, and also to the no little prejudice and injury of our authority; they not fearing to invade our power and to offend the terrific majesty of our estate. For thenceforth we received no tribute from the world, neither did the wretched people rush in crowds to the threshold of our dungeon, as they were wont to do; but the downward and broad road which leadeth to death was undisturbed by any sound, being untrod by the feet of wretched travellers: and our court being quite deserted, hell howled and groaned and was in anguish, at being thus spoiled.

Placing of proud prelates the cause of all mischief.

This state of things the impatient rage of our Pluto and the dire recklessness of his commander-in-chief could no longer endure. I accordingly took measures to prevent the continuance of such perils, and devised a seasonable remedy. For in the room of those adversaries of ours, the prophets and the twelve apostles, and all the rest who followed Christ's doctrine and manner of life, we procured that you, the prelates of the modern church, should succeed; of whom Christ spake, when he said (Hosea viii.), 'They reigned, but not by me.' We once, indeed, promised him all the kingdoms of the world if He would fall down and worship us: but He would not, saying, 'My kingdom is not of this world.' He also fled, when the multitude would have made him a temporal king. But in you, who have fallen from a state of grace and are our ministers in the earth, that promise of ours is fulfilled; for it is through us and of us that you now hold that empire over the affairs of the world which we have conferred upon you. For He said of us (as you know), 'The prince of this world cometh, and bath nothing in me;' but over all the sons of pride He appointed us to reign. Therefore our adversaries aforesaid submitted to the princes of this world in temporals, and taught men so, saying, 'Submit yourselves to every creature for the Lord's sake; whether it be to the king, as supreme,' &c.; and again, 'Obey them that are over you in the Lord.' For so had their Master propounded and commanded, saying, 'The kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them; and they that exercise authority upon them are called benefactors: but ye shall not be so.' And, as we said before, they lived in a poor and despised condition, in continual labours and afflictions, as we told you.

The church never well governed, since the devil's offers were taken of the churchmen.

Pride in prelates noted.

But you are not so: for a poison was long since poured out on the church; and now you are inflated; now you are not only unlike those early fathers, but clean contrary to them in life and conditions; and exalt yourselves above all others; and, taking complete possession of all things, you neither 'render to Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, nor to God the things which are God's.'

First, according to our decrees you exercise the jurisdiction of both swords;<sup>2</sup> you intermeddle in mundane affairs; and, warring in our quarrel, you entangle

(1) The following is a new translation, made from the Latin copy in Wolfii "*Lectiones Memorabiles*." See the Appendix.—Ed.

(2) The double jurisdiction of the pope's two swords cometh of Lucifer.

yourselves with secular business. From the wretchedness of poverty you gradually climb to the highest honours and the most exalted dignities, by your cunning, policy, and wily tricks, by your hypocrisy, flattery, lies, perjury, frauds, simony, and other wickednesses, more abundant than our infernal fury could have conceived.

*Richard II.*  
A.D.  
1393.

But to have gone even thus far, doth not suffice you: you are more greedy than before; you oppress the poor; you grasp at every thing; you turn all topsyturvy; inflated with pride and living wantonly in carnal delights and enjoyments, you pass all your days amid good things; you assume high-sounding names in the earth, calling yourselves 'gods,' and 'holy,' yea 'most holy.' You also either violently seize or craftily purloin and deceitfully wrest to false uses, and hold by a false title, those goods, which were anciently given for the support of Christ's poor, whom we hate; and you spend them on the uses agreeable to you. Therewith, for instance, you maintain crowds of whores and panders, with whom you go prancing about in state, like mighty princes, far otherwise than the poor priests of Christ in the primitive church. You also build delightful and gorgeous palaces. You eat dainty meats, and drink wines of exquisite delicacy and flavour. You amass untold treasures; unlike him who said, 'Silver and gold have I none;' you have restored the Golden Age.

Papish prelates neither give to God nor to Cæsar that which belongeth to God and Cæsar. Dominos. Sanctos. Sanctissimos.

O society most agreeable to us demons, formerly promised to us by the prophet, and reprobated by the fathers of olden time, whilst Christ called you 'the synagogue of Satan,' and marked you out under the designation of 'the great whore, which committed fornication with the kings of the earth;' having from a mother become a step-mother; from the spouse of Christ, an adulteress; from a chaste woman, a strumpet. The breasts of your puberty are broken; you have left your first love, and have attached yourselves to us.

The whorish later church of Rome.

O our beloved Babylon; O our dear citizens, who have migrated hither from Jerusalem: we deservedly love you, we applaud you, because you neglect the laws of Simon Peter, and wholly cleave to those of our friend Simon Magus: these you have at your fingers' ends, and publicly practise them, buying and selling spiritual things in the temple of God, contrary to Christ's commands. You distribute benefices and ecclesiastical dignities for petition or price; for service or for favour; rejecting the worthy, and promoting the unworthy. You call to the heritage of Christ your ignorant nephews, yea, your own sons, although they be, yea, because they be, roisters and bawds; and deal with the sanctuary of God as if it were a worldly inheritance; and on a single child ye confer many prebends, the smallest whereof you deny to a poor good man. You accept the person; and have infinite care about money, not souls. The house of God you have made a den of thieves. All abuses, all extortions, are practised in your order a thousand fold more than among secular tyrants. You make laws, and do not keep them: you annul them by your dispensations at pleasure: 'You justify the wicked for reward, and take away the righteousness of the righteous from him;' and perpetrate every kind of wickedness, just as we would have you do.

The pope, successor not of Simon Peter, but of Simon Magus.

You labour hard in our service, though you mean your own gratification; and as far as you can are compassing the destruction of the Christian faith. For now the laity are in doubt what to believe; and if ever you preach to them (though that is but rarely), they do not believe you; because they see plainly that you all act contrary, and so prove that it is otherwise than you say. Wherefore, they who follow you as their examples, now pretty well adopt our rules, and have rushed headlong into a sea of vices: and a very great multitude of them are constantly resorting to the strong seats of our dungeon. Yea, you transmit to us daily so many of every class of mankind, that we could not receive them, were it not that our insatiable chaos gulped in the countless souls by a thousand jaws added for the purpose.

Extortion. Perversion of justice. Acceptation of persons. Bribery. Love of lucre. Destruction of true faith.

Thus even by your means the sovereignty of our empire hath been re-established, and our intolerable loss made good to us again. Wherefore, we specially commend you, and return you our hearty thanks. Albeit, we exhort you still to persevere in what you are now doing, and to go forward: because we intend through you to bring back again all the world under our dominion.

The pope increaseth hell.

And now being ourselves strangely busied here in our recesses with the multitude which you daily send us, we in the meantime commit to you our

*Richard  
II.*

*A. D.  
1393.*

A feigned  
procurer  
of peace  
between  
princes.  
The Ro-  
man em-  
pire craft-  
ily sub-  
verted by  
the pope.

Simony,  
the pope's  
nurse.

Promot-  
ing of  
proud  
and rich  
cardinals.  
Cloaked  
holiness.

Wrest-  
ing of  
Scripture.

Tyranny  
and  
cruelty  
of the  
pope.

authority, and wish you to be our vicars and ministers; the more so, for that we are beginning to think of the approaching mission of Antichrist, for whom you are admirably preparing the way. Notwithstanding, we send and depute to you some of the chief men and satraps of hell, for your counsel and help; whose suggestions to acquiesce in and crafty inventions to add to, you are sufficiently cunning and prudent. Moreover, you who occupy the highest places we counsel to be careful to preserve peace among the princes of the world in pretence, but in reality to nourish discord for the church's sake; and thus you will slyly destroy the Roman empire. Accordingly, do not allow any kingdoms to grow too large, lest becoming too strong and tranquil, they should take a fancy to depress your estate, and take from you those treasures which we have caused to be deposited with you and reserved for Antichrist.

We commend unto you our most dear daughters, Pride, Deceit, Anger, Avarice, Gluttony, Lechery, and all the rest; and especially the lady Simony, who hath been the making of you, and enriched you, and suckled you at her own breasts, and nourished you. And this Simony you are not to call a sin. Neither is it pride in you, for the worshipful eminence of your station requireth such magnificence. Nor are you to be charged with avarice, for whatever you can gather in your pouches is for St. Peter, and for the peace of the church, the patrimony of the Crucified. For though you promote your cardinals to the very summit of dignity, on very slight grounds, you may excuse yourselves by saying, that our adversary Jesus promoted his relations to the apostleship. That, however, was in a poor and humble state of life. Not so do you; but in arrogance, pride, and vile lewdness, you call to a state of riches and pride. The disciples of Christ also renounced rewards and preferments; but not so you, for you hold your goods awededly for your defence of the church: and this is but a specimen of the rest.

Go forward then (and ye know best how) to perpetrate vices cloaked under the appearance of virtues; allege [Scriptures] in your behalf; gloss, however perversely; and adduce them, however inappositely to your purpose. And if any one preach or teach contrary to you, violently crush him by excommunications, and let him be condemned by you as a heretic; and let him be kept in most strait prison, and there tormented till he die, for a terrible example to all such as confess Christ. And, setting all favour apart, cast him out of your temple; lest, peradventure, the ingrafted word may save your souls, which word I do abhor, as I do the souls of other faithful men.

And all this do, in order that you may earn the place which we are preparing for you in our own mansion, in the most secret depths, which we are preparing for you in particular; and which no one yet was ever known to enter, except the chief satraps of our kingdom.

For you neither hope for future rewards, nor fear eternal punishment: and therefore shall not have the life which you do not believe in, but shall obtain together with us that death, which while living you do not fear.

Farewell, and may you enjoy that felicity wherewith we desire and intend finally to reward you.

Given at the centre of the earth, in our dark palace; present, crowds of devils, specially for the purpose called unto our most dolorous consistory; under the character of our terrible seal, for the confirmation of the premises.<sup>1</sup>

The  
author  
thereof  
un-  
known.

*See  
Appendix.*

Who was the true author of this poesy or epistle above written, it is not evidently known: neither yet doth it greatly skill. The matter being well considered of their part who here be noted, may minister unto them sufficient occasion of wholesome admonition, either to remember themselves what is amiss, or to bethink with themselves what is to be amended. The foregoing letter,

(1) Ex Registre Herefordensi, ad verbum.



'Luciferi ad malos Principes Ecclesiasticos,' was imprinted first at Paris in Latin; and at the end thereof bearing this date, 'Anno a Palatii nostri fractione, consortiumque nostrorum subtractione, 1351;' which, if ye count from the passion of the Lord, reacheth well to the time of Wickliff, A.D. 1385, which was above six years before the examination of this Walter Brute.

Richard  
II.

A. D.  
1395.

Other  
letters of  
Lucifer.

There is also another epistle of Lucifer, Prince of Darkness, 'ad Prælatos,' mentioned in an epistle of the school of Prague to the university of Oxford written about A.D. 1370 (as it is therein dated), and lately published by Hulderic Hutten with some other epistles of the same sort.

Also Vincentius<sup>1</sup> inferreth like mention of a letter of the fiends infernal unto the clergy men, as in a vision represented four hundred years ago; in which the devils give thanks to the spiritual men, for that by their silence, and not preaching the gospel, they send infinite souls to hell, &c.

Divers other letters also of like device have been written, and also recorded in authors: whereunto may be added, that Henry of Hesse, writing to the bishop of Worms, allegeth out of the prophecy of Hildegard in these words: "Therefore doth the devil say within himself of you priests, 'Dainty banquets and feasts wherein is all voluptuousness do I find among these men; insomuch that mine eyes, mine ears, my belly, and my veins be full of their frothing, and my breasts be full stuffed with their riches,'" &c. "Furthermore," saith she, "they every day more and more seek, like Lucifer, to rise up higher and higher; but every day, with him, they fall deeper and deeper."

Hereunto also appertaineth a story written, and commonly found in many old written books. In the year of our Lord 1228, at Paris, in a synod of the clergy, there was one appointed to make a sermon, who being much careful in his mind and solicitous what to say, the devil came to him, and asking him, Why he was so careful for his matter, what he should preach to the clergy, Say thus, quod he, "The princes of hell salute you, O you princes of the church! and gladly give you thanks, because through your default and negligence it cometh to pass, that almost all souls go down to hell." Adding, moreover, that he was also enforced by the commandment of God to declare this message; yea, and a certain token (it is said) was given to the said clerk for a sign, whereby he might convince the synod that he did not lie.<sup>3</sup>

The devil  
giveth  
thanks to  
clergy-  
men.

The si-  
lence of  
priests  
in not  
preaching  
the gos-  
pel, damn-  
eth many  
a soul.

### The Bull of Pope Boniface IX. to the Bishop of Hereford, against the Lollards.

Boniface, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to the reverend brother, John, bishop of Hereford, sendeth greeting and apostolical benediction. We mean to write unto our well-beloved son in Christ, Richard, the renowned king of England, in form enclosed within these presents. Therefore we will and command your brotherhood, that, as much as ye may, ye study and endeavour yourself to exhort and induce the same king to do those things which we have

(1) In Speculo Hist. lib. 25, cap. 89.

(2) 'Ideo et diabolus in semetipso de vobis sacerdotibus ait; Escas epulantium, convivia, et omnes voluptates in istis invenio; sed et oculi, et aures, et venter meus, et venæ meæ, de spumis illorum plenæ sunt, et ubera mea plena sunt divitiis illorum,' &c. [See this quotation also vol. ii. p. 781.—Ed.]

(3) Ex Catal. Illyr. fol. 546. [The whole of this page is from Illyriens's Catalogus Testium, edition 1608, cols. 1801, 1886, 1887; whence Foxe's text has been materially improved.—Ed.]

*Richard II.*A. D.  
1395.

written unto him, as it is said before. And, notwithstanding that now, many a day, you ought to have done it of yourself, and not to look that we should persuade you to that effect by us written, you may proceed as well by our authority, as by your own, forasmuch as it was given you before : that hereafter we may know effectually by your diligence, what zeal your devotion beareth unto the catholic faith, and to the conserving of the ecclesiastical honour, and also to the execution of your pastoral office.

Given at Rome at St. Peter's, the 15th before the Kalends of October, the sixth year of our pontifical dignity. [Sept. 17th, A.D. 1395.]

The tenor of the Bull, to the renowned Prince, Richard, by the grace of God, King of England and of France, whereof mention is made above, as followeth, and is thus much in effect.

The  
popes  
wild  
bull  
let  
loose  
against  
the  
servants  
of  
Christ.  
Alack,  
good  
heart,  
what  
sorrow  
the  
popes  
taketh.

To our well-beloved son in Christ, Richard, the noble king of England, we send greeting, &c. It grieveth us from the bottom of our hearts, and our holy mother the church in all places through Christendom lamenteth. We understand that there be certain heresies sprung up, and do, without any condign restraint, range at their own liberty, to the seducing of the faithful people, and do every day, with overmuch liberty, enlarge their indiscreet bounds. But how much the more carefully we labour for the preservation both of you and your famous kingdom, and also for the sincerity of the faith, and do with much more ardent desire covet that the prosperous state of the same should be preserved and enlarged, the sting of greater sorrow doth so much the more penetrate and molest us, forasmuch as we see (alas the while !) in our time, and under the regal presidency of your most Christian government, a certain crafty and hair-brained sect of false Christians in the same your kingdom to grow and increase ; who call themselves, 'The poor men of the treasury of Christ and his disciples,' and whom the common people by a more sound name call 'Lollards' (as a man would say, 'withered darnel'), according as their sins require ; and perceive that they may wax strong, and as it were prevail against the diocesans of some places, and other governors, as they meet together, not courageously addressing themselves against them as they ought to do (whereof chiefly, and not undeservedly, I give them admonition), for that they take, thereby, the more bold presumption and stomach among the unlearned people.<sup>1</sup> And forasmuch as those whom we cannot call men, but the damnable shadows or ghosts of men, do rise up against the sound faith, and the holy universal church of Rome ; and that very many of them being indifferently learned, which (to the confusion and eternal damnation of some of them) they got sitting upon their mother's lap, the said church of Rome, do rise up or inveigh against the determination of the holy fathers, with too much presumptuous boldness, to the subversion of the whole ecclesiastical order and estate ; and have not been afraid, nor are yet afraid, publicly to preach very many erroneous, detestable, and heretical articles, for that they are not put to silence, reprov'd, driven out, rooted out, or otherwise punished, by any that hath authority and the fear and love of God. And also they are not afraid openly to write the same articles, and so being written, to deliver them to your kingly parliament, and obstinately to affirm the same : the venomous and disdainful recital of which articles, upon good advisement, at this present we pass over, lest the sufferance of such sensuality might fortune to renew the wound that reason may heal. Yet notwithstanding, lest so great and contagious an evil should escape unpunished, and that without deserved vexation ; and, also, that it might not get more heart, and wax more strong, we, therefore, (according to what our office and duty is, where is such negligence and sluggishness of our prelates, being present where this thing is), do commit and give in commandment to our reverend brethren, the archbishops of Canterbury and York, by other our letters, that they stand up in the power of God against this pestilent and contagious sect, and that they lively persecute the same in form of law ; root out and destroy those, that advisedly and obstinately refuse to withdraw their foot from the same stumbling-block, any restraint to the contrary notwithstanding. But, because the assistance, counsel, favour, and aid of your kingly

The  
dragon  
here  
spouteth  
out  
his  
floods  
of  
water  
to  
drown  
the  
Christians.

Behold  
the  
spirit  
of  
the  
popes  
meek  
holiness.

<sup>1</sup> 1) As though no learning were but in the church of Rome.

estate and highness are requisite to the execution of the premises, we require, exhort, and beseech the same your princely highness, by the bowels of the mercy of Jesus Christ, by his holy faith, by your own salvation, by the benefit that to all men is common, and by the prosperity assured to every man and woman, that not only your kingly severity may readily show, and cause to be showed unto our archbishops and their commissaries (in this behalf requiring the aforesaid due execution) convenient aid and favour, as otherwise also to cause them to be assisted; but that also you will enjoin your magistrates and justices of assize and peace more straitly, that of their own good wills they execute the authority, committed unto men, with all severity, against such damned men, according as they are bound by the office which they are put in trust with: against those, I mean, who have determined obstinately to defile themselves in their malice and sins, those to expel, banish, and imprison, and there so long to keep them, till condign sentence shall pronounce them worthy to suffer punishment. For your kingly wisdom seeth that such as they be, do not only deceive poor simple souls, or at least do what they can to deceive them, but also bring their bodies to destruction, and, further, prepare confusion and ruinous fall unto their temporal lords. Go to, therefore, my sweet son, and endeavour yourself to work so in this matter as undoubtedly we trust you will: that, as this firebrand (burning and flaming oversore) began under your presidency or government: so, under your severe judgment and virtuous diligence, might, favour, and aid, there may not one spark remain hid under the ashes, but that it be utterly extinguished, and speedily put out.

Given at our palace of St. Peter at Rome, the 15th before the Kalends of October, in the sixth year of our pontificate. [Sept. 17th, A.D. 1395.]

### The King's Commission.<sup>1</sup>

Richard, by the grace of God king of England and of France, and lord of Ireland, to all those unto whom these present letters shall come, greeting. Know ye, that whereas lately, at the instance of the reverend father William, archbishop of Canterbury, metropolitan of all England, and legate of the apostolical see, we, for the redress and amendment of all those who would obstinately preach or maintain, publicly or privily, any conclusions of the holy Scripture repugnant to the determination of our holy mother the church, and notoriously redounding to the subversion of the catholic faith, or containing any heresy or error, within the province or bishopric of Canterbury, have, by our special letters patent, in the zeal of the faith, given authority and license unto the aforesaid archbishop, and to all and singular his suffragans, to arrest all and every of them that will preach or maintain any such conclusions, wheresoever they may be found; and to commit them either to their own prisons, or any other at their own pleasure, and to keep them in the same, until they repent them of the errors and pravities of those heresies; or till that of such manner of arrests, by us or by our council it should be otherwise determined; that is to say, to every one of them and their ministers throughout their cities and dioceses. And now the reverend father in God, John, bishop of Hereford, hath for a certainty informed us, that although the same bishop hath, according to justice, convicted a certain fellow named William Swinderby, pretending himself to be a chaplain, and one Stephen Bell, a learned man, and hath pronounced them heretics, and excommunicate, and false informers among the common people, and hath declared the same by the definitive sentence of the aforesaid bishop, for that they have presumed to affirm and preach openly, in divers places within the diocese of Hereford, many conclusions or naughty opinions notoriously redounding to the subversion of the catholic sound faith, and tranquillity of our kingdom: the same bishop notwithstanding, neither by the ecclesiastical censures, neither by the force and strength of our commission, was able to revoke the aforesaid William and Stephen, nor yet to bridle the malice and obdurate contumacy of them: for that they, after they were upon such heretical pravity convicted by the same bishop (to the intent they might delude his judgment and justice), conveyed themselves, by and by, unto the borders of Wales, with such as were their factors and accomplices, keeping themselves close, unto whom the force of our said letters doth in no wise extend. Whereupon the said bishop hath made supplication unto us, that we will

*Richard II.*

A. D.  
1395.

The bowels of Jesus Christ be full of mercy, the bowels of the pope full of tyranny.

Help the pope at a pinch, or else he is like to take a fall.

The hot complaining charity of the bishop of Hereford.

Furioso ne committas gladium.

(1) See the Appendix.—Ed.

*Richard  
II.**A. D.  
1392.**Pseudo-  
catholica  
fides.*

vouchsafe to provide a sufficient remedy in that behalf. We therefore, who always, by the help of Almighty God, are defenders of the faith, willing to withstand such presumptuous and perverse enterprises by the most safe way and means we may, give and commit full power and authority to the aforesaid bishop and to his ministers, by the tenor of these presents, to arrest or take, or cause to be arrested or taken the aforesaid William and Stephen, in any place within the city and diocese of Hereford and our dominion of Wales, with all the speed that may be; and to commit them either to our prison, or else to the prison of the same bishop, or any other prison at their pleasure, if such need be, and there to keep them safe. And afterwards, unless they will obey the commandments of the church, with diligence to bring them before us and our council, or else cause them to be brought; that we may determine for their further punishment, as we shall think it requisite and convenient to be done by the advice of our council, for the defence and preservation of the catholic faith. And that the aforesaid William and Stephen, being succoured by the aid of their fautors or favourers, should not be able to fly or escape to their accustomed starting holes, and that the sharpness of their pains, so aggravated, may give them sufficient cause to return to the lap again of their holy mother the church; we straitly charge and command all and singular our sheriffs, bailiffs, barons, and all other our officers in the city and diocese of Hereford, and in many other places being within our dominion of Wales, by the tenor of these presents, that, from time to time, where they think it most meet, they cause it openly to be proclaimed in our name, that none, of what state, degree, pre-eminence, kind or other condition he shall be, do cherish, openly or secretly, the aforesaid William and Stephen, until the time that they repent them of their heresies and errors, and shall be reconciled unto the holy church of God: neither that any person or persons be believers, favourers or receivers, defenders, or in any case wittingly instructors of the said William or Stephen, or any other of the residue of the heretics that are to be convinced, upon the forfeiture of all that ever they have. And that also they, giving their attendance, be obedient and answerable to the aforesaid bishop and his deputies in this behalf for the execution of the premises: and that they certify us and our council distinctly and plainly, from time to time, of the names of all and singular persons, who shall fortune to be found culpable in this behalf, under their seals. In witness whereof, we have caused these our letters patent to be made.

Witness ourself at Westminster, the ninth day of March, in the fifteenth year of our reign. [A.D. 1392.]

Farrington.

### Another Letter of King Richard, against Walter Brute and others.<sup>1</sup>

Richard, by the grace of God, king of England and of France, and lord of Ireland, to his beloved and faithful John Chaundos, knight; John Eynford, knight; Renold de la Bere, knight; Walter Deveros, knight; Thomas de la Bare, knight; William Lucy, knight; Leonard Hake Luke, knight; and to the mayor of the city of Hereford, to Thomas Oldcastle, Richard Nash, Roger Wygmore, Thomas Waylwayne, John Skydmore, John Up-Harry, Henry Morton, and to the sheriff of Hereford, sendeth salutations.

Forasmuch as it is advertised us, that one Walter Brute, and other such children of iniquity, have damnably holden, affirmed, and preached, certain articles and conclusions, being notoriously repugnant against the holy Scripture, of which some of them as heresies, and the rest as errors, are finally by the church condemned, and that, in divers places within the diocese of Hereford and parts near adjoining, both privily, openly, and obstinately, which thing we perceive not only to redound to the subversion, in a manner, of the catholic faith, which, as well we, as other catholic princes, ought of duty to maintain, but also to forewarn us of the subversion of our faithful diocesans: and that the said bishop, upon the good deliberation and advisement of a great number of doctors in divinity, and other learned and skilful men in the Scriptures, of special devotion, according to his bounden duty, purposed to begin and make divers and sundry processes by law to be sent unto the aforesaid Walter and his accomplices to appear personally before him and other the doctors aforesaid in the cathedral church of Hereford, the morrow after the translation of St. Thomas of Here-

(1) See the Appendix.—Ed.

ford next ensuing, and to proceed in the same place against the same Walter, in the foresaid articles and conclusions, for the amendment of his soul: and that they now afresh (because the said Walter and others of their retinue, cleaving and confederating with him, might not suffer condign pains according to their demerits) endeavour themselves to make void and frustrate the said godly purpose of the same bishop, in such correction and execution as should have been done, and with force do resist and let the same with all the power they may, to the great contempt of us and of our crown, and to the breaking and hurting of our peace, and pernicious example of others: we do appoint you, and every of you, immediately as soon as this our commission shall be delivered unto you, in our behalf and name, to make open proclamation in the diocese and parts aforesaid, where ye shall think it most meet and convenient: that no man be so hardy henceforth, of what state or condition soever he shall be, within the diocese and parts aforesaid, upon pain of forfeiture of all that ever he hath, to make or levy any conventicles, assemblies, or confederacies, by any colour; or that they presume to attempt to procure any other thing, whereby our peace may be hurt or broken, or that the same bishops and doctors aforesaid may be by any means molested, or let, in the execution of such correction as is to be done, according to the canonical sanctions; and to arrest all those whom ye shall find, or take offending in this behalf, or that keep themselves in any such conventicles; and that they, being committed to prison, be there kept, till you shall have other commandment from us and from our council for their deliverance; and that ye distinctly and plainly certify us, and our said council, of all your doing in this behalf under your seals, or else the seals of some of you. And therefore, we straitly charge and command you and every of you, that ye diligently attend upon the premises, and that in your deeds ye execute the same with all diligence and careful endeavour in the form and manner aforesaid. And further we give strait charge and commandment to all and singular sheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, constables, and other our faithful subjects, by the tenor of these presents; that they be attending upon you, counselling and aiding you and every of you, as is meet and convenient, in the doing and execution of the premises. In witness whereof, we have caused these our letters patent to be made.

Witness myself at Westminster the 22d day of September, in the seventeenth year of our reign. [A.D.1393.]

By the same king and council.

Thus king Richard, by the setting on of William Courtney, archbishop of Canterbury and his fellows, taking part with the pope and Romish prelates, waxed somewhat strait and hard to the poor Christians of the contrary side of Wickliff, as by these letters above prefixed may appear; albeit, during all the life of the said king I find of none expressly by name that suffered burning. Notwithstanding some there were, who, by the aforesaid archbishop William Courtney, and other bishops, had been condemned, and divers also abjured, and did penance as well in other places, as chiefly about the town of Leicester, as followeth here to be declared out of the archbishop's register and records.<sup>1</sup>

At what time the said archbishop, William Courtney, was in his visitation at the town of Leicester, certain there were, accused and detected to him, by the monks and other priests in the said town: the names of which persons there detected were, one Roger Dexter, Nicholas Taylor, Richard Wagstaff, Michael Scrivener, William Smith, John Henry, William Parchmeanar, and Roger Goldsmith, inhabitants of the same town of Leicester. These, with others besides, were denounced to the archbishop for holding the opinion of the sacrament of the altar, of auricular confession, and other sacraments, contrary to that which the church of Rome doth preach and observe:

*Richard II.*

A. D. 1393.

Seeing the doctrine of Brute was ever against resistance, how is this like to be true?

King Richard set against the Gospellers by the archbishop and the prelates.

(1) Ex Regist. W. Courtney, Arch. Cant. [See Appendix.—ED.]

*Richard II.* all which parties above-named, and many others, whose names are not known, did hold these heresies and errors here under-written, and which are of the Romish church condemned.

A.D.  
1380.

I. That in the sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration, there remaineth the body of Christ with the material bread.<sup>1</sup>

II. That images ought not to be worshipped in any case, and that no man ought to set any candles before them.

III. That no cross ought to be worshipped.

IV. That masses and matins ought not, with a high and loud voice, to be said in the church.

V. That no curate or priest, taken in any crime, can consecrate, hear confessions, or minister any of the sacraments of the church.

VI. That the pope and all prelates of the church cannot bind any man with the sentence of excommunication, unless they know him to be first excommunicated of God.

VII. That no prelate of the church can grant any pardons.

VIII. That every lay-man may, in every place, preach and teach the gospel.

IX. That it is sin to give any alms or charity to the friars preachers, mino-rites, Augustines, or Carmelites.

X. That no oblation ought to be used at the funerals of the dead.

XI. That it is not necessary to make confession of our sins to the priest.

XII. That every good man, although he be unlearned, is a priest.

These articles they taught, preached, and affirmed manifestly, in the town of Leicester, and other places adjoining; whereupon the said archbishop admonished the said Roger and Nicholas, with the rest, on the next day to make answer unto him in the said monastery to the aforesaid articles: but the aforesaid Roger and Nicholas, with the rest, hid themselves out of the way, and appeared not. Whereupon the archbishop, upon Allhallows-day, being the first day of November, celebrating the high mass at the high altar in the said monastery, being attired in his pontificalibus, denounced the said parties, with all their adherents, fautors, favourers, and counsellors, to be excommunicated and accursed, who either held, taught, or maintained the aforesaid conclusions heretical and erroneous; and that, in solemn wise, by ringing the bells, lighting the candles, and putting out the same again, and throwing them down to the ground, with other circumstances thereunto belonging. Upon the morrow after, being All-Souls-day, he sent for all the curates and others, lay-men, of the town of Leicester, to inquire more diligently of the verity of such matter as they knew and were able to say, against any persons whatsoever, concerning the aforesaid articles, as also against the parties before named and specified upon their oaths; denouncing every one of them severally by their names to be excommunicated and accursed, and causing them also, in divers parish churches in Leicester, to be excommunicated. And, further, the said archbishop interdicted the whole town of Leicester, and all the churches in the same, so long as any of the aforesaid excommunicated persons should remain or be within the same, and till all the lollards of the town should return and amend from such heresies and errors, obtaining at the said archbishop's hands the benefit of absolution.

Roger,  
and the  
rest ac-  
cursed  
with  
book, bell,  
and  
candle.

The  
town of  
Leicester  
interdict-  
ed.

Matilda,  
an ancho-  
ress, cited  
to appear.

At length it was declared and showed to the said archbishop, that there was a certain anchoress, whose name was Matilda, inclosed within,<sup>2</sup> in the churchyard of St. Peter's Church in the said town of

(1) For an article here omitted, see Appendix.—Ed.

(2) See Appendix.—Ed.

Leicester, infected, as they said, with the pestiferous contagion of the aforesaid heretics and lollards: whereupon, after the said archbishop had examined the aforesaid Matilda, touching the aforesaid conclusions, heresies, and errors, and found her not to answer plainly and directly to the same, but sophistically and subtilly; he gave and assigned unto her a day peremptory, personally to appear before him in the monastery of St. James, at Northampton, more fully to answer to the said articles, heresies, and errors, which was the sixth day of the said month of November; commanding the abbot of the monastery of Pratis aforesaid, that the door of the recluse,<sup>1</sup> in which the said Matilda was, should be opened, and that till his return he should cause her to be put in safe custody. That done, he sent forth his mandate against the lollards, under this form.

*Richard*  
*II.*  
A. D.  
1389.

The King's Process sent by the Archbishop Courtney to arrest the eight aforementioned Lollards.

William, by the permission of God, &c. To his well-beloved sons, the mayor and bailiffs of the town of Leicester diocese, greeting. We have lately received the king's letters, graciously granted us for the defence of the catholic faith, in these words following, 'Richard, by the grace of God king of England and of France,' &c. We, on the behalf of our holy mother the church, by the king's authority aforesaid, do require you, that you cause the same Richard, William, Roger, and the rest, to be arrested, and sent unto us; that they with their pernicious doctrine do not infect the people of God, &c.

Given under our seal, &c.

By another instrument also in the same register mention is made of one Margaret Caily, a nun, who, forsaking her order, was by the said archbishop constrained, against her will, again to enter the same, as by this instrument hereunder ensuing may appear.

*Margaret*  
*Caily, a*  
*nun.*

Copy of a Letter of the same Archbishop respecting the re-admission of Margaret Caily, a Nun, into the Monastery of St. Radegond.<sup>2</sup>

William, by the grace of God, &c. To our reverend brother in God, John, by the grace of God bishop of Ely, greeting, &c. In the visitation of our diocese of Lincoln, according to our office, amongst other enormities worthy reformation, we found one sheep out of our fold strayed, and amongst the briers entangled; to wit, Margaret Caily, nun professed, in the monastery of St. Radegond within your diocese; who, casting off the habit of her religion, was found in secular attire, many years being an apostata, and leading a dissolute life. And lest her blood should be required at our hands, we have caused her to be taken and brought unto you, being her pastor: and straitly enjoining you, by these presents we do command, that you admit the same Margaret again into her aforesaid monastery, although returned against her will, or else into some other place, where, for her soul's health, you shall think most convenient; and that from henceforth she be safely kept, as in the strait examination of the same you will yield an account.

Given under our seal, &c.

By sundry other instruments also in the same register recorded I find, that the aforesaid Matilda, the anchoress, upon the strait examination and handling of the aforesaid archbishop, before whom peremptorily she was enjoined to appear, and till that day of appearance taken out of the recluse, and committed to safe custody, as you heard,

*Matilda*  
*recant-*  
*eth.*

(1) See the Appendix.—Ed.

(2) Ibid.

*Richard II.* retracted and recanted her aforesaid articles and opinions: for the which she, being enjoined forty days' penance, was again admitted into her aforesaid recluse in Leicester.<sup>1</sup>

A.D.  
1389.

*See  
Appendix.*

William  
Smith,  
Roger  
Dexter,  
and Alice,  
his wife,  
abjure.

Also, by another letter of the aforesaid archbishop to the dean of the collegiate church of St. Mary Newarks at Leicester, given in the register, I find that of the number of those eight persons before recited, whom the archbishop himself at high mass did in his pontificalibus so solemnly curse with book, bell, and candle, after certain process being sent out against them, or else in the mean time they being apprehended and taken, two of them recanted their opinions; to wit, William Smith, and Roger Dexter. But, in the mean time, Alice, the wife of the said Roger Dexter, taking hold of the aforesaid articles with her husband also, together with the said William Smith, abjured the same.<sup>2</sup> Notwithstanding, whether they presented themselves willingly, or else were brought against their wills, as most like it was, hard penance was enjoined them before they were absolved. These be the words of the instrument.<sup>3</sup>

### A Letter of Archbishop Courtney, enjoining Penance on certain good Persons of Leicester.

The man-  
ner of  
their  
penance  
enjoined.

Seeing our holy mother the church closeth not her bosom to any penitent child returning to the unity of her, but readily openeth to them the same, we therefore received again the said William, Roger, and Alice, to grace: and caused them to abjure all and singular the aforesaid articles and opinions, and then granted unto them the benefit of absolution, and loosed them from the sentence of excommunication wherein they were snarled; enjoining unto them penance, according to the degree of their crime, in form as followeth: that is to say, that the Sunday next after their returning to their own place, they holding in their right hands, William an image of St. Catharine, and Roger and Alice each a crucifix, and in their left hands every one of them a taper of wax, weighing half a pound weight, in their shirts and breeches, and Alice in her chemise alone, do walk before the procession of the collegiate church of St. Mary in the Newarks at Leicester; and thrice, that is to say, in the beginning of the procession, in the middle of the procession, and in the latter end of the procession, to the honour of Him that was crucified, in memorial of his passion, and to the honour of the aforesaid Virgin, devoutly bowing their knees and kneeling, shall kiss the said images so held in their hands: and so, with the same procession they entering again into the church, shall stand during all the time of the holy mass before the image of the cross, with their tapers and crosses in their hands; and when the mass is ended, the said William, Roger, and Alice, shall offer to him that celebrated that day the mass.

Three  
kisses of  
the cross.

The col-  
lect of  
Katha-  
rine, Pa-  
ternoster,  
and Ave  
Maria.

Then, upon the Saturday next ensuing, the said William, Roger, and Alice, shall in the full and public market, within the town of Leicester, stand in like manner in their shirts, without any more clothes upon their bodies, holding the aforesaid images in their right hands; which images three times they shall devoutly kiss, reverently kneeling upon their knees; that is, at the entrance, in the middle, and at the end of the marketplace. And the said William, for that he is somewhat more learned, shall repeat an Antiphone with the collect of St. Catharine, and the aforesaid Roger and Alice, being unlearned, shall say devoutly a 'Pater Noster' and an 'Ave Maria.' And thirdly, the Sunday next immediately after the same, the said William, Roger, and Alice, in their parish church of the said town of Leicester shall stand and do, as upon the Sunday

(1) The bishop's letter to the magistrates of the town thus beginneth: 'Willielmus permissione divina, &c. dilectis filiis.' &c. [Wilkins, Conc. tom. iii. p. 210.—Ed.]

(2) These be the words of the instrument: 'Subsequenter vero prefati Willielmus, Rogerus, et Alicia reatus suos respicientes intrinsecè et verentes, se nostro conspectui præsentarunt,' &c. [Ibid. p. 211.—Ed.]

(3) 'Sancta mater ecclesia,' &c. [Ibid.]



before they stood and did in the collegiate church of St. Mary Newarks aforesaid, in all things : which done, the aforesaid William, Roger, and Alice, after mass shall offer to the priest or chaplain that celebrated the same, with all humility and reverence, the wax tapers which they shall carry in their hands. And because of the cold weather that now is, lest the aforesaid penitents might peradventure take some bodily hurt, standing so long naked ; being mindful to moderate partly the said our rigour, we give leave, that after their entrance into the churches abovesaid, while they shall be hearing the aforesaid masses, they may put on necessary garments to keep them from cold, so that their heads and feet notwithstanding be bare and uncovered. We, therefore, will and command you, together and apart, that you declare the said William, Roger, and Alice, to be absolved and restored again to the unity of our holy mother the church, and that you call them forth to do their penance in manner and form aforesaid.

Given at Dorchester, the seventeenth day of November, in the year of our Lord God 1389, and the ninth year of our translation.

*Richard II.*

A.D. 1387.

Cold weather graciously considered!

Unto the narration of these above-named; we will adjoin the story of one Peter Pateshul, an Austin friar, who, obtaining by the pope's privilege, through the means of Walter Dis, confessor to the duke of Lancaster, liberty to change his coat and religion, and hearing the doctrine of John Wickliff and others of the same sort, began at length to preach openly, and to detect the vices of his order, in such sort as all men wondered to hear the horrible reciting thereof. This being brought to the ears of his order, they, to the number of twelve, coming out of their houses to the place where he was preaching, thought to have withstood him, by force : among whom one especially, for the zeal of his religion, stood up openly in his preaching, and contraried that which he said ; who then was preaching in the church of St. Christopher in London. This when the faithful Londoners did see, taking grief hereat, they were moved with great ire against the said friar, thrusting him with his other brethren out of the church, whom they not only had beaten and sore wounded, but also followed them home to their house, minding to have destroyed their mansion with fire also ; and so would have done, had not one of the sheriffs of London, with two of the friars of the said house, well known and reported amongst the Londoners, with gentle words mitigated their rage and violence. After this, Peter Pateshul thus disturbed, as is aforesaid, was desired by the Londoners, forasmuch as he could not well preach amongst them, to put in writing that which he had said before, and other things more that he knew of the friars ; who then, at their request, writing the same, accused the friars of murder committed against divers of their brethren. And to make the matter more apparent and credible, he declared the names of them that were murdered, with the names also of their tormentors ; and named, moreover, time and place, where and when they were murdered, and where they were buried. He affirmed, further, that they were Sodomites, and traitors both to the king and the realm ; with many other crimes, which mine author for tediousness leaveth off to recite. And for the more confutation of the said friars, the Londoners caused the said bill to be openly set up at St. Paul's church-door in London, which was there read and copied out by very many. This was done in the year of our Lord 1387, and in the tenth year of king Richard II.<sup>1</sup>

Peter Pateshul against the friars.

Londoners against the friars

The friars accused of horrible crimes.

Thus it may appear, by this and other things above recited, how the

(1) Ex Chron. Monachi Albanensis : ejus est exordium 'Anno gratie millesimo,' &c

*Richard II.* gospel of Christ, preached by John Wickliff and others, began to spread and fructify abroad in London, and in other places of the realm; and more it would have done no doubt, had not William Courtney, the archbishop, and other prelates, with the king, set them so forcibly, with might and main, to gainstand the course thereof: albeit, as is said before, I find none who yet were put to death on that account during the reign of this king Richard II.; whereby it is to be thought of this king, that although he cannot utterly be excused for molesting the godly and innocent preachers of that time (as by his briefs and letters aforementioned may appear), yet neither was he so cruel against them, as others that came after him; and that which he did, seemed to proceed by the instigation of the pope and other bishops, rather than either by the consent of his parliament, or advice of his council about him, or by his own nature. For, as the decrees of the parliament in all his time were constant in stopping out the pope's provisions, and in bridling his authority, as we shall see, Christ willing, anon: so the nature of the king was not altogether so fiercely set, if that he, following the guiding thereof, had not stood so much in fear of the bishop of Rome and his prelates, by whose importunate letters and calling on, he was continually urged to do contrary to that which both right required, and will, perhaps, in him desired. But howsoever the doings of this king are to be excused, or not, undoubted it is, that queen Anne, his wife, most rightly deserveth singular commendation; who at the same time, living with the king, had the gospels of Christ in English, with four doctors upon the same. This Anne was a Bohemian born, and sister to Wenceslaus king of Bohemia before: who was married to king Richard about the fifth, some say the sixth, year of his reign, and continued with him the space of eleven years: by the occasion whereof it may seem not improbable, that the Bohemians coming in with her, or resorting into this realm after her, perused and received here the books of John Wickliff, which afterwards they conveyed into Bohemia, whereof partly mention is made before.

Few or none burned in king Richard's time.

Kings many times brought in too much fear of the pope.

How the doctrine of Wickliff came to Bohemia.

See Appendix.

The death of queen Anne.

Queen Anne had the four gospels, with the doctors, in English.

The said virtuous queen Anne, after she had lived with king Richard about eleven years, in the seventeenth year of his reign changed this mortal life, and was buried at Westminster;<sup>1</sup> at whose funeral Thomas Arundel, then archbishop of York, and lord chancellor, made the sermon; in which sermon, as remaineth in the library of Worcester recorded, he, treating of the commendation of her, said these words, That it was more joy of her than of any woman that ever he knew; for, notwithstanding that she was an alien born, she had in English all the four gospels, with the doctors upon them; affirming, moreover, and testifying, that she had sent the same unto him to examine; and he said, they were good and true. And, further, with many words of praise he did greatly commend her, in that she, being so great a lady, and also an alien, would study so lowly such virtuous books; and he blamed in that sermon sharply the negligence of the prelates and other men: insomuch that some said, he would on the morrow leave the office of chancellor, and forsake the world, and give him to fulfil his pastoral office, for what he had seen

(1) Ex fragmento libri cujusdam Wigernensis Bibliothecæ Ex accommodato D. Mat. Arch. Cant.

and read in those books; and then it had been the best sermon that ever they heard.<sup>1</sup>

In this sermon of Thomas Arundel, three points are to be considered: first, the laudable use of those old times received, to have the Scripture and doctors in our vulgar English tongue. Secondly, the virtuous exercise and also example of this godly lady, who had these books not for a show hanging at her girdle; but also seemed, by this sermon, to be a studious occupier of the same. The third thing to be noted is, what fruit the said Thomas, archbishop, declared also himself to receive at the hearing and reading of the same books of hers in the English tongue. Notwithstanding, the same Thomas Arundel, after this sermon and promise made, became the most cruel enemy that might be against English books and the authors thereof; as followeth after in his story to be seen. For shortly after the death of queen Anne, the next year, the king being then in Ireland, this Thomas Arundel, archbishop of York, and Robert Braybrocke, bishop of London (whether sent by the archbishop of Canterbury and the clergy, or whether going of their own accord), crossed the seas to Ireland, to desire the king in all speedy wise to return and help the faith and church of Christ, against such as, holding Wickliff's teaching, went about, as they said, to subvert all their proceedings, and to destroy the canonical sanctions of their holy mother church. At whose complaint the king hearing the one part speak, and not advising the other, was in such sort incensed, that incontinently leaving all his affairs incomplete, he sped his return toward England;<sup>2</sup> having kept his Christmas at Dublin. The occasion of which complaint was, that in the beginning of that year, which was A.D. 1395, a parliament had been called at Westminster by the commandment of the king. In which parliament certain articles or conclusions were put up by them of the gospel's side, to the number of twelve; which conclusions, moreover, were fastened up upon the church-door of St. Paul's in London, and also at Westminster: the copy of which conclusions, with the words and contents thereof, hereunder ensueth.<sup>3</sup>

Richard II

A. D. 1395.

Arch-bishop Arundel breaketh his promise. He and the bishop of London go to Ireland to the king, to complain of the favourers of God's word.

A.D. 1395.

The Book of Conclusions or Reformations, exhibited to the Parliament holden at London, and set up at Paul's door and other places, in the eighteenth year of the reign of King Richard II., and in the year of our Lord 1395.

The first conclusion:—When the church of England began first to dote in temporalities after her stepmother the great church of Rome, and the churches were authorised by appropriations; faith, hope, and charity began in divers places to fly away from our church, forsomuch as pride, with her dolorous genealogy of mortal sins, did challenge that place by title of heritage. And this conclusion is general, and approved by experience, custom, and manner, as ye shall hereafter hear.

The second conclusion:—That our usual priesthood, which took its original at Rome, and is feigned to be a power higher than angels, is not that priesthood which Christ ordained unto his apostles. This conclusion is thus proved, forsomuch as the Romish priesthood is executed with signs, and rites, and pontifical benedictions, of little virtue, neither having any ground in holy Scripture, forsomuch as the bishop's ordinal and the New Testament do little agree; neither do we see that the Holy Ghost doth give any good gift on account of

Papistical priesthood.

(1) Hæc ex libro Wigornensi.

(2) Ex Hist. D. Albani.

(3) The following translation is Foxe's, collated with the Latin, and reduced to more exact conformity with it. See the Appendix.—Ed.

Richard  
II.

A. D.  
1395.

Single  
life of  
priests.

He proph-  
esieth  
against  
monkery.

The  
feigned  
miracle of  
transub-  
stantia-  
tion.

Feast of  
Corpus  
Christi  
invented  
by Thom-  
as  
Aquinas.  
Exor-  
cisms and  
blessings  
of priests.

Differ-  
ence  
between  
the eccle-  
siastical  
and poli-  
tic estate.

any such signs, because He, together with all his noble gifts, cannot stand with deadly sin in any person. The corollary of this conclusion is, That it is a lamentable mockery unto wise men, to see the bishops sport with the Holy Ghost in the giving of their orders; because they give crowns for their characters instead of white harts;<sup>1</sup> and this is the character [or, mark]<sup>2</sup> of Antichrist, introduced into holy church to give colour to idleness.

The third conclusion:—That the law of chastity enjoined unto priesthood, which was first ordained to the prejudice of women, induceth sodomy throughout holy church; but we do excuse us [in the mention of this crime] by the Bible, whereas the suspect decree doth say that we are not to name it. Both reason and experience prove this conclusion. Reason thus, forasmuch as the delicate fare of ecclesiastical men will have either a natural purgation, or something worse.<sup>3</sup> Experience thus, forasmuch as the secret proof of such men is, that they do delight in women; and, whensoever thou dost prove a man to be such, mark him well, for he is one of that number. The corollary of this conclusion is, That private religions, with the beginners thereof, ought most chiefly to be disannulled, as the original of that sin: but God of his might doth for privy sin in his church send open vengeance.

The fourth conclusion [that most harmeth the innocent people] is this:—That the feigned miracle of the sacrament of bread induceth all men, except it be a few, into idolatry; forasmuch as they think that the body of Christ, which is never out of heaven, is by virtue of the priest's words essentially included in the little bread, the which they do show unto the people. But would to God they would believe that which the Evangelical Doctor<sup>4</sup> teacheth us in his Trialogue, 'Quod panis altaris est accidentaliter<sup>5</sup> corpus Christi' [that is, That the bread of the altar is the body of Christ accidentally]: forasmuch as we suppose that by that means every faithful man and woman in the law of God may make the sacrament of that bread without any such miracle. The corollary of this conclusion is, That albeit the body of Christ be endowed with eternal joy, the service of Corpus Christi, made by friar Thomas, is not true, but painted, full of false miracles; neither is it any marvel, forasmuch as friar Thomas, at that time holding with the pope, would have made a miracle of a hen's egg; and we know well, that every lie openly preached, doth turn to the opprobrium of Him, who is always true and without any defect.

The fifth conclusion is this:—That the exorcisms and benedictions practised over wine, bread, water, oil, salt, wax, incense, altar-stones, and church-walls, over vestments, chalices, mitres, crosses, and the staves of pilgrims, are truly the practices of necromancy rather than of sacred divinity. This conclusion may be thus proved: because that by such exorcisms the creatures are honoured to be of higher virtue than in their own proper nature they are; and we do not see any change in any creature so exorcised, except by false faith, which is the principle of the diabolic art. The corollary of this is, That if the book of exorcising [or, conjuring] holy water, which is read in the church, were altogether faithful and true; we think certainly that the holy water, used in the church, were the best medicine for all kind of sicknesses and sores: 'Cujus contrarium indies experimur,' that is, 'The contrary whereof we daily experience.'

The sixth conclusion [which maintaineth much pride] is, That the union in the same person of king and bishop, prelate and judge in temporal causes, curate and officer in worldly office, doth make every kingdom out of good order. This conclusion is manifest, because the temporality and the spirituality are two parts of the entire holy church; and, therefore, he who addicteth himself to the one part, let him not intermeddle with the other, 'Quia nemo potest duobus dominis servire.' It seemeth that "hermaphrodite" [i. e. a man of both sexes], or "ambidexter" [i. e. a man who can play with both hands], were good names for such men of double estates. The corollary of this conclusion is, That therefore we, as the proctors of God, do in this case sue unto the parliament, that it may be enacted that all curates (as well of the higher degrees as of the lower) may be fully excused, and occupy themselves with their own cure, and with no other.

(1) See Appendix.—Ed.

(2) Wilkins and Lewis both read "Liberata," i. e. livery or badge (See Ducange): Foxe's Latin Edition, however, reads "character."—Ed.

(3) He doth very excellently paint out the lecherous clergy.

(4) He meaneth here Wickliffe.

(5) The copy in Wilkins reads "habitualiter."—Ed.

The seventh conclusion [that we mightily affirm] is, That special<sup>1</sup> prayers made in our church for the souls of the dead, preferring any one man by name more than another, is a false foundation of alms, whereupon all the houses of alms in England are falsely founded. This conclusion may be proved by two reasons: the one is, that a prayer to be meritorious and of any value ought to be a work proceeding from mere charity, and perfect charity excepteth no person, because "thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." Wherefore it appeareth to us, that the gift of some temporal good, bestowed on priests and houses of alms, is the principal motive of special prayer; which is not far removed from simony. The other reason is, that a special prayer, made for men condemned to eternal punishment, is very displeasing to God; and albeit it be doubtful, yet it seemeth unto faithful christian people likely, that the founders of every house of alms, for their mischievous endowing of the same, for the most part have passed by the broad way. The corollary is, That prayer of any value, proceeding of perfect charity, would comprehend generally all such whom God would have saved, and would give up that common trade in special prayers which is now carried on by mendicant possessioners and other hireling priests (who, otherwise, were strong enough to work and to serve the whole realm) and maintaineth the same in idleness,<sup>2</sup> to the great charge of the realm, because it was proved in a certain book which the king hath, that a hundred houses of alms are sufficient for the whole realm, and thereby, peradventure, greater increase and profit might come unto the temporality.

*Richard II.*

A.D. 1395.

The foundation of houses for the dead.

A hundred houses of alms sufficient for England.

The eighth conclusion [needful to tell to the people beguiled] is, That pilgrimages, prayers, and oblations made unto blind crosses or roods, and to deaf images of wood and stone, are very near of kin unto idolatry, and far removed from alms: and, albeit these fanciful things be all forbidden and be a book of error unto the common people, notwithstanding the usual image of the Trinity is most abominable. This conclusion God himself doth openly manifest, when commanding alms to be given to the needy man; because he is the image of God, in a more perfect similitude than wood or stone; for God did not say, Let us make a block or stone after our image and likeness, but, Let us make man; forsomuch as the supreme honour, which the clergy call 'Latria,' pertaineth only to the Godhead, and the inferior honour, which the clergy call 'Dulia,' pertaineth unto men and angels, and to none other inferior creature. The corollary is, That the service of the cross, celebrated twice every year in our church, is full of idolatry: for if the rood, tree, nails, and spear, ought so profoundly to be honoured, then were Judas' lips, if any man could get them, a marvellous goodly relic. But we pray thee, pilgrim, tell us, when thou dost offer to the bones of the saints which are laid up in any place, whether thou dost relieve thereby the saint who is in joy, or that alms-house for the poor which is so well endowed, on account of which they are canonized, the Lord knoweth how! And to speak more plainly, every faithful Christian supposeth that the wounds of that noble man, whom they call St. Thomas, were no matter of martyrdom.

Pilgrimages and oblations.

The image of the Trinity, an abominable thing.

A poor man a more perfect image of God.

Judas' lips.

The death of Becket not to be counted for martyrdom.

The ninth conclusion [that keepeth the people low] is, That auricular confession, which is said to be so necessary for a man's salvation, and the feigned power of absolution, exalt the pride of priests, and give them opportunity of other secret talks, which we will not at this time talk of; forsomuch as both lords and ladies attest, that for fear of their confessors they dare not speak the truth: and in time of confession is good opportunity ministered of wooing,<sup>3</sup> or to play the bawd, or to make other secret conventions to deadly sins. They themselves say, that they are God's commissaries to judge of all manner of sin, to pardon and cleanse whomsoever it shall please them. They say that they have the keys of heaven and hell, and can excommunicate and bless, bind and loose, at their will: insomuch that for a small reward, or for twelve pence, they will sell the blessing of heaven by charter and clause of warranty, sealed with their common seal. This conclusion is so commonly in use, that it needeth not any probation. The corollary hereof is, That the pope of Rome, who is feigned to be the high treasurer of the whole church, having that same worthy jewel, i. e. the treasure of the passion of Christ, in his keeping, together with the merits of all the saints in heaven, whereby he giveth feigned indulgence 'a pœna et

Auricular confession the minister of lust.

Impudent boldness of priests.

The pope, treasurer of the church, instead of gold layeth up coals.

(1) See the Appendix.—Ed.

(2) Ibid.—Ed.

(3) "Procationis (id est) of Wowing."—Ed.

Richard  
II.

A. D.  
1395.

How war  
is lawful,  
the proof  
by expe-  
rience.

culpa,' is a treasurer almost banished out of charity, since he can deliver all the prisoners who are in purgatory at his pleasure, and make that they never come thither. But thus every faithful Christian may well see, that there is much secret falsehood lurking in our church.

The tenth conclusion is, That manslaughter, either by war or by any pretended law of justice, for any temporal cause without a spiritual revelation, is expressly contrary unto the New Testament, which is a law full of grace and mercy. This conclusion is evidently proved by examples of the preaching of Christ here in earth, who specially taught man to love his enemies, and to have compassion upon them, and not to kill them. The reason is this, that for the most part when men do fight, after the first stroke charity is broken; and whosever dieth without charity, goeth straightway to hell. And beside that, we well know, that none of the clergy can by Scripture or by any legitimate means deliver any from the punishment of death for one deadly sin, and not for another: but the law of mercy, which is the New Testament, forbiddeth all manner of manslaughter. For in the gospel it is said to the fathers, 'Thou shalt not kill.' The corollary is, It is a very robbing of the people, when lords purchase indulgences 'a pœna et culpa' for those who do help their armies to kill christian people in foreign countries for temporal gain; as also we have seen certain soldiers running among the heathen people, to get themselves a name by the slaughter of men. Much rather do they deserve evil thanks at the hands of the King of Peace, forsomuch as it was by humility and patience that our faith was propagated; but fighters and murderers Christ Jesus doth hate and menace, saying, "He that striketh with the sword, shall perish with the sword."

Nuns and  
widows  
who vow  
single  
life.

The eleventh conclusion is [which is shame to tell], That the vow of chastity made in our church by women that are frail and imperfect in nature, is the cause of bringing in the most horrible sins possible to human nature: for, albeit the murder of their children born before their time, and before they are christened, and the destruction of nature by medicine, be foul sins; yet intercourse among themselves, or irrational beasts, or inanimate creatures, is such transcendent vileness, that they ought to be punished by hell torments. The corollary is, That widows, and such as take the mantle and the ring, delicately fed, we would that they were married, because we cannot excuse them from private sins.

The twelfth conclusion is, That the multitude of arts not necessary, used in our realm, nourisheth much sin and offence in waste, curiosity, and disguising in curious apparel. Experience and reason partly do show the same, forsomuch as nature, with a few arts, is sufficient for man's necessity.<sup>1</sup>

This is the whole tenor of our ambassade, which Christ hath commanded us to prosecute at this time, most fit and convenient for many causes. And, albeit these matters be here briefly noted, yet, notwithstanding, they are more at large declared in another book, with many other more, wholly in our own proper tongue, which we would should be common to all Christian people. Wherefore we pray God, of his great goodness, that he would wholly reform our church, now altogether out of frame, unto the perfection of her first beginning.<sup>2</sup>

Certain Verses<sup>3</sup> were annexed unto the Conclusions, which are thus Englished.

The English nation doth lament of these vile men their sin,  
Which Paul doth plainly signify by idols to begin.  
But Giezites full ingrate, from sinful Simon sprung,  
This to defend, though priests in name, make bulwarks great and strong.  
Ye princes, therefore, whom to rule the people God hath placed,  
With justice' sword why see ye not this evil great defaced?

(1) See Appendix.

(3)

"Plangunt Anglorum gentes erimen Sodomorum.  
Paulus fert, horum sunt idola causa malorum:  
Surgunt ingrati Giezitæ \* Simone nati,  
Nomine prælati, hoc defensare parati.  
Qui Reges estis, populis quicunque præestis,  
Qualiter, his gestis, gladios prohibere potestis?"

(2) Ex Archivis Regiis.

\* Giezita, qui munera accipit, veluti Giezi seu Gehazi. *Ducange*.—Ed.

After these conclusions were thus proposed in the parliament, the king not long after returned home from Dublin into England, towards the latter end of the parliament. At his return he called certain of his nobles unto him, Richard Stury, Lewis Clifford, Thomas Latimer, John Mountacute, &c., whom he did sharply rebuke, and did terribly threaten, for that he heard them to be favourers of that side; charging them straightly never to hold, maintain, or favour any more those opinions and conclusions: and namely of Richard Stury he took an oath, that he should never, from that day, favour or defend any such opinions; which oath being taken, the king then answered, 'And I swear,' saith he, 'again to thee, that if thou dost ever break thine oath, thou shalt die for it a shameful death,'<sup>1</sup> &c.

*Richard II.*

A. D. 1395.

R. Stury, Lewis Clifford, T. Latimer, John Mountacute, good favourers.

All this while William Courtney, archbishop of Canterbury, was yet alive, who was a great stirrer in these matters; but yet pope Urban, the great master of the catholic sect, was dead and buried six years before, after whom succeeded in the schismatical see of Rome pope Boniface IX., who, nothing inferior to his predecessor in all kind of cruelties, left no diligence unattempted to set forward that which Urban had begun, in suppressing them that were the setters-forth of the light of the gospel; and who had written sundry times to king Richard, 'Quare impedit,' and 'præmunire facies;' as also that he should assist the prelates of England in the cause of God, as he pretended, against such, whom he falsely suggested to be Lollards, and traitors to the church, to the king, and the realm, &c. Thus the courteous pope, those whom he could not reach with his sword, at least, with cruel slander of his malicious tongue, would he work his poison against; which letter he wrote to the king A. D. 1395, which was the year before the death of William Courtney, archbishop of Canterbury; after whom succeeded in that see Thomas Arundel, brother to the earl of Arundel, being first bishop of Ely, afterwards archbishop of York, and lord chancellor of England, and at last made archbishop of Canterbury Jan. 11, A. D. 1397. The year following, which was 1398 and the ninth year of the pope, I find in certain records of the bishop of Durham a certain letter of king Richard II., written to the said pope Boniface, which, because I judged it not unworthy to be seen, I thought here to annex the same, proceeding in form as followeth.

Pope Urban VI. dead.

Pope Boniface IX.

Letters of pope Boniface to king Richard.

A. D. 1395.

Death of William Courtney, archbishop of Canterbury.

A. D. 1398.

### A Letter of King Richard II. to Pope Boniface IX.

To the most holy father in Christ, and lord, lord Boniface IX., by the grace of God high pope of the most holy Romish and universal church, his humble and devout son Richard, by the grace of God, king of England and France, lord of Ireland, greeting, and desiring to help the miseries of the afflicted church, and kissing of those his blessed feet:

Who will give my head water, and mine eyes streaming tears, that I may bewail the decay, and manifold troubles of our mother, which have chanced to her by her own children in the distress of this present schism and division? For the sheep have forgotten the proper voice of their shepherds, and hirelings have thrust in themselves to feed the Lord's flock, who are clothed with the apparel of the true shepherd, challenging the name of honour and dignity; resembling so the true shepherd, that the poor sheep can scarce know whom they ought to

(1) Ex Chron. Monachi Albanensis.

*Richard II.*

A. D.  
1398.

follow, or what pastor, as a stranger, they ought to flee, and whom they should shun as a hireling. Wherefore, we are afraid lest the holy standard of the Lord be forsaken by his host, and so that city, being full of riches, become solitary and desolate, and lest the land or people which was wont to say, flourishing in her prosperities, 'I sat as a queen, and am not a widow,' be destitute of the presence of her husband, and, as it were, so bewitched, that she shall not be able to discern his face, and so wrapped in mazes, that she shall not know where to turn her, that she might more easily find him, and that she shall, with weeping, speak that saying of the spouse, 'I sought him whom my soul loveth; I sought him and found him not.' For now we are compelled so to wander, that if any man say, Behold here is Christ, or there, we may not believe him so saying; and so many shepherds have destroyed the Lord's vineyard, and made his amiable portion a waste wilderness.

Desire to  
rule in  
the  
church.  
Greece  
renounc-  
eth the  
Romish  
church.

This multitude of shepherds is become very burdenous to the Lord's flock: for when two strive to be chief, the state of both their dignities stands in doubt, and, in so doing, they give occasion to all the faithful of Christ for a schism and division of the church. And although both parties go about to subdue unto their power the whole church militant, yet, contrary to both their purpose, by working this way, there beginneth to rise now a division in the body of the church, like as when the division of the quick innocent body was asked, when the two harlots did strive before Solomon; like as the ten tribes of Israel followed Jeroboam the intruder, and were withdrawn from the kingdom, for Solomon's sin: even so, of old time, the desire of ruling hath drawn the great power of the world from the unity of the church. Let yourselves remember, we beseech you, how that all Greece did fall from the obedience of the Romish church, in the time of the faction of the primarch of Constantinople; and how Mahomet, with his fellows, by occasion of the supremacy in ecclesiastical dignity, deceived a great part of the Christians, and withdrew them from the empire and ruling of Christ; and how, in these days, where the same supremacy hath withdrawn itself from the obedience of it, insomuch that now, in very few realms, the candle that burns before the Lord remaineth, and that for David, his servant's sake. And, although now remain few countries professing the obedience of Christ's true vicar, yet, peradventure, if every man were left to his own liberty, he would doubt of the preferring of your dignity, or, what is worse, would utterly refuse it by such doubtful evidence alleged on both sides: and this is the subtle craft of the crooked serpent, that is to say, under the pretence of unity to procure schisms, as the spider from a wholesome flower gathers poison, and Judas learned of peace to make war.

The king  
seemeth  
here to  
prophecy.

Wherefore it is lively believed of wise men, that except this pestilent schism be withstood, by and by the keys of the church will be despised, and they shall bind the consciences but of a few: and when either none dare be bold to correct this fault, or to reform things contrary to God's law, so, by this means, at length, temporal lords will take away the liberties of the church, and peradventure, the Romans will come and take away their place, people, and lands: they will spoil their possessions, and bring the men of the church into bondage, and they shall be contemned, reviled, and despised, because the obedience of the people, and devotions towards them will be almost taken away, when the greater part of the church, left to their own liberty, shall wax prouder than they be wont, leaving a wicked example to them that do see it. For when they see the prelates study more for covetousness than they were wont, to purse up money, to oppress the subjects, in their punishings to seek for gain, to confound laws, to stir up strife, to suppress truth, to vex poor subjects with wrong corrections, in meat and drink intemperate, in feastings past shame: what marvel is it if the people despise them as the foulest forsakers of God's law? But all these things do follow if the church should be left long in this doubtfulness of a schism, and then should that old saying be verified; 'In those days there was no king in Israel, but every one did that, that seemed right and straight to himself.' Micaiah did see the people of the Lord scattered on the mountains, as they had been sheep without a shepherd: for when the shepherd is smitten, the sheep of the flock shall be scattered: the great stroke of the shepherd is the minishing of his jurisdiction, by which the subjects are drawn from his obedience. When Jason had the office of the highest priest, he changed the ordinance of God, and brought in the customs of the heathen; the priests leaving



the service of the holy altar, and applying themselves to wrestling, and other exercises of the Grecians, and despising those things that belonged to the priests, did labour with all their might to learn such things of the Grecians; and by that means the place, people, and holy anointing of priests, which, in times past, were had in great reverence by kings, were trodden under foot of all men, and robbed by the king's power, and were profaned by thrusting in for money. Therefore let the highest vicar of Christ look unto this with a diligent eye, and let him be the follower of Him by whom he hath gotten authority above others.

If you mark well, most holy father! you shall find that Christ rebuked sharply two brethren, coveting the seat of honour: he taught them not to play the lords over the people, but the more grace they were prevented with, to be so much more humble than others, and more lowly to serve their brethren; to him that asked his coat, to give the cloak; to him that smote him on the one cheek, to turn the other to him. For the sheep that are given to his keeping he must forsake all earthly things, and to shed his own blood, yea, and if need required, to die. These things, I say, be those that adorn the highest bishop, if they be in him; not his purple, not his white horse, not his imperial crown, because he, among all men, is most bound to all the sheep of Christ. For the fear of God, therefore, and for the love of the flock which ye guide, consider these things diligently, and do them wisely, and suffer us no longer to waver betwixt two: although not for your own cause, to whom peradventure the fullness of your own power is known, yet in pitying our weakness, if thou be he, tell us openly, and show thyself to the world, that all we may follow one. Be not to us a bloody bishop, lest, by your occasion, man's blood be shed; lest hell swallow such a number of souls, and lest the name of Christ be evil spoken of by infidels, through such a worthy personage. But, peradventure ye will say, for our righteousness it is manifest enough, and we will not put it to other men's disputations. If this bald answer should be admitted, the schism should continue still; seeing that neither part is willing to agree to the other, and that where the world is, as it were, equally divided betwixt them, neither part can be compelled to give place to the other without much bloodshed. The incarnation of Christ and his resurrection were well enough known to himself and his disciples; yet he asked of his Father to be made known to the world. He made also the gospel to be written, and the doctrine of the apostles, and sent his apostles into all the world, to do the office of preaching, that the same thing might be known to all men. The aforesaid reason is the subtlety of Mahomet, who, knowing himself guilty of his sect, utterly forbad disputations. If ye have so full trust of your righteousness, put it to the examination of worthy persons in a general council, to which it belongeth by right to define such doubts, or else commit it unto able persons, and give them full power to determine all things concerning that matter; or, at least, by forsaking the office on both parties, leave the church of God free, speedily to provide for a new shepherd.

We find kings have forsaken their temporal kingdoms, only upon respect of devotion, and have taken the apparel of monks' profession. Therefore let Christ's vicar, being a professor of most high holiness, be ashamed to continue in his seat of honour to the offence of all people, and the prejudice and hurt of the Romish church, and the devotion of it, and cutting away kingdoms from it.

But if you say, It is not requisite that the cause of God's church should be called in controversy, and, therefore, we cannot so easily go from it, seeing our conscience gainsayeth it: to this we answer, If it be the cause of God and the church, let the general council judge of it; but if it be a personal cause, as almost all the world probably thinketh, if ye were the followers of Christ, ye would rather choose a temporal death, than suffer such a wavering, I say not, to the hurt of so many, but to the endless destruction of souls, to the offence of the whole world, and to an everlasting shame of the apostolical dignity. Did not Clement, named, or, that I may more truly speak, ordained, of St. Peter to the apostolical dignity, and to be bishop, resign his right, that his deed might be taken by his successors for an example? Also pope Siricius gave over his popehood to be a comfort of the eleven thousand virgins; therefore much more

*Richard II.*

*A. D. 1398.*

*Bishops taught by Christ not to play the lords.*

*The right ornament of a true bishop.*

*A bald answer.*

*Public respect to be preferred before private.*

*Answer to a popish objection. Hard counsel for the pope.*

(1) The legend of the eleven thousand virgins, is one of the fables coeval with the close of the third, or the opening of the fourth, century. The story is as follows:—Flavius Clemens Maximus, the

*Richard II.*

A. D.  
1398.

Unity of the church to be preferred before worldly dignity.

The pope will not lose his dignity, for any public tranquillity.

Wicked flatterers about the pope.

Better that the order of the popes' election should cease, than the church should suffer any division.

ought you, if need require, give over your popedom, that you might 'gather together the children of God which be scattered abroad.' For, as it is thought a glorious thing to defend the common right, even to bloodshed, so is it sometimes necessary for a man to wink at his own cause, and to forsake it for a greater profit, and by that means better to procure peace. Should not he be thought a devil, and Christ's enemy by all men, who would agree to an election made of him for the apostolical dignity and popedom, if it should be to the destruction of Christians, the division of the church, the offence and loss of all faithful people? If such mischiefs should be known to all the world by God's revelation to come to pass, by such receiving of the popedom and apostolical dignity: then, by the like reason, why should he not be judged of all men an apostate and forsaker of his faith, who chooseth dignity, or worldly honour, rather than the unity of the church? Christ died that he might gather together the children of God, who are scattered abroad: but such an enemy of God and the church wisheth his subjects bodily to die in battle, and the more part of the world to perish in soul, rather than, forsaking to be pope, to live in a lower state, although it were honourable. If the fear of God, the desire of the heavenly kingdom, and the earnest love of the unity of the church do move your heart, show indeed that your works may bear record to the truth. Clement and Siricius, most holy popes, not only are not reproved, but rather are revered by all men, because they gave over their right for profitable causes, and for the same cause all the church of holy men show forth their praise. Likewise your name should live for ever and ever, if ye would do the like for a necessary cause, that is to say, for the unity of God's church. Give no heed to the unmeasurable cryings of them that say, that the right choosing of popes is lost, except ye defend your part manfully: but be afraid, lest such stirrers up of mischief look for their own commodity or honour, that is to say, that under your wing they might be promoted to riches and honour. After this sort Ahithophel was joined with Absalom in persecuting his own father, and falsely usurping his kingdom.

Furthermore, there should be no jeopardy to that election, because both parties stick stiffly to the old fashion of election, and either of them covet the pre-eminence of the Romish church, counselling all Christians to obey them. And although, through their giving over, the fashion of choosing the pope should be changed for a time, it were to be borne, rather than to suffer any longer this division in God's church. For that fashion in choosing is not so necessarily required to the state of a pope, but the successor of the apostle, as necessary cause required, might come in at the door by another fashion of choosing, and that canonical enough. And this we are taught manifestly by examples of the fathers; for Peter the apostle appointed after him Clement, and that not by falsely usurping of power, as we suppose; and it was thought that that fashion of appointing popes was lawful unto the time of pope Hilary, who decreed that no pope should appoint his successor.

Afterwards, the election of the pope went by the clergy and people of Rome, and the emperor's council agreeing thereto, as it appeareth in the election of the blessed Gregory; but pope Martin, with the consent of the holy synod, granted Charles the power to choose the pope: but, of late, Nicholas II. was the first whom Martinus makes mention of in his councils as chosen by the cardinals. But all the bishops of Lombardy, for the most part, withstood this

captain of the army of the emperor Gratian, had acquired such influence over the soldiery, that they proclaimed him emperor in the lifetime of Gratian, his master. Arriving in Gaul, and being well received by the forces of Gratian, which happened to be quartered there, Maximus, with their aid, made a descent upon some of the most fertile districts of that country, and visited the inhabitants either with death, or banishment. Their land he divided among the bravest of his British followers; and, the more speedily to people the newly-formed colony, he despatched messengers to Britain, to procure wives for the settlers. According to the story, eleven thousand virgins, with one named Ursula at their head, embarked from Britain; but, being driven by a storm upon the coast of Germany, where an army of Gratian, in pursuit of Maximus, was unfortunately encamped, these fair adventurers fell into the hands of the merciless soldiery. At Ursula's solicitation, they immediately determined rather to die, than submit to the insults and shame that thus awaited them; in consequence of which, it is affirmed that they were all put to death. However, among the students of the divinity schools at Geneva it is maintained, that the above story was invented upon the discovery of an ancient inscription, beginning, 'undecimil. virg.' and that instead of recording the death of eleven thousand virgins, it was intended to commemorate the death of one only, whose name was Undecimilla. The Editor gives this solution as he received it, without attempting, in this instance, to decide between Geneva and Rome. Pope Siricius was a zealous maintainer of the celibacy of the clergy, but that he gave over his papacy for the sake of the above eleven thousand virgins, does not so readily appear; for, in the same See which he held for fourteen years, he died, A.D. 398; the year in which the famous John Chrysostome, presbyter of the church of Antioch, was preferred to the See of Constantinople. See vol. i. p. 312, note (1).—ED.

election, and chose Cadulus to be pope, saying, that the pope ought not to be chosen but of the precinct of Italy. Wherefore we think it not a safe way so earnestly to stick to the traditions of men, in the fashion of choosing the pope, and so oft to change, lest we be thought to break God's traditions concerning the unity of the church: yea, rather, it were better yet to ordain a new fashion of his election, and meeter for him than as it hath been before. But all things concerning the same election might be kept safe, if God's honour were looked for before your own, and the peace of the church were uprightly sought; for such a dishonouring should be most honour unto you, and that giving place should be the getting of a greater dignity, and the willing deposing of your honour should obtain you the entry of everlasting honour, and should procure the love of the whole world towards you, and you should deserve to be exalted continually, as David was, in humbling himself.

O how monstrous a sight, and how foul a monster, is a man's body disfigured with two heads! So, if it were possible, the spouse of Christ should be made as monstrous, if she were ruled with two such heads; but that is not possible: she is ever altogether fair, in whom no spot is found; therefore we must cast away that rotten member, and thruster-in of his second head. We cannot suffer any longer so great a wickedness in God's house, that we should suffer God's coat that wants a seam, by any means to be torn by the hands of two, that violently draw it asunder; for if these two should be suffered to reign together, they would so, betwixt them, tear in pieces that little coat of the Lord, that scarce one piece would hang to another. They pass the wickedness of the soldiers, that cursed Christ; for they, willing to have the coat whole, said, 'Let us not cut it, but let us cast lots for it, whose it shall be:' but these two popes, suffering their right and title to be tried by no lot or way, although not in words yet in deeds, they pronounce this sentence, 'It shall neither be thine nor mine, but let it be divided;' for they choose rather, as it appeareth, to be lords, though it be but in a little part, and that to the confusion of the unity of the church, than, in leaving that lording, to seek for the peace of the church. We do not affirm this, but we show almost the whole judgment of the world of them; being moved so to think by likely conjectures. We looked for amendment of this intolerable confusion, by the space that these two inventors of this mischief lived. But we looked for peace, and behold trouble; for, neither in their lives nor in their deaths, they procured any comfort, but rather, dying as it were in a doubt betwixt two ways, left to their successors matter of contention continual. But now, for the space of seven years of their successors, that which we desired and looked for before (that is, that they should bear good grapes, and they bring forth wild grapes), in this matter we fall into a deep despair. But, inasmuch as we hear the comfort of the Lord, who promised that miserably he would destroy those wicked men, and let his vineyard to other husbandmen who will bring him fruit at their times appointed, and hath promised faithfully that he will help his spouse in her need to the end of the world: we, leaning on the sure hope of this promise, and in hope contrary to hope believing, by God's grace will put our helping hands to the easing of this misery, when a convenient time shall serve, as much as our kingly power is able; and although our wit doth not perceive how these things before rehearsed may be amended, yet we, being encouraged to this by the hope of God's promise, will do our endeavour; like as Abraham believed, his son being slain by sacrifice, that the multitude of his seed should increase to the number of the stars, according to God's promise.

Now, therefore, the time draws near to make an end of this schism, lest a third election of a schismatic against the apostles' successor make a custom of the doing, and so the pope of Avignon shall be double Romish pope, and he shall say with his partakers, as the patriarch of Constantinople said unto Christ's vicar when he forsook him: 'The Lord be with thee, for the Lord is with us;' which is much to be feared of all christian men, for that pharisee begins now to be called the pope of Avignon among the people.

But peradventure it would be thought by some men, that it belongeth not to secular princes to bridle outrages of the pope. To whom we answer, that naturally the members put themselves in jeopardy to save the head, and the parts labour to save the whole. Christ so decked his spouse, that her sides should cleave together, and should uphold themselves, and by course of time and occa-

*Richard**II.**A. D.**1398.*Good  
counsel  
lost.Christ's  
seamless  
coat bro-  
ken.Popes,  
compared  
to the  
soldiers  
that  
cursed  
Christ.A godly  
purpose,  
if it had  
been put  
in execu-  
tion.Secular  
princes,  
to bridle  
the out-  
rages of  
the pope

*Richard II.*A. D.  
1398.Popes put  
down by  
princes.[Vol. ii.  
pp. 71, 96.][Vol. ii. p.  
96.]Lawful  
that  
princes  
should  
with-  
stand the  
tyranny  
of the  
pope.The king  
seemeth  
here to  
prophecy  
of the de-  
solation  
of the Ro-  
man pope.The pope  
and the  
Phari-  
sees new  
crucifiers  
of Christ.

sion of things they should correct one another, and cleave together tuneably. Did not Moses put down Aaron, because he was unfaithful? Solomon put down Abiathar, who came by lineal descent from Anathoth, and removed his priesthood from his kindred to the stock of Eleazar in the person of Zadok, who had his beginning from Eli the priest? [1 Kings ii.] Otho the emperor deposed pope John XII., because he was lecherous. Henry the emperor put down Gratian, because he used simony in buying and selling spiritual livings; and Otho deposed pope Benedict V., because he thrust in himself. Therefore, by like reason, why may not kings and princes bridle the Romish pope in default of the church, if the quality of his fault require it, or the necessity of the church, by this means, compel to help the church oppressed by tyranny? In old times schisms, which rose about making the pope, were determined by the power of secular princes; as the schism betwixt Symmachus and Laurence was ended in a council before Theodoric,<sup>1</sup> king of Italy. Henry the emperor, when two did strive to be pope, deposed them both, and received the third, being chosen at Rome, to be pope, that is to say, Clement II., who crowned him with the imperial crown; and the Romans promised him that from thenceforth they would promote none to be pope without his consent. Alexander also overcame four popes, schismatics, all whom Frederic the emperor corrected.

Thus, look on the register of popes and their deeds, and ye shall find that schisms most commonly have been decided by the power of secular princes, the schismatics cast out, and sometimes new popes made; and sometimes the old ones cast out of their dignities, and restored to their old dignities again. If it were not lawful for secular princes to bridle the outrages of such a pope lawfully made, and afterwards becoming a tyrant: in such a case he might oppress overmuch the church, he might change Christendom into heathens, and make the labour of Christ crucified to be in vain: or else truly God should not have provided for his spouse on earth, by all means, as much as is possible, by service of men to withstand dangers. Therefore we counsel you, with such a loving affection as becomes children, that ye consider in your heart well, lest, in working by this means, ye prepare a way to Antichrist through your desire to bear rule, and so, by this means, as we fear the one of these two shall chance, either ye shall cause all the princes of the world to rise against you to bring in a true follower of Christ to have the state of the apostolical dignity, or what is worse, the whole world, despising the ruling of one shepherd, shall leave the Romish church desolate. But God keep this from the world, that the desire of honour of two men should bring such a desolation into the church of God: for then, that departing away which the apostle prophesied, should come before the coming of Antichrist were at hand, which should be the last disposition of the world, peaceably to receive Antichrist with honour. Consider, therefore, the state of your most excellent holiness, how ye received the power from God to the building of the church, and not to the destruction of it; that Christ hath given you wine and oil to heal the wounded, and hath appointed you his vicar in these things which pertain to gentleness, and hath given us those things which serve to rigour. For we bear not the sword without a cause to the punishment of evil doers, which power, ordained of God, we have received, ourselves being witness; beseeching you to receive our counsel effectually, that in doing thus, the waters may return to the places from whence they came, and so the waters may begin to be made sweet with salt; lest the ax swim on the water, and the wood sink, and lest the fruitful olive degenerate into a wild olive, and the leprosy of Naaman, that nobleman, cleave continually to the house of Gehazi, and lest the pope and the Pharisees crucify Christ again. Christ, the spouse of the church, who was wont to bring the chief bishop into the holiest place, increase your holiness, or rather restore it, being lost. Written, &c.<sup>2</sup>

This epistle of king Richard II. written to pope Boniface IX., in the time of the schism, about the year, as appeareth, 1398, as it contained much good matter of wholesome counsel to be followed, so how little it wrought with the pope the sequel afterwards declared; for the schism, notwithstanding, continued long after, in which neither

(1) At Rome, A. D. 501. L'Art. de Vér.—ED.

(2) Ex fragmento libri cujusdam Dunelm.

of the popes would give over his hold, or yield any thing to good counsel given him, for any respect of public wealth. Such a stroke beareth ambition in this apostolical see, which we are wont so greatly to magnify: but of this enough, which I leave and refer to the consideration of the Lord, seeing men will not look upon it.

Drawing now towards the latter end of king Richard's reign, it remaineth that, as we did before in the time of king Edward III., so here also, we show forth a summary recapitulation of such parliamentary notes and proceedings, as then were practised by public parliament in this king's time against the jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome, to the intent that such, if any such be, as think, or have thought the receiving of the pope's double authority to be such an ancient thing within this realm, may diminish their opinion; as evidently may appear by divers arguments heretofore touched, concerning the election and investing of bishops by the king; as where king Oswin commanded Cedde to be ordained archbishop of York; also where king Egfride caused Cuthbert to be consecrated bishop of Durham: where Edmund, also, being nominate by the miracle of St. Cuthbert, was brought to king Canute, and at his commandment was instituted bishop of the same see.<sup>1</sup> And likewise Matthew Paris testifieth, that king Henry I. gave the archbishopric of Canterbury to Radulph, then bishop of Rochester, and invested him with staff and ring: and the same king gave the bishopric of Winchester to William Gifford; and moreover, following the steps both of his father and brother before him, endowed him with the possessions pertaining to the said bishopric (the contrary statute of pope Urban II., forbidding that clerks should receive any ecclesiastical dignity at the hands of princes or of any lay person, to the contrary notwithstanding). That innumerable examples of the like sort are to be seen in ancient histories of this our realm, as also out of the parliament rolls in the time of king Edward III., hath sufficiently been noticed a little before: whereunto also may be added the notes of such parliaments as have been holden in the reign of this present king Richard II., the collection whereof in part here followeth.

*Richard II.*  
*A. D.*  
*1398.*

The pope's usurped jurisdiction never received in England before late years.

See vol. i. p. 353.

See Appendix.

See vol. ii. p. 177.

See vol. ii. p. 161.

See vol. ii. p. 142.

### Notes of certain Parliaments, holden in the reign of King Richard II., making against the Pope.

In the first year of king Richard II., in the parliament holden at Westminster, it was requested and granted, that the pope's collector be willed no longer to gather the first fruits of benefices within this realm, being a very novelty, and that no person do any longer pay them.<sup>2</sup>

Item, That no man do procure any benefice by provision from Rome, on pain to be out of the king's protection.<sup>3</sup>

Item, That no Englishman do take to farm of any alien any ecclesiastical benefice or prebend, on the like pain. In this bill was rehearsed, that the Frenchmen had ten thousand pounds yearly of such livings in England.<sup>4</sup>

Item, That remedy might be had against the pope's reservations to dignities elective, the same being done against the treaty of the pope, made with king Edward III.<sup>5</sup>

In the second year of the said king Richard II. it was by petition requested, that some order might be taken, touching aliens having the greatest part of the church dignities in their hands: whereunto the king answered, That by advice of the lords he would provide therefore.<sup>6</sup>

(1) Ex lib. Guli. Malmesb. de gestis Pontif. Anglorum. Ex Mat. Paris, lib. de vita Hen.

(2) Ex Archivis Parliament. an. 1. reg. Rich. II. tit. 66.

(3) Tit. 67.

(4) Ibid. 68.

(5) Ibid. 77.

(6) Ex anno 2. tit. 70.

*Richard II.* Item, It was enacted, that all the benefices of cardinals, and other rebels to pope Urban that now is, shall be seized into the king's hands.<sup>1</sup>

*A. D. 1398.* An act that pope Urban was true and lawful pope, and that the livings of all cardinals and others, rebels to the said pope, should be seized into the king's hands, and the king be answered of the profits thereof: and that whosoever within this realm shall procure or obtain any provision or other instrument from any other pope than the same Urban, shall be out of the king's protection.<sup>2</sup>

*See Appendix.* Moreover, in the third year of king Richard II., the prelates and clergy made their protestation in this parliament, against a certain new grant, for justices of the peace to take cognizance of clerical extortions: That the same never should pass with their assent and good will, to the blemishing of the liberties of the church, if, by that grant, they meant more largely to proceed against ordinaries and others of the church; but if they meant none otherwise to deal hereafter therein, than before that time had been done, then would they consent. Whereunto it was replied for the king, That neither for the same their said protestation, or other words in that behalf, the king would stay to grant to his justices in that case, and in all other cases, as was used to be done in times past, and as he was bound to do by virtue of his oath taken at his coronation.<sup>3</sup>

Here note well a strange proceeding.

But mark the strange event.

Furthermore, in the fourth year of the said king Richard II., it was requested, That provision might be had against the pope's collectors, for levying of the first fruits of ecclesiastical dignities, properly belonging to the deans and chapters.<sup>4</sup>

Item, That all priors, aliens, might be removed out of their houses, and licensed to depart, never to return; and that Englishmen might be placed in their livings, answering the king in the same manner as the aliens did.<sup>5</sup>

And in the ninth year of the aforesaid king, touching the matter of the staple, the speaker of the parliament pronounced,<sup>6</sup> that he thought best the same were planted within the realm, considering that Calais, Bruges, and other towns beyond the seas grew very rich thereby, and good towns here very much decayed: and so much for the common profit. Touching the king, he affirmed that the subsidy and custom of wool yielded more to the king when the staple was kept in England, by one thousand marks yearly, than it did now, being hollen beyond the seas.

Item, That inquisition and redress might be had against such religious persons as, under the license to purchase lands to the value of 20*l.* yearly, do purchase to the value of 80. or 100*l.*<sup>7</sup>

Item, That all clerks, advanced to any ecclesiastical dignity or living by the king, will grant to the king the first fruits of their livings, none otherwise than they would have done to the pope, had they been advanced by him.<sup>8</sup>

In the eleventh year of king Richard II., it was put up by the petitions of the commons, that such impositions as are gathered by the pope's bulls of 'Volumus' and 'Imponimus' (as on the translations of bishops), might be employed on the king's wars against the schismatics of Scotland; and that such as bring into the realm the like bulls and novelties may be reputed for traitors.<sup>9</sup>

In the thirteenth year of his reign followed another parliament, in which, although the archbishops of Canterbury and York, for them and the whole clergy of their provinces, made their solemn protestations in open parliament, that they in no wise meant, or would assent to any statute or law made in restraint of the pope's authority, but utterly withstood the same; willing this protestation of theirs to be enrolled; yet the said protestation of theirs at that time took no great effect.<sup>10</sup>

Item, In the same parliament it was put up by public petition, that 'the pope's collector should be commanded to void the realm within forty days, or else to be taken as the king's enemy; and that every such collector, from henceforth, may be an Englishman, and sworn to execute the statutes made in this parliament.'<sup>11</sup>

Moreover, in the same parliament, the year above-said of the king, the twenty-sixth of January, Master John Mandour, clerk, was charged openly in parliament, that he should not pass or send over to Rome, or attempt or do any thing there touching the archdeaconry of Durham, in prejudice of the king, or of his laws, or of the party presented thereto by the king, on peril that might ensue.<sup>12</sup>

(1) Tit. 71.

(5) Tit. 46.

(9) Tit. 26.

(2) Ibid. 78.

(6) Ex anno 9 ejusdem regis, tit. 4.

(10) An. 13. regis Rich. II., tit. 24.

(3) Ex anno 3. reg. Rich. II. 38.

(7) Tit. 36.

(11) Tit. 43.

(4) Tit. 44.

(8) Ibid. 44.

(12) Ibid. 9.

The year following, which was the fourteenth of this king's reign, it was enacted first touching the staplers, that, after the feast of Epiphany next ensuing, the staple should be removed from Calais into England, in such places as are contained in the statute made in the twenty-seventh of Edward III., which statute should be fully executed: and further, that every alien that bringeth merchandise into the realm, should find sufficient surety to buy and carry away commodities of the realm, to half the value of the said merchandise.<sup>1</sup>

*Richard II.*

A. D. 1398.

Against usury.

Item, In the same parliament petition was made, That against the horrible vice of usury, then termed shifts, practised as well by the clergy as laity, the order made by John Notte, late mayor of London, might be executed throughout the realm.<sup>2</sup>

*See Appendix.*

Moreover, in the fifteenth year of the reign of the aforesaid king, it was accorded: for that Sir William Brian, knight, had purchased from Rome a bull directed to the archbishops of Canterbury and York, to excommunicate such as had broken up his house, and had taken away divers letters, privileges, and charters; the same bull, being read in the parliament house, was adjudged prejudicial to the king's crown, and in derogation of the laws: for which he was, by the king, and assent of the lords, committed to the Tower, there to remain at the king's will and pleasure.<sup>3</sup>

In the said parliament also, William, archbishop of Canterbury, maketh his protestation in the open parliament, saying, that the pope ought not to excommunicate any bishop, or to intermeddle, for or touching any presentment to any ecclesiastical dignity recorded in any of the king's courts. He further protested, that the pope ought to make no translation to any bishopric within the realm against the king's will; for that the same was to the destruction of the realm and crown of England, which hath always been so free, as the same hath had no earthly sovereign, but hath been subject to God only, in all things touching regalities, and to none other: which protestation he prayed might be entered.<sup>4</sup>

In the seventeenth year of the reign of the king aforesaid, it was desired that remedy might be had against such religious persons as caused their villains or underlings to marry free women inheritable, whereby the lands came to those religious men's hands by collusion.<sup>5</sup>

Item, That sufficient persons might be presented to benefices, who may do well on the same, so that their flock do not perish for want of good instruction.<sup>6</sup>

Item, That remedy might be had against the abbots of Colchester and Abingdon, who, in the towns of Colchester and Colnham, claim to have sanctuary.<sup>7</sup>

To come to the parliament holden in the twentieth year of this king's reign, we find, moreover, in the said rolls, how that the archbishops of Canterbury and York, for themselves and the clergy of their provinces, declared to the king in open parliament, that, forasmuch as they were sworn to the pope and see of Rome, if any thing were in the parliament attempted in restraint of the same, they would in no wise assent thereto, but verily withstand the same: which their protestation they require to be enrolled.<sup>8</sup>

Here the archbishop of Canterbury goeth contrary to himself.

Upon the petition of the begging friars, there at large it was enacted, that none of that order should pass over the seas without license of his sovereign, nor that he should take upon him any order of master of divinity, unless he were first apposed<sup>9</sup> in his chapter provincial; on pain to be put out of the king's protection.<sup>10</sup>

Item, That the king's officers, for making arrests or attachments in churchyards, are therefore excommunicated; whereof remedy was required.<sup>11</sup>

In the twenty-first year of the same king's reign the parliament being holden at Westminster, we find how the commons, in full parliament, accused Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, for that he as chancellor procured, and as chief doer executed, the same commission, made traitorously in the tenth year of the king: and also, that he, the said archbishop, procured the duke of Gloucester, and the earls of Arundel and Warwick, to encroach to themselves royal power, and to judge to death Simon de Burley and James Barners, without the king's assent: whereupon the commons required that the same archbishop might rest under safe keeping: whereunto the king answered that he wished to be advised, for that the same impeachments touched so great a person.<sup>12</sup>

(1) Ex an. 14. reg. Ric. II., tit. 6.

(2) Tit. 24.

(3) Ex an. 15. reg. Ric. II., tit. 19.

(4) Ex an. 16. reg. Ric. II., tit. 20.

(5) Ex an. 17. reg. Ric. II., tit. 32.

(6) Tit. 43.

(7) Tit. 46.

(8) Ex an. 20. reg. Ric. II., tit. 22.

(9) Tit. 25.

(10) "Apposed," examined.—Ed.

(11) Tit. 36.

(12) Ex 21. an. reg. Ric. II., tit. 15

*Richard II.*

A. D. 1399.

The Archbishop proved a traitor.

*See Appendix.*

Item, The twenty-fifth day of September, the commons prayed the king to give judgment against the said archbishop, according to his deserts. The king answered, that privately the said archbishop had confessed to him, how he mistook himself in the said commission, and therefore submitted himself to the king's mercy; wherefore the king, lords, and sir Thomas Percy, proctor for the clergy, adjudged the fact of the said archbishop to be treason, and himself a traitor, and therefore it was ordered, that the said archbishop should be banished, his temporalities seized, his lands and goods forfeited, as well in use as in possession.<sup>1</sup>

The king further prescribed, that the said archbishop should take his passage within six weeks of next Friday (Michaelmas eve) at Dover, toward the parts of France.<sup>2</sup>

Thus having hitherto sufficiently touched and comprehended such things as have happened in the reign of this king, necessary for the church to know, by course of story we come now to the twenty-second<sup>3</sup> year of king Richard's reign, which is A. D. 1399. In that year happened the strange and also the lamentable deposing of this king Richard II. aforesaid, from his kingly sceptre: strange, for that the like example hath not often been seen in seats royal: lamentable, for that it cannot but be grievous to any good man's heart, to see him either so to deserve, if he were justly deposed, or if he were unjustly deprived, to see the kingly title there not able to hold its right, where, by force, it is compelled to give place to might.

As concerning the order and process of king Richard's deposing, for that it is not greatly pertinent to my argument, and also that it is sufficiently contained in Robert Fabian, and in the king's records, in the chronicle of St. Alban's, and in other histories at large, it were here tedious and superfluous to intermeddle with repeating thereof. What were the conditions and properties of this king, partly before hath been touched; in whom, as some good virtues may be noted, so also some vices may seem to be mixed withal, but especially this, that he, starting out of the steps of his progenitors, ceased to take part with them who took part with the gospel. Whereupon it so fell, not by the blind wheel of fortune, but by the secret hand of Him who directeth all estates, that, as he first began to forsake the maintaining of the gospel of God, so the Lord began to forsake him: and where the protection of God beginneth to fail him, whom God once giveth over to man's punishment, there can lack no causes to be charged withal. So that to me, considering the whole life and trade of this prince, among all other causes alleged in stories against him, none seemeth to be of more weight to us, or more hurtful to him, than this forsaking of the Lord and his word: although, to such as list more to be certified in other causes concurring withal, many and sundry defects in that king may appear in stories, to the number of thirty-three articles alleged, or forced rather against him: in which as I cannot deny, but that he was worthy of much blame, so to be displaced there-for from his regal seat and rightful state of the crown, it may be thought perhaps the causes not to be so rare, or so material in a prince; who either could, or else would, have served, had not he given over before to serve the Lord and his word, choosing rather to serve the humour of the pope and bloody prelates, than to further the Lord's proceedings in preaching of his word. And then, as I said, how can

A. D. 1399. The deposing of king Richard II., [29th Sept. A. D. 1399. 23 R. II.]

Vices and virtues mixed in king Richard.

What it is to forsake the maintenance of the gospel.

Thirty-three articles laid against king Richard.

(1) Tit. 16.

(2) Ibid. 17.

(3) The 22 Rich. II. ended on June 21st, A. D. 1399.—Ed.



enemies lack, where God standeth not to befriend? or what cause can be so little, which is not able enough to cast down, where the Lord's arm is shortened to sustain? Wherefore, it is a point of principal wisdom in a prince, not to forget, that as he standeth always in need of God's helping hand, so always he have the discipline and fear of Him before his eyes, according to the counsel of the godly king David, Psalm ii.

*Richard II.*

A. D. 1399.

God's favour necessary.

And thus much touching the time and race of this king Richard, with the tragical story of his deposing; the order and manner whereof purposely I omit, only contented briefly to lay together a few special things done before his fall, such as may be sufficient, in a brief sum, both to satisfy the reader inquisitive of such stories, and also to forewarn other princes to beware of the like dangers. In such as write the life and acts of this prince, thus I read of him reported, that he was much inclined to the favouring and advancing of certain persons about him, and ruled all by their counsel, who were then greatly abhorred and hated in the realm, the names of whom were Robert Vere, earl of Oxford, whom the king made duke of Ireland; Alexander Nevile, archbishop of York; Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk; Robert Trisilian, lord chief justice; Nicholas Brembre, with others.

The king led with lewd counsel.

These men, being hated and disdained by divers of the nobles and of the commons, the king also, by favouring them, was less favoured himself; insomuch, that the duke of Gloucester, named Thomas Woodstock, the king's uncle, with the earl of Warwick, and the earl of Derby, stood up in arms against those counsellors and abusers (as they named them) of the king. Insomuch that the king for fear was constrained, against his mind, to remove out of his court, Alexander Nevile, archbishop of York; John Ford, bishop of Durlham; friar Thomas Rushoke, bishop of Chichester, the king's confessor; with the lord Haringworth, lord Burnell and Beaumont, lord Vere, and divers others.

And furthermore, in the parliament, the year following, Robert Trisilian, the justice, was hanged and drawn: also Nicholas Brembre, knight, James Salisbury also, and James Barnese, both knights; John Beauchamp, the king's steward, and John Blake, esquire, in like manner. All these, by the counsel of the lords being cast in the parliament, against the king's mind did suffer; which was in the eleventh of his reign, he being yet under governors: but consequently, after the same, the king, claiming his own liberty, being come to the age of twenty, began to take more upon him. And this was one thing that stirred up the king's stomach against the nobles.<sup>2</sup>

The nobles up in arms against certain of his counsellors.

[A. D. 1388.]

Secondly: Another thing that stirred him up so much against the Londoners, was this, for that he would have borrowed of them a thousand pounds, and they denied him, to their double and triple disadvantage, as after ensued upon it.<sup>3</sup> Another occasion besides this, between the king and the Londoners, happened thus, by reason of one of the bishop of Salisbury's servants, named Roman, and a baker's man, who then carrying a basket of horse-bread in Fleet-street, the aforesaid Roman took a horse-loaf out of the basket. The baker asking him why he did so, the bishop's lusty yeoman turned back again and brake his head: whereupon the neighbours came out, and would have

Preparatives to the king's deposing

See Appendix.

(1) It is 'Barners,' at p. 215.—ED.

(2) Ex Chron. Albanensi.

(3) Ibid.

*Richard II.*

A. D. 1399.

Waltam  
bishop of  
Salis-  
bury, a  
make-  
bate.

London-  
ers fa-  
vourers of  
Wickliff's  
doctrine.

London-  
ers com-  
plained of  
to the king by  
the  
bishops.  
Beati  
pacifici!

The court  
removed  
from Lon-  
don to  
York.

arrested this Roman, but he escaped away unto the bishop's house. Then the constable would have had him out; but the bishop's men shut fast the gates, that they should not approach. Thus much people gathered together, threatening to burst open the gates, and fire the house, unless they had the aforesaid party to them brought out: whereby much ado there was, till at length the mayor and sheriffs came and quieted the rage of the commons, and sent every man home to his house, charging them to keep peace. Here as yet was no great harm done; and if the bishop, for his part, had been quiet, and had not stirred the coals of debate, which were well slaked already, all had been ended without further perturbation. But the stomach of the bishop (whose name was John Waltam, being then treasurer of England) not having digested the wrong, although his own man had done it, having no great cause so to do, the aforesaid bishop went to Thomas Arundel, at that time archbishop of York, and lord chancellor of England, to complain of the Londoners. Where is to be noted, or rather revealed, by the way, a privy mystery, which although it be not in this story touched by the writers, yet it touched the hearts of the bishops not a little. For the Londoners at that time were notoriously known to be favourers of Wickliff's side, as partly before this is to be seen, and in the story of St. Alban's more plainly doth appear, where the author of the said history, writing upon the fifteenth year of king Richard's reign, reporteth in these words of the Londoners, that they were,<sup>1</sup> "not right believers in God, nor in the traditions of their forefathers; sustainers of the Lollards, depravers of religious men, withholders of tithes, and impoverishers of the common people," &c.<sup>2</sup>

Thus the Londoners, being noted and suspected of the bishops, were the more maliced, no doubt, of the said bishops, who were the more ready to find and take all occasions to work against them, as by their doing herein may well appear: for the bishop of Salisbury, and the archbishop of York, having no greater matter against them than was declared, with a grievous complaint went to the king, complaining of the mayor and sheriffs of London. What trespass the mayor and sheriffs had done, as ye have heard before, so may you judge. Now what followed after let us hear. The king, incensed not a little with the complaint of the bishops, conceived eftsoons, against the mayor and sheriffs, and against the whole city of London, a great stomach; insomuch, that the mayor and both the sheriffs were sent for, and removed from their office. Sir Edward Darlington<sup>3</sup> was then made warden and governor of the city; who also, for his gentleness showed to the citizens, was deposed, and another, named Sir Baldwin Raddington, placed in that room. Moreover, so much grew the king's displeasure against the city, that he also removed from London the courts and terms, to be kept at York, that is to say, the chancery, the exchequer, the king's bench, the hanaper, and the common pleas; where the same continued from Midsummer till Christmas, to the great decay of the city of London; which was A. D. 1392.

Thirdly: Another great cause which purchased the king much evil will amongst his subjects, was the secret murdering of his own uncle,

(1) 'Male creduli in Deum et traditiones avitas, Lollardorum sustentatores, religiosorum detractatores, decimarum detentores, et communis vulgi depauperatores,' &c.

(2) Ex histor. D. Albani, cujus sic habet initium, anno gratiæ, &c.

(3) See Appendix.

named Thomas Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, of whom mention was made before; where was declared, how the said duke, with the earl of Arundel, the earl of Warwick, and the earl of Derby, with others, were up in armour against certain wicked counsellors about the king. Whereupon the king, watching afterwards his time, came to Chelmsford, and so to the place near by, where the duke lay; where, with his own hands, he arrested the said duke his uncle, and sent him down by water immediately to Calais; and there, through the king's commandment, by secret means he was put to death, being strangled under a feather bed, the earl marshal being then the keeper of Calais, whereby great indignation rose in many men's hearts against the king.

*Richard II.**A. D. 1399.*

The king arresting his own uncle, caused him to be put wrongfully to death.

With the same duke of Gloucester, also, about the same time, were arrested and imprisoned the earl of Warwick and the earl of Arundel, who, being condemned by parliament, were then executed; whereby great grudge and great indignation rose in the hearts of many against the king. A. D. 1397.

Fourthly, to omit here the blank charters sent over all the land by the king, and how the king was said to let out his realm to farm: over and beside all these above premised, befell another matter, which was the principal occasion of this mischief; the banishment, I mean, of Henry, earl of Derby, made duke of Hereford a little before (being son of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, who died shortly after the banishment of his son, and lieth buried in the church of St. Paul, in London), and the duke of Norfolk, who was before earl of Nottingham, and afterwards, by this king, made duke of Norfolk the year before. At that time the king made five dukes, a marquis, and four earls; to wit, the duke of Hereford, who was before earl of Derby; the duke of Aumerle<sup>2</sup>, who was before earl of Rutland; the duke of Southrey<sup>3</sup>, who was before earl of Kent; the duke of Exeter, who was before earl of Huntingdon; and this duke of Norfolk, being before earl of Nottingham, as is aforesaid, &c. The occasion of banishing the first-named dukes was this:

Earl of Nottingham made duke of Norfolk.

About this present time the duke of Hereford did impeach the duke of Norfolk upon certain words spoken against the king: whereupon, casting their gloves one against the other, they agreed to fight out the quarrel, a day being appointed for the same at Coventry. But the king took up the matter into his own hands, banishing the duke of Norfolk for ever (who afterwards died at Venice); and the other duke, who was the duke of Hereford, for ten years. Beside these, also was exiled into France, Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, by act of parliament in the same year, for points of treason, as ye have heard before expressed, p. 216; all which turned to the great inconvenience of this king, as in the event following may appear.

He and the duke of Hereford banished.

Arundel banished as a traitor by parliament.

These causes and preparatives thus premised, it followed the year after, which was A. D. 1399, and the last year of this king, that the king, upon certain affairs to be done, took his voyage into Ireland. In the mean time Henry of Bolingbroke, and with him the earl of Derby, the duke of Hereford, and the aforesaid archbishop, Thomas Arundel (who before were both exiled), returning out of France to Calais, came into England, challenging for the aforesaid Henry the dukedom of Lancaster, after the death of his father. With them also came the son and heir of the earl of Arundel, being

(1) See Appendix.—Ed.

(2) Albemarle.—Ed.

(3) Surrey.—Ed.

*Richard II.**A. D. 1399.*

yet but young. These together setting out from Calais, arrived at Ravenspur in the north; at the knowledge whereof much people gathered unto them.

In the mean time, as the duke was hevering on the sea to enter the land, lord Edmund, duke of York, the king's uncle, to whom the king committed the custody of his realm, having intelligence thereof, called to him the bishop of Chichester named Edmund Stafford, chaneellor of the realm; and William Scrope, earl of Wiltshire, lord treasurer; also John Bushey, William Bagot, Henry Grene, and John Rusehell, with divers others, consulting with them what was best in that case to be done; who then gave their advice (whether wilful or unskilful, it is not known, but very unfruitful), that he should leave London, and go to St. Alban's, there to wait for more strength, able to encounter with the duke. But, as the people out of divers quarters resorted thither, many of them protested that they would do nothing to the harm and prejudice of the duke of Lancaster, who, they said, was unjustly expulsed. The rest of the council, John Bushey, William Bagot, Henry Grene, William Scrope, treasurer, hearing and understanding how the commons were minded to join with the duke of Hereford, left the duke of York and the lord chancellor, and fled to the castle of Bristol. Here it is to be understood, that these four were they, to whom, as the common fame ran, the king had let out his realm to farm; and were so hated by the people, that it is to be thought, that for the hatred of them more than of the king, this commotion was among the people.

What  
evil com-  
pany doth  
about a  
king.  
Richard  
returneth  
from Ire-  
land.

As this broil was in England, the noise thereof sounding to the king's ears, being then in Ireland, for hasty speed of returning into England, he left in Ireland both his business, and most of his ordinance also behind him; and so, passing the seas, landed at Milford Haven, not daring, as it seemed, to come to London.

On the contrary side, unto Henry, duke of Hereford (being landed, as is said, in the north), came the lord Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, and Henry his son, the lord Radulph Nevile, earl of Westmorland, and other lords more to a great number, so that the multitude rose to sixty thousand able soldiers; who, first making toward the castle of Bristol, took the aforesaid Bushey, Grene, Scrope, and Bagot; of whom three ineontinent were beheaded; Bagot escaping away fled to Ireland.

Deserted  
of his  
subjects.  
What it  
is, for a  
prince to  
be belov-  
ed of his  
subjects.

The king, in the mean while, lying about Wales, destitute and desolate, without comfort or counsel; who neither durst come to London, neither would any man come to him; and perceiving, moreover, that the commons, that were up in such a great power against him, would rather die than give over that they had begun, for fear of themselves; seeing therefore no other remedy, called to him Lord T. Percy, earl of Worcester, and steward of his household, willing him, with others of his family, to provide for themselves in time; who then openly in the hall brake his white rod before them all, commanding every man to shift for himself. Fabian, however, and some others say, that he did this of his own accord, contrary to his allegiance. The king, compassed on every side with miseries, shifted from place to place, the duke still following him; till at length, being at the castle of Conway, the king desired to talk with Thomas

Richard  
allies to  
resign his  
crown

Arundel, archbishop, and with the earl of Northumberland; to whom he declared, that he would resign his crown, on condition that an honourable living might be for him provided, and life promised to eight persons. such as he would name. This being granted and ratified, but not performed, he came to the castle of Flint, whence, after talk had with the duke of Lancaster, he was brought the same night, by the duke and his army, to Chester, and from thence was conveyed secretly into the Tower, there to be kept till the next parliament. By the way, as he came near to London, divers evil-disposed men of the city being warned thereof, gathered themselves, thinking to have slain him, for the great cruelty he had used before toward the city; but, by the policy of the mayor and rulers of the city, the madness of the people was stayed. Not long after followed the duke, and also began the parliament: in which parliament the earl of Northumberland, with many other earls and lords were sent to the king in the Tower, to take of him a full resignation, according to his former promise; and so they did. This done, divers accusations and articles were laid and engrossed against the said king, to the number of thirty-three, some say thirty-eight, which, the matter in them contained not being greatly material, I overpass: and the next year after, he was had to Pomfret Castle, and there famished to death.

Richard II.

A. D. 1401.

The king committed to the Tower.

## HENRY THE FOURTH.<sup>1</sup>

And thus king Richard by common assent being deposed from his rightful crown, the duke of Lancaster was led by Thomas Arundel, the archbishop, to the seat royal; who there standing up, and crossing himself on the forehead and the breast, spake in words as followeth:

A. D. 1399.

In the name of God, Amen. I Henry of Lancaster claim the realm of England and the crown, with all the appurtenances, as I that am descended by right line of the blood, coming from that good lord king Henry III., and, through the right that God of his grace hath sent to me, with the help of my kin and of my friends to recover the same, which was in point to be undone for default of good governance, and due justice, &c.

The words of Henry claiming the crown.

After these words the archbishop, asking the assent of the people, being joyful of their new king, took the duke by the hand, and placed him in the kingly throne, which was A. D. 1399, and, shortly after, by the aforesaid archbishop he was crowned also king of England.<sup>2</sup>

King Henry enthroned and crowned.

### Sir William Sautre, otherwise called Chatris, Parish Priest, a Martyr.

The next year after<sup>3</sup>, followed a parliament holden at Westminster; in which parliament one William Sautre, a good man and a faithful

A. D. 1401.

(1) Edition 1563, p. 141. Ed. 1570, p. 614. Ed. 1576, p. 498. Ed. 1583, p. 514. Ed. 1596, p. 474. Ed. 1684, Vol. i. p. 586.—Ed.

(2) Ex Chron. Albanensi. [The accession was on Sept. 30th; the coronation, Oct. 13th.—Ed.]

(3) "The next year after:" read "the next year but one after," i.e. A. D. 1401. See Appendix.—Ed.

*Henry  
IV.*

*A. D.  
1401.*

priest, inflamed with zeal for true religion, required that he might be heard for the commodity of the whole realm. But the matter being smelt before by the bishop, they obtained that the matter should be referred to the convocation, where the said William Sautre being brought before the bishops and notaries thereunto appointed, the convocation was deferred to the Saturday next ensuing.

### Sir William's First and Second Examinations.

When Saturday was come, that is to say, the 12th day of February, Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, in the presence of his council provincial being assembled in the said chapter-house, against one sir William Sautre, otherwise called Chatris, chaplain, personally then and there appearing by the commandment of the aforesaid archbishop of Canterbury, objected, that the said sir William, before the bishop of Norwich, had once renounced and abjured divers and sundry conclusions heretical and erroneous; and that after such abjuration made, he publicly and privily held, taught, and preached the same conclusions, or else such like, disagreeing to the catholic faith, and to the great peril, and pernicious example of others. And after this he caused such like conclusions, holden and preached, as is said, by the said sir William without renunciation, then and there to be read unto the said archbishop, by Master Robert Hall, chancellor unto the said bishop, in a certain scroll written, in tenor of words as followeth:

Sir William Chatris, otherwise called Sautre, parish priest of the church St. Seithe the virgin, in London, publicly and privily doth hold these conclusions underwritten:

I. Imprimis, He saith, That he will not worship the cross on which Christ suffered, but only Christ that suffered upon the cross.

II. Item, That he would sooner worship a temporal king, than the aforesaid wooden cross.

III. Item, That he would rather worship the bodies of the saints, than the very cross of Christ on which he hung, if it were before him.

IV. Item, That he would rather worship a man truly contrite, than the cross of Christ.

V. Item, That he is bound rather to worship a man that is predestinate, than an angel of God.

VI. Item, That if any man would visit the monuments of Peter and Paul, or go on pilgrimage to the tomb of St. Thomas, or any whither else, for the obtaining of any temporal benefit; he is not bound to keep his vow, but he may distribute the expenses of his vow upon the alms of the poor.

VII. Item, That every priest and deacon is more bound to preach the word of God, than to say the canonical hours.

VIII. Item, That after the pronouncing of the sacramental words of the body of Christ, the bread remaineth of the same nature that it was before, neither doth it cease to be bread.

To these conclusions or articles, being thus read, the archbishop of Canterbury required the same sir William to answer: and then the said William asked a copy of such articles or conclusions, and a competent space to answer unto the same: whereupon the said archbishop commanded a copy of such articles or conclusions to be delivered then and there unto the said sir William, assigning the Thursday then next ensuing for him to deliberate and make answer in. When Thursday, the said day of appearance was come, Master Nicholas Rishton, auditor of the causes and business belonging to the said archbishop (he being then in the parliament-house at Westminster, otherwise hindered), continued the said convocation with all matters arising, depending, and appertinent thereunto, by commandment of the said bishop until the next morrow at eight of the clock. When the morrow came, being Friday, the aforesaid sir William Sautre, in the chapter-house, before the said bishop and his council provincial then and there assembled, making his personal appearance, exhibited a certain scroll, con-

taining the answers unto certain articles or conclusions given unto him, as is aforesaid, by the said bishop; and said, that unto the aforesaid archbishop he delivered the same as his answer in that behalf, under the tenor of such words as follow.

I William Sautre, priest unworthy, say and answer, that I will not nor intend to worship the cross whereon Christ was crucified, but only Christ that suffered upon the cross; so understanding me, that I will not worship the material cross, or the gross corporal matter: yet, notwithstanding, I will worship the same as a sign, token, and memorial of the passion of Christ, 'adoratione vicaria.' And that I will rather worship a temporal king, than the aforesaid wooden cross, and the material substance of the same. And that I will rather worship the bodies of saints, than the very cross of Christ whereon he hung; with this addition, even if the very same cross were before me, as touching the material substance. And also that I will rather worship a man truly confessed and penitent, than the cross on which Christ hung, as touching the material substance.

And that also I am bound, and will rather worship him whom I know to be predestinate, truly confessed, and contrite, than an angel of God: for that the one is a man of the same nature with the humanity of Christ, and so is not a blessed angel. Notwithstanding I will worship both of them, according as the will of God is I should.

Also, That if any man hath made a vow to visit the shrines of the apostles Peter and Paul, or to go on pilgrimage unto St. Thomas's tomb, or any whither else, to obtain any temporal benefit or commodity, he is not bound simply to keep his vow upon the necessity of salvation; but he may give the expenses of his vow in alms amongst the poor, by the prudent counsel of his superior, as I suppose.

And also I say, that every deacon and priest is more bound to preach the word of God, than to say the canonical hours, according to the primitive order of the church.

Also, touching the interrogation of the sacrament of the altar, I say, that after the pronouncing of the sacramental words of the body of Christ, there ceaseth not to be very bread simply, but remains bread, holy, true, and the bread of life; and I believe the said sacrament to be the very body of Christ, after the pronouncing of the sacramental words.

When all these answers were thoroughly, by Master Robert Hall<sup>1</sup>, directly and publicly there read, the aforesaid archbishop of Canterbury inquired of the said sir William, whether he had abjured the aforesaid heresies and errors objected against him, as before is said, before Henry bp. of Norwich, or not; or else had revoked and renounced the said or such like conclusions or articles, or not? To which he answered and affirmed that he had not. And then consequently (all other articles, conclusions, and answers above written immediately omitted), the said archbishop examined the same sir William Sautre, especially upon the sacrament of the altar.

First, Whether in the sacrament of the altar, after the pronouncing of the sacramental words, remaineth very material bread or not? Unto which interrogation, the same sir William somewhat waveringly said and answered, that he knew not that. Notwithstanding he said, that there was very bread, because it was the bread of life which came down from heaven.

After that the said archbishop demanded of him, whether, in the sacrament, after the sacramental words rightly pronounced of the priest, the same bread remaineth, which did, before the words were pronounced, or not. And to this question the aforesaid William answered in like manner as before, saying, that there was bread, holy, true, and the bread of life, &c.

After that, the aforesaid archbishop asked him, whether the same material bread before consecration, by the sacramental words of the priest rightly pronounced, be transubstantiated from the nature of bread into the very body of Christ, or not? Whereunto sir William said, that he knew not what that matter meant.

And then the said archbishop assigned unto the said sir William time to deliberate, and more fully to make his answer till the next day; and continued this convocation then and there till the morrow: which morrow, to wit, the

Henry  
IV.

A. D.  
1401.

The answer of William Sautre given up in writing. The cross, materially, not to be worshipped.

A man predestinate rather to be worshipped than an angel: that is to say, neither can be worshipped without idolatry.

How bread remaineth in the sacrament.

The convocation resumed.

*Henry  
IV.*

A. D.  
1401.

nineteenth day of February, being come, the aforesaid archbishop of Canterbury, in the said chapter-house of St. Paul in London, before his council provincial then and there assembled, especially asked and examined the same sir William Sautre, there personally present, upon the sacrament of the altar, as before: and the same sir William, again, in like manner as before, answered.

After this, amongst other things, the said bishop demanded of the same William, if the same material bread being upon the altar, after the sacramental words being by the priest rightly pronounced, is transubstantiated into the very body of Christ or not? And the said sir William said, he understood not what he meant.

Then the said archbishop demanded, whether that material bread being round and white, prepared and disposed for the sacrament of the body of Christ upon the altar, wanting nothing that is meet and requisite thereunto, by virtue of the sacramental words being by the priest rightly pronounced, be altered and changed into the very body of Christ, and ceaseth any more to be material and very bread or not? Then the said sir William, deridingly answering, said, he could not tell.

Then consequently, the said archbishop demanded, whether he would stand to the determination of the holy church or not, which affirmeth, that in the sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration being rightly pronounced by the priest, the same bread, which before in nature was bread, ceaseth any more to be bread? To this interrogation the said sir William said, that he would stand to the determination of the church, where such determination was not contrary to the will of God.

Determin-  
ation of  
the church so  
to be fol-  
lowed as  
it is join-  
ed to the  
will of  
God.

This done he demanded of him again, what his judgment was concerning the sacrament of the altar: who said and affirmed, that after the words of consecration, by the priest duly pronounced, remained very bread, and the same bread which was before the words spoken. And this examination about the sacrament, lasted from eight o'clock until eleven o'clock, or thereabouts, of the same day: inasmuch that during all this time the aforesaid William would no otherwise answer, neither yet, touching the same sacrament, receive catholic information, according to the institution of the pope's church, and his christian faith. Wherefore the said Canterbury, by the counsel and assent of his whole covent then and there present, did promulgate and give sentence, by the mouth of Robert Hall, against the same sir William Sautre (being personally present, and refusing to revoke his heresies, that is to say, his true doctrine, but constantly defending the same), under the tenor of words as followeth:

### The Sentence against William Sautre.

In the name of God, Amen. We, Thomas, by the grace of God archbishop of Canterbury, primate of England, and legate of the see apostolical, by the authority of God Almighty, and blessed St. Peter and Paul, and of holy church, and by our own authority, sitting for tribunal or chief judge, having God alone before our eyes, by the counsel and consent of the whole clergy, our fellow brethren and suffragans, assistants unto us in this present council provincial, by this our sentence definitive, do pronounce, decree, and declare, by these presents, thee William Sautre, otherwise called Chatris, parish priest pretended, personally appearing before us, in and upon the crime of heresy, judicially and lawfully convicted as a heretic, and as a heretic to be punished.

This sentence definitive being thus read, the aforesaid archbishop of Canterbury continued<sup>1</sup> the same provincial council till Wednesday next, and immediately ensuing, to wit, the twenty-third<sup>2</sup> day of the same month of February; which being expired, the bishop of Norwich, according to the commandment of the said archbishop of Canterbury, presented unto the aforesaid William Sautre, by a certain friend of his, being present at the same council, a certain process enclosed and sealed with his seal, giving the names of credible witnesses sealed with their seals, the tenor whereof followeth in this wise:

(1) "Continued," adjourned.—ED.

(2) See the Appendix.—ED.



A certain Process against William Sautre, presented by the Bishop of  
Norwich.

Henry  
IV.

A. D.  
1399.

See  
Appendix

Memorandum, That upon the last day of April, in the year of our Lord 1399, in the seventh indiction, and tenth year of the papacy of pope Boniface IX., in a certain chamber within the manor-house of the said bishop of Norwich, at South Elmham (where the register of the said bishop is kept), before the ninth hour, in a certain chapel within the said manor situate, and the first day of May then next and immediately ensuing, in the aforesaid chamber sir William Chatris, parish priest of St. Margaret's in the town of Lynn and of Tilney, appeared before the bishop of Norwich, in the presence of John de Derlington, archdeacon of Norwich, doctor of the decrees, friar Walter Dish, and John Rikinghal, professors in divinity; William Carlton, doctor of both laws, and William Friseby, with Hugh Bridham, public notaries, and there publicly affirmed and held the conclusions, as before is specified.

All and singular the premises the aforesaid William affirmeth upon mature deliberation. And afterwards, to wit, the nineteenth day of May in the year, indiction, and papacy aforesaid, in the chapel within the manor-house of the said Henry bishop of Norwich, situate at South Elmham, the aforesaid sir William revoked and renounced all and singular the aforesaid his conclusions; abjuring and correcting all such heresies and errors, taking his oath upon a book before the aforesaid Henry the bishop of Norwich, that from that time forward he would never preach, affirm, nor hold, privily or apertly, the aforesaid conclusions; and that he would pronounce, according to the appointment of the said bishop, the aforesaid conclusions to be erroneous and heresies in the parish churches of Lynn and Tilney, and in other places, at the assignment of the said bishop; and further swore, that he would stand to the ordinance of the said bishop touching the premises, in the presence of the discreet and worshipful men before recited, with divers other more.

As concerning the first conclusion, that he said he would not worship the cross, &c., he confessed himself to have erred, and that the article was erroneous, and submitted himself. And as touching the second article, that he said he would rather worship a king, &c., he confessed himself to have erred, and the article to be erroneous, and submitted himself; and so forth of all the rest.

Then next after this, upon the twenty-fifth day of May, in the year of our Lord aforesaid, in the churchyard of the chapel of St. James within the town of Lynn, the aforesaid William, in presence of the aforesaid bishop and clergy, and the people of the said town of Lynn standing round about, publicly declared in the English tongue, the aforesaid conclusions to be erroneous and heresies, that were contained in a certain scroll. And after this, the twenty-sixth day of May, in the year abovesaid, in the church of the hospital of St. John's in the town of Lynn, the said sir William, before the said bishop sitting as judge, swore and took his oath upon the holy evangelists, that he would never after that time preach openly and publicly the aforesaid conclusions, nor would hear the confessions of any of the subjects of his diocese of Norwich, without the special licence of the said bishop, &c. In the presence of friar John, archbishop of Smyrna, Master John Rikinghal, doctor of divinity, William Carlton, doctor of both laws, and Thomas Bulton, officer of the liberty of Lynn aforesaid, with divers others.

### The tenor of the Scroll and Recantation of William Sautre.

Imprimis, Touching the first and second, where I said, that I would adore rather a temporal prince, and the lively bodies of the saints, than the wooden cross whereupon the Lord did hang: I do revoke and recant the same, as being therein deceived.

The first  
and second  
articles.

To this I say, that the article is false and erroneous, and by false information I held it; which I renounce and ask forgiveness thereof, and say, that it is a precious relic, and that I shall hold it while I live; and that I swear here.

The third  
article

I know well that I erred wrongfully by false information; for I wot well, Fourth.

- Henry IV.* that a deacon or a priest is more bound to say his matins and hours, than to preach; for thereto he is bounden by right: wherefore I submit me, &c.
- A.D. 1401.* Touching that article,<sup>1</sup> I know right well that I erred by false information; wherefore I ask forgiveness.
- Sixth.* As concerning vows, I say that opinion is false and erroneous, and by false information I held it; for a man is bounden to hold his vow, &c.
- Seventh.* To the seventh article I say, that I did it by authority of priesthood, through which deed I acknowledge well that I have guilt and trespassed: wherefore I submit me to God and to holy church, and to you father, swearing that I shall never hold it more.
- Eighth.* To the eighth I say, that I held it by false and wrong information: but now I know well that it is heresy, and that bread, anon as the word of the sacrament is said, is no longer bread material, but that it is turned into Christ's very body; and that I swear here.
- Ninth.* I say, that this is false and erroneous, &c.
- Tenth.* I say as I said, &c.

*See Appendix.* This being done, the 23d of February aforesaid<sup>2</sup>, A.D. 1401, in the Chapter house of St. Paul, in London aforesaid, the aforesaid archbishop of Canterbury, in the convocation of his prelates and clergy, and such like men there being present, caused the afore recited process of the bishop of Norwich to be read openly and publicly to sir William Sautre, otherwise called Chatris. And afterwards he asked the said sir William, whether he plainly understood and knew such process, and the contents within the same; and he said, 'Yea.' And further he demanded of him, if he would or could say or object any thing against the process, and he said, 'No.' And after that incontinent, the aforesaid archbishop of Canterbury demanded and objected against the said sir William, as divers others more did; that after he had, before the bishop of Norwich, revoked and abjured, judicially, divers errors and heresies, among other errors and heresies by him taught, holden, and preached, he affirmed, that in the same sacrament of the altar, after the consecration made by the priest, as he taught, there remained material bread; which heresy, amongst others, as errors also he abjured before the aforesaid bishop of Norwich.<sup>3</sup> Hereunto the aforesaid William answered smiling, or in mocking wise, saying and denying that he knew of the premises. Notwithstanding, he publicly affirmed, that he held and taught the aforesaid things after the date of the said process made by the said bishop of Norwich, and that in the same council also he held the same. Then finally it was demanded of the said sir William, why he ought not to be pronounced as a man fallen into heresy, and why they should not further proceed unto his degradation according to the canonical sanctions: whereunto he answered nothing, neither could he allege any cause to the contrary.

Process  
against  
Sautre.

Whereupon the aforesaid archbishop of Canterbury, by the counsel and assent of the whole council, and especially by the counsel and assent of the reverend fathers and bishops, as also priors, deans, archdeacons, and other worshipful doctors and clerks then and there present in the council, fully determined to proceed to the degradation and actual deposing of the said William Sautre, as re-fallen into heresy, and as incorrigible, according to the sentence definitive put in writing, the tenor whereof is in words as followeth:

### Sentence of Relapse.

In the name of God, amen. We, Thomas, by the grace of God archbishop of Canterbury, legate of the see apostolical, and metropolitan of all England, do find and declare, that thou William Sautre, otherwise called Chatris, priest, by us, with the counsel and assent of all and singular our fellow brethren and whole clergy, by this our sentence definitive declared in writing, hast been for heresy convicted and condemned, and art (being again fallen into heresy) to be deposed and degraded by these presents.

And from that day, being Wednesday, there was in the said council provincial nothing further prosecuted, but it was continued with all dependents till

(1) Meaning the Fifth.

(2) See before p. 224.—Ed.

(3) Ex Regist. Cantuar.

the Friday next ensuing; which Friday approaching, Master Nicholas Rishton (by the commandment of the said archbishop of Canterbury, being then busied, as he said, in the parliament house) continued this council and convocation with all incidents, dependents, and occasions growing and annexed therunto, to the next day, to wit, Saturday next and immediately after ensuing. Upon Saturday, being the 26th of the said month of February, the aforesaid archbishop of Canterbury sat in the bishop's seat of the aforesaid church of St. Paul in London, and solemnly apparelled in his pontifical attire, sitting with him as his assistants the reverend fathers, the bishops of London, Lincoln, Hereford, Exeter, St. David's, and Rochester, above-mentioned, commanded and caused the said sir William Sautre, apparelled in priestly vestments, to be brought and appear before him. That done, he declared and expounded in English to all the clergy and people there in great multitude assembled the whole of the foregoing process against the said sir William Sautre. Which things finished, he then and there fully recited and read through the aforesaid sentence of relapse which had been passed against the said sir William, as is premised. And for that he saw the said William in that behalf nothing abashed, he proceeded to his degradation and actual deposition, in form as followeth:—

Henry  
IV.A. D.  
1401.See  
Appendix.

### Sentence of Degradation pronounced on Sir William Sautre.

In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, Amen. We Thomas, by God's permission archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the apostolic see, do thee William Sautre, otherwise called Chatris, chaplain pretended, clothed in the habit and apparel of a priest, a heretic and one relapsed into heresy, by our sentence definitive condemned, by the counsel, assent, and authority, and by the conclusion of all our fellow brethren, our co-bishops and prelates, and of the whole clergy of our provincial council, degrade and depose from the order of a priest. And in sign of thy degradation and actual deposition, for thine incorrigibility we take from thee the paten and chalice, and do deprive thee of all power of celebrating the mass, and also we pull from thy back the casule, and take from thee the priestly vestment, and deprive thee of all manner of priestly honour.

The  
paten  
and  
chalice  
taken  
from  
him.

Item, We Thomas, the aforesaid archbishop, by the same authority, counsel, and assent as before, do thee the aforesaid William, deacon pretended, clothed in the habit and apparel of a deacon, having the book of the Gospels in thy hands, a heretic, and one relapsed into heresy, condemned by sentence as is aforesaid, degrade and depose from the order of a deacon. And in sign of this thy degradation and actual deposition, we take from thee the book of the Gospels, and the stole, and do deprive thee of the power of reading the gospel, and of all and all manner of diaconal honour.

The book  
of the  
New Tes-  
tament  
taken  
from  
him.

Item, We Thomas, archbishop aforesaid, by the same authority, counsel, and assent as before, do thee the aforesaid William, sub-deacon pretended, clothed in the habit and vestment of a sub-deacon, a heretic and one relapsed, condemned by sentence as is aforesaid, degrade and depose from the order of a sub-deacon; and in sign of this thy degradation and actual deposition, we take from thee the albe<sup>1</sup> and maniple,<sup>2</sup> and do deprive thee of all and all manner of sub-diaconal honour.

The albe  
taken  
from  
him.

Item, We Thomas, archbishop aforesaid, by the same authority, counsel, and assent as before, do thee the aforesaid William, acolyte<sup>3</sup> pretended, clothed in the habit of an acolyte, heretic and relapsed, by our sentence as is aforesaid condemned, degrade and depose from the order of an acolyte; and in sign of thy degradation and actual deposition, we take from thee the candlestick and taper, and the urceolum,<sup>4</sup> and do deprive thee of all and all manner of honour of an acolyte.

The can-  
dle-  
stick  
and  
taper  
taken  
from him.

Item, We Thomas, archbishop aforesaid, by the same authority, counsel, and assent as before, do thee the aforesaid William, exorcist [or, holy water clerk] pretended, clothed in the habit of an exorcist, being a heretic and relapsed, and by

(1) 'Albe,' a white linen tunic or cassock.—Ed.

(2) 'Maniple,' a kind of scarf worn about the wrists.—Ed.

(3) An inferior clerk, who waited on the priest, carried the bread and wine, or lighted the candles.—Ed.

(4) A pichler used in the celebration of the popish services.—Ed.

Henry  
IV.

A.D.  
1401.

The holy  
water  
book con-  
jured  
from him.  
The  
legend  
book.

our sentence as is aforesaid condemned, degrade and depose from the order of an exorcist; and in sign of this thy degradation and actual deposition, we take from thee the book of exorcisms, and do deprive thee of all and all manner of honour of an exorcist.

Item, We Thomas, archbishop aforesaid, by the same authority, counsel, and assent as before, do thee the aforesaid William, reader pretended, clothed in the habit of a reader, a heretic and relapsed, and by our sentence as is aforesaid condemned, degrade and depose from the order of a reader; and in sign of this thy degradation and actual deposition, we take from thee the book of the divine lections [that is, the book of the church legend], and do deprive thee of all and all manner of honour of a reader.

The sur-  
plice and  
church  
door keys  
taken  
from  
him.

Item, We Thomas, archbishop aforesaid, by the same authority, counsel, and assent as before, do thee the aforesaid William Sautre, sexton pretended, clothed in the habit of a sexton, and wearing a surplice, being a heretic and relapsed, by our sentence definitive condemned as aforesaid, degrade and depose from the order of a sexton; and in sign of this thy degradation and actual deposition, for the causes aforesaid do take from thee the keys of the church, and the surplice, and do deprive thee of all honour and commodity of a sexton.<sup>1</sup>

Privilege  
of clergy  
taken  
from him.

The  
priest's  
cap taken  
from his  
head,  
maketh  
up all in  
all.

Moreover, by the authority of Almighty God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and our own, and by the authority, counsel, and assent of our whole council provincial above written, we do degrade and depose thee, William Sautre alias Chatrys, from the orders, benefices, and privileges, and the habit and fellowship of the church, for thy pertinacy incorrigible, before the secular court of the high constable and marshal of England, being here personally present before us; and do strip and deprive thee of all and singular clerkly honours and distinctions whatsoever, by these writings. Also, in sign of thy actual degradation and deposition, we have caused thy crown and clerical tonsure in our presence to be rased away, and utterly to be abolished, like unto the form of a secular lay man; and a coloured cap to be put upon the head of the same William, as a secular lay man; beseeching the court aforesaid, that they will regard favourably the said William unto them thus recommended.

See  
Appendix.

Thus William Sautre, the servant of Christ, being utterly thrust out of the pope's kingdom, and metamorphosed from a clerk to a secular layman, was committed, as ye have heard, unto the secular power: which so done, the bishops, yet not herewith contented, cease not to call upon the king, to cause him to be brought forth to speedy execution. Whereupon the king, ready enough and too much to gratify the clergy, and to retain their favours, directeth out a terrible decree against the said William Sautre, and sent it to the mayor and sheriffs of London to be put in execution; the tenor whereof hereunder ensueth.

### The cruel Decree of the King against William Sautre.<sup>2</sup>

The decree of our sovereign lord the king and his council in the parliament, against a certain newly-sprung-up heretic.

To the mayor and sheriffs of London, &c. Whereas the venerable father Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the apostolic see, by the consent, assent, and counsel of his co-bishops and fellow-brethren, his suffragans, and of the whole clergy of his province in his provincial council assembled, the due order of law in this behalf required being observed in all points, hath pronounced by his definitive sentence one William Sautre, sometime chaplain, condemned of heresy, and formerly abjured by him in form of law, but now relapsed into the heresy aforesaid, to be a manifest heretic, and therefore hath decreed that he should be degraded, and hath for the same cause really degraded him from all clerical prerogative and privilege, and hath decreed the said William to be left to the secular court; and hath really so left him, according to the laws and

(1) "Ostarius," which Foxe here translates "door-keeper," but thrice before "sexton."—Ed.

(2) For the Latin copy of this decree, see edition 1563, p. 142, also Rymer's *Fœdera*.—Ed.

canonical sanctions set forth in this behalf, and that holy mother church hath no further to do in the premises :—We therefore—as zealous of religion and a lover of the catholic faith, being desirous to maintain and defend holy church and the rights and the liberties of the same, and as far as in us lieth to pluck up by the roots such heresies and errors of our realm of England, and with condign correction to punish all heretics or such as be convict; seeing that such heretics convict and condemned in form aforesaid ought, both according to divine and human law, and the canonical institutions in this behalf accustomed, to be burned with fire—do command you as strictly as we can, firmly enjoining you, that you cause the aforesaid William, being in your custody, in some public and open place within the liberties of the city aforesaid (the cause foresaid being published unto the people), to be committed to the fire, and him in the same fire really to be burned, for detestation of his crime, and the manifest example of other Christians: and hereof ye are not to fail, upon the peril that will fall thereupon.

Teste Rege, apud Westm. 26th Feb. An. regni sui 2.<sup>do</sup> [A.D. 1401.]

Henry  
IV.

A.D.  
1401.

Prepos-  
terous  
zeal with-  
out know-  
ledge.

Thus it may appear how kings and princes have been blinded and abused by the false prelates of the church, insomuch that they have been their slaves and butchers, to slay Christ's poor innocent members. See, therefore, what danger it is for princes not to have knowledge and understanding themselves, but to be led by other men's eyes, and especially trusting to such guides, who, through hypocrisy, both deceive them, and, through cruelty, devour the people.

Admo-  
nition to  
princes.

As king Henry IV., who was the deposer of king Richard, was the first of all English kings that began the unmerciful burning of Christ's saints for standing against the pope; so was this William Sautre, the true and faithful martyr of Christ, the first of all them in Wickliff's time, that I find to be burned in the reign of the aforesaid king, which was in the year of our Lord, 1401.

Henry IV.  
the first  
English  
king  
that tor-  
mented  
with fire.

After the martyrdom of this godly man, the rest of the same company began to keep themselves more closely for fear of the king, who was altogether bent to hold with the pope's prelaey. Such was the reign of this prince, that to the godly he was ever terrible, in his actions immeasurable, of few men heartily beloved; but princes never lack flatterers about them. Neither was the time of his reign very quiet, but full of trouble, of blood and misery. Such was their desire of king Richard again, in the reign of this king, that many years after he was rumoured to be alive (of them which desired belike that to be true, which they knew to be false), for which divers were executed. For the space of six or seven years together almost no year passed without some conspiracy against the king. Long it were here to recite the blood of all such nobles and others, which was spilled in the reign of this king, as the earl of Kent,<sup>1</sup> the earl of Salisbury, the earl of Huntingdon, named John Holland, &c., as writeth the story of St. Alban's. But the English writers differ something in their names, and make mention of four earls, of Surrey, of Exeter, of Salisbury, and lord Spencer, earl of Gloucester.<sup>2</sup>

Much  
murder  
and be-  
heading  
in the  
time  
of king  
Henry IV.

And the next year following sir Roger<sup>3</sup> Clarendon, knight, with two of his servants, and the prior of Laund, with eight friars, were hanged and quartered. And after these Henry Percy the younger; the earl of Worcester, named Thomas Percy, his uncle; the lord of Kinderton, and lord Richard de Vernon. The earl of Northumber-

(1) It is to be doubted. (2) Ex lib. eui tit. Calendarium Bruti. (3) See Appendix.—Ed.

*Henry IV.* land scarce escaped with his pardon, A.D. 1403: in which year the prison in Cornhill, called the Tun, was turned into the Conduit there now standing.

*A.D. 1405.*

To let pass others hanged and quartered the same time, as Blunt, knight, and Benet Kely, knight, and Thomas Wintersel, esq.; also the same year were taken and executed sir Bernard Brookes, knight, sir John Shilley, knight, sir John Mandelin and William Frierby. After all these, lord Henry, earl of Northumberland, and lord Bardolf, conspiring the king's death, were taken in the north and beheaded, which was in the eighth year of this king Henry.

Arch-  
bishop of  
York and  
Lord  
Mowbray  
against  
king  
Henry IV.

Lord Bar-  
dolf, and  
Henry  
Percy, earl  
of North-  
umber-  
land,  
against  
the king.

This civil rebellion of so many nobles and others against the king, declared what grudging hearts the people then bore toward this king Henry; among whom I cannot omit here also the archbishop of York, named Richard Scrope, who, with the Lord Mowbray, marshal of England, gathered a great company in the north country against the aforesaid king, to whom also was joined the help of lord Bardolf, and Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland: <sup>1</sup> and to stir up the people the more willingly to take their parts, they collected certain articles against the said king, to the number of ten, and fastened them upon the doors of the churches and monasteries, to be read by all men in English; <sup>2</sup> which articles if any be disposed to understand, forasmuch as the same also contain a great part of the doings between king Henry and king Richard aforesaid, I thought, for the better opening of the matter, hereunder to insert the same, in such form as I found them in the story of 'Scala mundi' expressed. <sup>3</sup>

#### Articles against King Henry IV., set upon Church Doors.

*A.D. 1405.*

In the name of God, amen. Before the Lord Jesus Christ, judge of the quick and dead, &c. We, A. B. C. D. &c., not long since, became bound by oath, upon the sacred evangelical book, unto our sovereign lord Richard, late king of England and France, in the presence of many prelates, potentates, and nobility of the realm, that we, so long as we lived, should bear true allegiance and fidelity toward him and his heirs succeeding him in the kingdom by just title, right, and line, according to the statutes and custom of this realm of England; by virtue whereof we are bound to foresee that no vices or heinous offences arising in the common-weal, do take effect or wished end, and we ought to give ourselves and our goods to withstand the same, without fear of the sword or death whatsoever, upon pain of perjury, which pain is everlasting damnation. Wherefore we, seeing and perceiving divers horrible crimes and great enormities daily, without ceasing, to be committed by the children of the devil and Satan's soldiers, against the supremacy of the Church of Rome, the liberty of the church of England, and the laws of the realm; against the person of king Richard and his heirs; against the prelates, noblemen, religion, and commonalty; and finally against the whole weal public of the realm of England, to the great offence of the majesty of Almighty God, and to the provocation of his just wrath and vengeance toward the realm and people of the same: and fearing also the destruction both of the church of Rome and England, and the ruin of our country to be at hand, having before our eyes the justice and the kingdom of God, calling always on the name of Jesus, having an assured confidence in his clemency, mercy, and power, have here taken unto us certain articles, subscribed in form following, to be propounded, tried, and heard before the just judge, Jesus Christ, and the whole world, to his honour, the delivery of the church, the clergy and commonalty, and to the utility and profit of the weal public. But if (which God forbid) by force, fear, or violence of wicked persons we shall be cast into prison, or by violent death prevented, so as in this world we shall not be able to prove the said articles as we would wish, then do we appeal to the high celestial

(1) Ex Chron. D. Albani.

(2) Ex Hist. Scala Mundi.

(3) They are printed in *Anglia Sacra*, vol. ii. p. 362.—ED.

Judge, that he may judge and discern the same, in the day of his supreme judgment.

Henry  
IV.

First: We depose, say, except, and intend to prove, against the lord Henry Darby, son of the lord John of Gaunt, late duke of Lancaster, and commonly called king of England (himself pretending the same, although without all right and title thereunto), and against his adherents, fautors, and accomplices, that ever they have been, are, and will be, traitors, invaders, and destroyers of God's church, in Rome, England, Wales, and Ireland, and of our sovereign lord Richard, late king of England, his heirs, his kingdom, and common-wealth, as shall hereafter manifestly appear.

A. D.  
1405.

Second: We depose, &c., against the said lord Henry, for that he had conceived, devised, and conspired, certain heinous crimes and traitorous offences against his said sovereign lord Richard, his state and dignity, as manifestly did appear in the contention between the said lord Henry, and the lord Thomas, duke of Norfolk, begun at Coventry, but not finished thoroughly. Afterwards he was sent into exile by sentence of the said king Richard, by the agreement of his father, the lord John, duke of Lancaster, by the voice of divers of the lords temporal, and nobility of the realm, and also by his own consent, there to remain for a certain time appointed unto him by the said lords; and withal he was bound, by oath, not to return into England before he had obtained favour and grace of the king. Not long after, when the king was departed into Ireland, for reformation of that country, appertaining to the crown of England, but as then rebelling against the same, the said lord Henry in the mean time, contrary to his oath and fidelity, and long before the time limited unto him was expired, with all his fautors and invaders secretly entered into the realm, swearing and protesting before the face of the people, that his coming into the realm in the absence of the king was for no other cause, but that he might, in humble sort, with the love and favour of the king, and all the lords spiritual and temporal, have and enjoy his lawful inheritance descending unto him of right after the death of his father: which thing as it pleased all men, so cried they, 'Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.' But how this blessing afterwards turned into cursing, shall appear in that which followeth: and also ye shall understand his horrible and wicked conspiracy against his sovereign lord king Richard, and divers other lords as well spiritual as temporal; besides that his manifest perjury shall well be known, and that he remaineth not only forsworn and perjured, but also excommunicate, for that he conspired against his sovereign lord our king: wherefore we pronounce him, by these presents, as well perjured, as excommunicate.

King  
Henry  
perjured.

Thirdly: We depose, &c., against the lord Henry, that he the said lord Henry, immediately after his entry into England, by crafty and subtle policy caused to be proclaimed openly throughout the realm, that no tenths of the clergy, fifteenths of the people, sealing up the cloth, diminution of wool, impost of wine, or other extortions or exactions whatsoever, should hereafter be required or exacted; hoping by this means to purchase unto him the voice and favour of the prelates spiritual, the lords temporal, the merchants, and the commonalty of the whole realm. After this he took by force the king's castles and fortresses, spoiled and devoured his goods wheresoever he found them, crying, 'havock,' 'havock.' The king's majesty's subjects, as well spiritual as temporal, he spoiled and robbed; some he took captive and imprisoned them; and some he slew and put to miserable death; whereof many were bishops, prelates, priests, and religious men: whereby it is manifest, that the said lord Henry is not only perjured, in promising and swearing that there should be hereafter no more exactions, payments, or extortions within the realm, but also excommunicate, for the violence and injury done to prelates and priests: wherefore, by these presents we pronounce him, as before, as well perjured, as excommunicate.

Charged  
with  
untruth.

Fourthly: We depose, &c., against the said lord Henry, that he, hearing of the king's return from Ireland into Wales, rose up against his sovereign lord the king with many thousands of armed men, marching forward with all his power towards the castle of Flint, in Wales, where he took the king and held him prisoner, and so led him captive as a traitor unto Leicester; from whence he took his journey towards London, misusing the king by the way both he and his, with many injuries and opprobrious contumelies and scoffs: and in the end committed him to the Tower of London, and held a parliament, the king

Charged  
with trea-  
son  
against  
his sove-  
reign.

*Henry  
IV.*

*A. D.  
1405.*

being absent and in prison ; wherein, for fear of death, he compelled the king to yield and resign unto him all his right and title to the kingdom and crown of England. After which resignation being made, the said lord Henry, standing up in the parliament house, stoutly and proudly before them all, said and affirmed, that the kingdom of England and crown of the same, with all thereunto belonging, did pertain unto him at that present, as of very right, and to no other ; for that the said king Richard, by his own deed, was deprived for ever of all the right, title, and interest that ever he had, hath, or may have in the same. And thus at length, by right and wrong, he exalted himself unto the throne of the kingdom ; since which time, our common-weal never flourished nor prospered, but altogether hath been void of virtue, for that the spirituality was so oppressed, exercise and warlike practices have not been maintained, charity is waxed cold, and covetousness and misery have taken place, and finally mercy is taken away, and vengeance supplieth the room : whereby it doth appear, as before is said, that the said lord Henry is not only perjured and false by usurping the kingdom and dominion belonging to another, but also excommunicate for the apprehending, unjust imprisoning, and depriving his sovereign lord the king of his royal crown and dignity : wherefore, as in the articles before, we pronounce the said lord Henry to be excommunicate.

Fifthly : We depose, &c., against the said lord Henry, that he the same lord Henry with the rest of his favourers and complices, heaping mischief upon mischief, have committed and brought to pass a most wicked and mischievous fact, yea, such as hath not been heard of at any time before : for, after that they had taken and imprisoned the king, and deposed him by open injury against all humane nature, yet, not content with this, they brought him to Pomfret castle, and there imprisoned him, where fifteen days and nights they vexed him with continual hunger, thirst, and cold, and finally bereft him of life, with such a kind of death as never before that time was known in England, but by God's providence it is come to light. Who ever heard of such a deed, or who ever saw the like of it ? Wherefore, O England ! arise, stand up, avenge the cause, the death and injury, of thy king and prince : which if thou do not, take this for certain, that the righteous God will destroy thee by strange invasions and foreign power, and avenge himself on thee for this so horrible an act : whereby doth appear not only his perjury, but also his excommunication most execrable, so that, as before, we pronounce the said Henry not only perjured, but also excommunicate.

King  
Henry  
charged  
with  
murder-  
ing his  
prince.

Charged  
with vio-  
lating the  
orders of  
holy  
church.

Sixthly : We depose, &c., against the said lord Henry, that after he had attained to the crown and sceptre of the kingdom, he caused forthwith to be apprehended divers lords spiritual, bishops, abbots, priors, and religious men of all orders, whom he arrested, imprisoned, and bound, and against all order brought them before the secular judges to be examined ; not sparing the bishops whose bodies were anointed with sacred oil, nor priests, nor religious men, but commanding them to be condemned, hanged, and beheaded by the temporal law and judgment, notwithstanding the privilege of the church and holy orders, which he ought to have revered and worshipped, if he had been a true and lawful king ; for the first and chiefest oath in the coronation of a lawful king is, to defend and keep inviolate the liberties and rights of the church, and not to deliver any priest or religious man into the hands of the secular power, except for heresy only, and that, after his degradation, according to the order of the church. Contrary unto all this hath he done ; so that it is manifest by this article, as before in the rest, that he is both perjured, and excommunicate.

Charged  
with  
tyranny.

Sevently : We depose, &c., against the said lord Henry, that not only he caused to be put to death the lords spiritual and other religious men, but also divers of the lords temporal and nobility of the realm, and chiefly those that studied for the preservation of the common-weal, not ceasing as yet to continue his mischievous enterprise, if by God's providence it be not prevented, and that with speed. Amongst all others of the nobility, these first he put to death ; the earl of Salisbury, the earl of Huntingdon, the earl of Gloucester, the lord Roger Clarendon, the king's brother, with divers other knights and esquires ; and afterwards, the lord Thomas Percy, earl of Worcester, and the lord Henry Percy,<sup>1</sup> son and heir to the earl of Northumberland ; which lord Henry he not only slew, but to the uttermost of his power again and again he caused him to be slain. For after that he was once put to death, and delivered to the lord of

(1) Slain at the battle of Shrewsbury, July 21st, A.D. 1403.—Ed.



Furnile\* to be buried, who committed his body to holy sepulture, with as much honour as might be, commending his soul to Almighty God with the suffrages of the blessed mass and other prayers, the said lord Henry, most like a cruel beast still thirsting for his blood, caused his body to be exhumed and brought forth again, and to be reposed between two mill-stones in the town of Shrewsbury, there to be kept with armed men; and afterwards to be beheaded and quartered, commanding his head and quarters to be carried into divers cities of the kingdom: wherefore, for so detestable a fact, never heard of in any age before, we pronounce him, as in the former articles, excommunicate.

Henry  
IV.

A. D.  
1405.

\*“Furny-  
vale,”  
Ang.  
Sakra.

Eighthly: We depose, &c., against the said lord Henry, for that after his attaining to the crown he willingly ratified, allowed, and approved, a most wicked statute set forth and renewed in the parliament holden at Winchester; which statute is directly against the church of Rome, and the power and principality thereof given by our Lord Jesus Christ unto blessed St. Peter and his successors, bishops of Rome; unto whom belongeth, by full authority, the free disposing of all spiritual promotions, as well superior as inferior; which wicked statute is the cause of many mischiefs, viz., of simony, perjury, adultery, incest, misorder, and disobedience; for that many bishops, abbots, priors, and prelates (we will not say by virtue, but rather by error of this statute), have bestowed the benefices vacant upon young men, rude and unworthy persons, who have compacted with them for the same, so that scarce one prelate is found that hath not covenanted with the party promoted, for the half yearly, or, at the least, the third part of the said benefice so bestowed. And by this means the said statute is the destruction of the right of St. Peter, the church of Rome and England, the clergy and universities, the whole common-weal, and maintenance of wars, &c.

Charged  
with evil  
govern-  
ment.

Ninthly: We say and depose, &c., against the said lord Henry, that after he had tyrannously taken upon him the government of the realm, England never flourished since, nor prospered, by reason of his continual exactions of money, and oppressions yearly of the clergy and commonalty; neither is it known how this money so extorted is bestowed, when neither his soldiers nor his gentle men are payed as yet their wages and fees for their charges and wonderful toil and labour, neither yet the poor country people are satisfied for the victuals taken of them; and, nevertheless, the miserable clergy, and more miserable commonalty, are forced still to pay by menaces and sharp threatenings: notwithstanding he swore, when he first usurped the crown, that hereafter there should be no such exactions or vexations, neither of the clergy nor laity: wherefore, as before, we pronounce him perjured, &c.

Charged  
with op-  
pression  
and per-  
jury.

In the tenth and last article we depose, say, and openly protest by these presents, for ourselves, and all our assistants in the cause of the church of Rome and England, and in the cause of king Richard, his heirs, and the clergy and commonalty of the whole realm, that neither our intention is, was, nor shall be, in word or deed to offend any state either of the prelates spiritual, lords temporal, or commons of the realm; but rather, foreseeing the perdition and destruction of this realm to approach, we have here brought before you certain articles concerning the destruction of the same, to be circumspectly considered by the whole assembly, as well by the lords spiritual as temporal, and the faithful commons of England: beseeching you all, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, the righteous judge, and for the merits of our blessed lady, the mother of God, and of St. George our defender, under whose displayed banner we wish to live and die, and under pain of damnation, that ye will be favourable to us, and to our causes which are three in number; whereof the first is, that we exalt unto the kingdom the true and lawful heir, and him to crown in kingly throne with the diadem of England. And secondly, that we revoke the Welshmen, the Irishmen, and all others our enemies unto perpetual peace and amity. Thirdly and finally, that we deliver and make free our native country from all exactions, extortions, and unjust payment; beseeching our Lord Jesus Christ to grant his blessing, the remission of their sins, and life everlasting to all that assist us to their power in this godly and meritorious work: and unto all those that are against us we threaten the curse of Almighty God, by the authority committed unto us by Christ and his holy church, and by these presents we pronounce them excommunicate.

Three  
causes de-  
clared.

These articles being seen and read, much concourse of people daily

*Henry IV.*

A. D. 1410.

Earl of Westmoreland against the archbishop.

Falsehood in fellowship.

The archbishop of York craftily circumvented.

The archbishop of York, lord Mowbray, and many York-shiremen executed. [June 8th, A. D. 1405.]

Feb. 28th, A. D. 1408. Abbot of Hales hanged.

resorted more and more to the archbishop. The earl of Westmoreland (being then not far off, with John, the king's son) hearing of this, mustered his soldiers with all the power he was able to make, and bent towards the archbishop; but seeing his part too weak to encounter with him, he useth practice of policy, where strength would not serve. And first, coming to him under colour of friendship dissembled, he laboured to seek out the causes of that great stir: to whom the archbishop again answered, that no hurt was intended thereby, but profit rather to the king and commonwealth, and maintenance of public peace; but, forasmuch as he stood in great fear and danger of the king, he was therefore compelled so to do. And withal he showed unto him the contents of the articles aforesaid; which when the earl had read, setting a fair face upon it, he seemed highly to commend the purpose and doings of the bishop, promising, moreover, that he would help also forward in that quarrel to the uttermost of his power, and he required upon the same a day to be set, when they, with equal number of men, might meet together, in some place appointed, to have further talk of the matter. The archbishop, easily persuaded, was content, although much against the counsel of the earl marshal, and came; where the articles being openly published and read, the earl of Westmoreland with his company pretended well to like the same, and to join their assents together. This done, he exhorted the archbishop, that forasmuch as his garrison had been now long in armour and from home, he would therefore discharge the needless multitude of his soldiers, and dismiss them home to their works and business, and they would together drink and join hands in the sight of the whole company. Thus they shaking hands together, the archbishop sendeth away his soldiers in peace, not knowing himself to be circumvented, before he was immediately arrested by the hands of the earl of Westmoreland: and, shortly after, the king coming with his power to York, he was there beheaded the Monday in Whitsun-week, and with him also lord Thomas Mowbray, marshal, with divers others, moreover, of the city of York, who had taken their parts; after whose slaughter the king proceedeth further to persecute the earl of Northumberland, and lord Thomas Bardolph, who then did fly to Berwick. From thence they removed to Wales. At length, within two years after, fighting against the king's part, they were slain in the field, A. D. 1408: in which year divers others in the north parts, for favouring the aforesaid lords, were likewise condemned by the king, and put to death; among whom the abbot of Hales, for the like treason, was hanged.

The king, after the shedding of so much blood, seeing himself so hardly beloved of his subjects, thought to keep in yet with the clergy, and with the bishop of Rome, seeking always his chiefest stay at their hands; and therefore he was compelled in all things to serve their humour, as did appear as well in condemning William Sautre before, as also in others, which consequently we have now to treat of; in the number of whom cometh now, by the course of time, to write of one John Badby, a tailor and a layman, who, by the cruelty of Thomas Arundel, archbishop, and other prelates, was brought to his condemnation in this king's reign, A. D. 1410, as by their own registers appeareth, and followeth by this narration to be seen.<sup>1</sup>

A. D. 1410.

(1) Foxe has quite misplaced Badby's martyrdom. See the Appendix.—Ed.

*John Badby, Artificer. a Martyr.<sup>1</sup>**Henry IV.*A. D.  
1410.

In the year of our Lord 1410, on Saturday,<sup>2</sup> being the first day of March, in the afternoon, the examination following, of one John Badby, tailor, being a layman, was made in a certain house or hall within the precinct of the preaching friars of London, in an outer cloister, on the crime of heresy, and other articles repugnant to the determination of the erroneous church of Rome, before Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, and other his assistants, as the archbishop of York, and the bishops of London, Winchester, Exeter, Norwich, Salisbury, Bath, Bangor; the bishop of St. David's, and also Edmund, duke of York, Thomas Beaufort, chancellor of England, lord de Roos, clerk of the rolls, and a great number of other lords, both spiritual and temporal, being then at the self-same time present: Master Morgan read the articles of his opinions to the hearers, according as it is contained in the instrument read by the aforesaid Master Morgan, the tenor whereof followeth, and in effect is such.

The Articles against John Badby, and his Examination and Monition thereon.

In the name of God, Amen. Be it manifest to all men by this present public instrument, that in the year after the incarnation of our Lord, according to the course and computation of the church of England 1408 [otherwise in the year 1409], in the second indiction, in the third year of the popedom of the most holy father in Christ and Lord, lord Gregory XII., by the divine permission pope, the second day of January, in the chapel of the Carnaria of St. Thomas the Martyr, nigh unto the cathedral church of Worcester, being situate in the said diocese, in the presence of me the public notary, and of the witnesses under written, the aforesaid John Badby, a layman, of the said diocese of Worcester, appearing personally before the reverend father in Christ and Lord, lord Thomas, by the grace of God bishop of Worcester, sitting in the said chapel for chief judge, was detected of and upon the crime of heresy being heretically taught and openly maintained by the aforesaid John Badby: that is, that the sacrament of the body of Christ, consecrated by the priest upon the altar, is not the true body of Christ by virtue of the words of the sacrament; but that after the sacramental words spoken by the priests to make the body of Christ, the material bread doth remain upon the altar as in the beginning, neither is it turned into the very body of Christ after the sacramental words spoken by the priests.

The sacrament  
of Christ  
body.

Which John Badby being examined, and diligently demanded by the aforesaid reverend father concerning the premises, in the end did answer, That it was impossible that any priest should make the body of Christ, and that he believed firmly that no priest could make the body of Christ by such words sacramentally spoken in such sort. And also he said expressly, That he would never, while he lived, believe that any priest could make the body of Christ sacramentally, unless that first he saw manifestly the like body of Christ to be handled in the hands of the priest upon the altar, in his corporal form. And furthermore he said, That John Rakier, of Bristol, had as much power and authority to make the like body of Christ, as any priest had. Moreover he said, that when Christ sat at supper with his disciples, he had not his body in his hand, to the intent to distribute it to his disciples; and he said expressly, that he did not this thing. And also he spake many other words, teaching and fortifying the heresy in the same place, both grievous, and also out of order, and horrible to the ears of the hearers, sounding against the catholic faith.

Upon which occasion the same reverend father admonished and requested the said John Badby oftentimes, and very instantly to charity; forasmuch as he would willingly that he should have forsaken such heresy and opinions holden, taught, and maintained by him in such sort against the sacrament; to renounce,

(1) Ex Regist. T. Arundel.

(2) See the Appendix.—Ed.

Henry  
IV.

A. D.  
1409.

cannot  
blame ye  
that ye  
are so  
angry, for  
it was not  
for your  
profit.

and utterly abjure them, and to believe other things which the holy mother the church doth believe: and he informed the said John on that behalf both gently, and yet laudably. Yet the said John Badby, although he were admonished and requested both often and instantly by the said reverend father, said and answered expressly, That he would never believe otherwise than before he had said, taught, and answered. Whereupon, the aforesaid reverend father, bishop of Worcester, seeing, understanding, and perceiving the aforesaid John Badby to maintain and fortify the same heresy, being stubborn, and proceeding in the same stubbornness, pronounced the said John to be before this time convicted of such a heresy, and that he hath been and is a heretic; and in the end declared it in these words.

### The Sentence of the Bishop of Worcester against John Badby, with the Attestation of the Notaries.

‘In the name of God, Amen. We, Thomas, bishop of Worcester, do accuse thee John Badby, being a layman of our diocese, of and upon the crime of heresy, before us sitting for chief judge, being oftentimes confessed and convicted of and upon that which thou hast taught, and openly affirmed, as hitherto thou dost teach, boldly affirm, and defend: that the sacrament of the body of Christ, consecrated upon the altar by the priest, is not the true body of Christ; but after the sacramental words, to make the body of Christ, by virtue of the said sacramental words pronounced, to have been in the crime of heresy; and we do pronounce thee both to have been, and to be, a heretic, and do declare it, finally, by these writings.’

A rabble  
of monks  
and friars  
about the  
condem-  
nation of  
John  
Badby.  
Quare  
irremue-  
rant  
gentes?  
Psal. ii.

These things were done accordingly, as is above written and recited, in the year, indiction, popedom, month, day, and place aforesaid; there being present at the same time John Malune, prior of the cathedral church of Worcester; John Dudle, monk; and John Haule, sub-prior of the said church: Thomas Penings, of the order of the Carmelites; Thomas Fekenham, of the order of the preaching friars; William Pomfret, of the order of the Minorites, being professors and masters in divinity: William Hailes, Gualter of London, John Swippedew, being public notaries; and William Beauchamp and Thomas Gerbis, being knights; Richard Wish, of Tredington; Thomas Wilby, of Hem-bury; John Weston, of Yewley, being parsons of churches; and Thomas Ba-leinges, master of St. Wolston, in Worcester; and also Henry Haggely, John Penerel, Thomas Trogmorton, and William Wasleborn, esquires, of the dioceses of Worcester and Norwich, and many other worshipful and honest men being witnesses, and called specially to the things aforesaid.

Scribes  
with Pha-  
risees.

And I John Chew, clerk of the diocese of Bath and Wells, and, by the authority apostolical, public notary of the said bishop, have, in testimony of the premises, put my hand and seal to the examination, interrogation, monition, and answer of the same John Badby, and to his obstinacy, and also to the proceedings of all and singular other doings as is aforesaid, which against him, before the said bishop, were handled and done, in the year, indiction, popedom, month, day, and place aforesaid, who, with the before-named witnesses, was personally present; and the same, even as I heard them and saw them to be done (being occupied with other matters), I caused to be written and published, and into this public form have compiled the same. I, the aforesaid notary, am also privy unto the words and examinations interlined between seven or eight lines of the beginning of this instrument; which lines I also, the aforesaid notary, do approve and make good.

The an-  
swer of  
John  
Badby  
to the  
articles.

And I Walter London, clerk of the diocese of Worcester, and, by the authority apostolical, public notary, to all and singular the aforesaid things as before by the aforesaid notary are recited, and in the year, indiction, popedom, month, day, and place aforesaid were handled and done, being with other the before-recited witnesses personally present, and to all and every of the same (as I saw and heard them to be done, being thereunto faithfully desired and required), in testimony of the premises, have signed and subscribed according to the accustomed manner.<sup>1</sup>

And when the articles, in the aforesaid instrument contained, were, by the archbishop of Canterbury, publicly and vulgarly read and approved; he publicly confessed and affirmed, that he had both said and maintained the same. And then the archbishop, to convince the constant purpose of the said John Badby, commanded the same articles again to be read, often instructing him both by words and examples, informing and exhorting him that thereby he might be brought the sooner to the religion that he was of. And, furthermore, the said archbishop said and affirmed there openly to the same John, that he would, if he would live according to the doctrine of Christ, gage his soul for him at the judgment day. And after that again he caused those articles, in the said instrument expressed, to be read by the aforesaid Philip Morgan, and the said archbishop himself expounded the same in English as before; whereunto John Badby answered: as touching the first article, concerning the body of Christ, he expressly said, That after the consecration at the altar, there remaineth material bread, and the same bread which was before: notwithstanding, said he, it is a sign or sacrament of the living God.

Henry  
IV.A. D.  
1410.Sub-  
stance of  
bread not  
changed  
in the sa-  
crament.

Also, when the second article was expounded unto him, 'That it is impossible for any priest,' &c. To this article he answered and said, That it could not sink into his mind, that the words are to be taken as they literally lie, unless he should deny the incarnation of Christ.

Also being examined on the third article concerning 'Jack Rakier,' he said, That if Jack Rakier were a man of good living, and did love and fear God, he hath as much power so to do, as hath the priest; and said further, that he hath heard it spoken by some doctors of divinity, that if he should receive any such consecrated bread, he were worthy to be damned, and were damned in so doing.

Furthermore he said, That he would believe the Omnipotent God in Trinity; and said moreover, that if every host being consecrated at the altar were the Lord's body, that then there be twenty thousand gods in England. But he believed, he said, in one God Omnipotent; which thing the aforesaid archbishop of Canterbury denied not.

And when the other conclusion was expounded, 'That Christ sitting with his disciples at supper,' &c. To this he answered and said, That he would greatly marvel, that if any man had a loaf of bread, and should break like the same, and give to every man a mouthful, the same loaf should afterwards be whole.

When all these things were thus finished, and all the said conclusions were often read in the vulgar tongue, the aforesaid archbishop demanded of him, whether he would renounce and forsake his opinions and such like conclusions or not, and adhere to the doctrine of Christ and catholic faith? He answered, That, according to that he had said before, he would adhere and stand to those words which before he had made answer unto. Then the archbishop oftentimes required the said John, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, that he would forsake those opinions and conclusions, and that henceforth he would cleave to the christian faith; which thing to do, in the audience of all the lords and others that were present, he expressly denied and refused.

Constancy of  
John  
Badby  
before the  
arch-  
bishop.

After all this, when the aforesaid archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of London had consulted together, to what safe keeping the said John Badby, until the Wednesday next, might be committed, it was concluded, that he should be put into a certain chamber or safe house within the mansion of the friars preachers, and so he was; and then the archbishop of Canterbury said, that he himself would keep the key thereof in the mean time. And when the aforesaid Wednesday was arrived, being the fifth day of March, and that the aforesaid archbishop of Canterbury with his fellow-brethren and suffragans were assembled in the church of St. Paul in London, the archbishop of Canterbury, taking the episcopal seat, called unto him the archbishop of York, Richard London, Henry Winchester, Robert Chichester, Alexander Norwich, and the noble prince Edmund the duke of York; Ralph earl of Westmoreland; Thomas Beaufort, knight, lord chancellor of England; and the lord Beaumont, with other noble men, as well spiritual as temporal, that stood, and sat by, whom to name it would be long; before whom the said John Badby was called personally to answer unto the articles premised in the aforesaid instrument: who when he came personally before them, the articles were read by the official of the court of Canterbury; and by the archbishop, in the vulgar tongue

The  
bishops  
make  
sure  
work.  
The arch-  
bishop  
both  
judge and  
jailor.Astite-  
runt re-  
ges terræ,  
et prin-  
cipes con-  
venerunt  
in unum  
adversus,  
&c. Ps. ii.

*Henry  
IV.*

A. D.  
1110.

expounded publicly and expressly: and the same articles as he had before spoken and deposed, he still held and defended, and said, that whilst he lived, he would never retract the same. And, furthermore, he said (specially to be noted,) that the lord duke of York, personally there present, as is aforesaid, and every man else for the time being, is of more estimation and reputation, than the sacrament of the altar, by the priest in due form consecrated.

Note  
here  
murder-  
ing  
wolves  
in sheep's  
clothing.

And whilst they were thus in his examination, the archbishop considering and weighing that he would in no wise be altered, and seeing, moreover, his countenance stout, and heart confirmed, so that he began to persuade others as it appeared, in the same: these things considered, the arch-prelate, when he saw that by his allurements it was not in his power, either by exhortations, reasons, or arguments, to bring the said John Badby from his constant truth to his catholic faith (executing and doing the office of his great Master), proceeded to confirm and ratify the former sentence given before by the bishop of Worcester against the said John Badby, pronouncing him for an open and public heretic. And thus, shifting their hands of him they delivered him to the secular powers, and desired the said temporal lords then and there present, very instantly, that they would not put the same John Badby to death for that his offence, nor deliver him to be punished or put to death, in the presence of all the lords above-mentioned.

The  
prince  
laboureth  
to turn  
Badby.

These things thus done and concluded by the bishops in the forenoon, in the afternoon the king's writ was not far behind, by the force whereof John Badby, still persevering in his constancy unto the death, was brought into Smithfield, and there, being put in an empty barrel, was bound with iron chains fastened to a stake, having dry wood put about him. And as he was thus standing in the pipe or tun, for as yet Perillus's bull was not in ure<sup>1</sup> among the bishops, it happened that the prince, the king's eldest son, was there present, who, showing some part of the good Samaritan, began to endeavour and essay how to save the life of him, whom the hypocritical Levites and Pharisees sought to put to death. He admonished and counselled him, that, having respect unto himself, he should speedily withdraw himself out of these dangerous labyrinths of opinions, adding oftentimes threatenings, which might have daunted any man's stomach. Also Courtney, at that time chancellor of Oxford, preached unto him, and informed him of the faith of holy church.

The sa-  
crament  
solemnly  
brought  
at the  
burning  
of Badby.

In the mean season the prior of St. Bartholomew's in Smithfield brought, with all solemnity, the sacrament of God's body, with twelve torches borne before, and so showed the sacrament to the poor man being at the stake. And then they demanding of him how he believed in it, he answered, That he knew well it was hallowed bread, and not God's body. And then was the tun put over him, and fire put unto him. And when the innocent soul felt the fire, he cried "Merey!" calling belike upon the Lord; with which horrible cry the prince being moved, commanded them to take away the tun, and quench the fire. This commandment being done, he asked him if he would forsake heresy, to take him to the faith of holy church? which thing, if he would do, he should have goods enough; promising also unto him a yearly stipend out of the king's treasury, so much as should suffice for his sustentation<sup>1</sup>.

(1) See the Appendix.—ED.

But this valiant champion of Christ, neglecting the prince's fair words, as also contemning all men's devices, being fully determined rather to suffer any kind of torment, were it never so grievous, than so great idolatry and wickedness, refused the offer of worldly promises, being no doubt more vehemently inflamed with the Spirit of God, than with any earthly desire. Wherefore, when as yet he continued unmoveable in his former mind, the prince commanded him straight to be put again into the pipe or tun, and that he should not afterwards look for any grace or favour. But as he could be allured by no rewards, even so was he nothing at all abashed at their torments, but, as a valiant champion of Christ, he persevered invincibly to the end, not without a great and most cruel battle, but with much greater triumph of victory; the Spirit of Christ having always the upper hand in his members, maugre the fury, rage, and power of the whole world. For the manifestation of which torment, we have here set forth the picture of his burning, in such manner as it was done.

*Henry IV.*

*A. D. 1401.*

John Badby constant to the end.

This godly martyr, John Badby, having thus consummated his testimony and martyrdom in fire, the persecuting bishops yet not herewith contented, and thinking themselves as yet either not strong enough, or else not sharp enough, against the poor innocent flock of Christ, to make all things sure and substantial on their side, in such sort as this doctrine of the gospel now springing should be suppressed for ever, laid their conspiring heads together; and having now a king for their own purpose, ready to serve their turn in all points (during the time of the same parliament above-recited yet continuing), the aforesaid bishops and clergy of the realm exhibited a bill<sup>1</sup> unto the king's majesty, subtilly declaring, what quietness had been maintained within this realm by his most noble progenitors, who always defended the ancient rites and customs of the church, and enriched the same with large gifts, to the honour of God and the realm: and, contrariwise, what trouble and disquietness had now risen by divers, as they termed them, wicked and perverse men, teaching and preaching openly and privily a certain new, wicked, and heretical kind of doctrine, contrary to the catholic faith and determination of holy church. Whereupon the king, always oppressed with blind ignorance, by the crafty means and subtle pretences of the clergy, granted in the said parliament, by consent of the nobility assembled, a statute to be observed, called 'Ex Officio,' as followeth:

All the power of man set against the gospel.

The gospel of Christ counted as wicked and heretical.

### The cruel Statute 'Ex Officio.'<sup>2</sup>

That is to say, that no man within this realm, or other dominions subject to the king's majesty, presume to preach publicly or privily, without license first sought and obtained of the diocesan (curates in their own churches, and persons heretofore privileged, and others allowed by the canon law, only excepted): nor that any hereafter do preach, teach, and inform in secret or openly, or make or write any book, contrary to the catholic faith or the determination of holy church: nor make any conventicles, or keep and exercise schools by any means, touching this sect, and their most wicked doctrines and opinions. And further, that no man hereafter do by any means favour any such preacher, or any maker of such conventicles, or any maker or writer of such books; or any such teacher, informer, or stirrer up of the people, nor in any wise maintain

(1) See the Appendix.—Ed.

(2) See the Harleian MSS. in the Brit. Mus. No. 420. Art. 12. "Excerpta ex Registro Thomæ Arundeli: de Lollardis. 67. (i. e. Statutum Regium in Parlamento editum contra Hereticos, vulgo dictum 'Ex Officio')." Also see the Appendix.—Ed.

Henry  
IV.A.D.  
1401.

or sustain any of them : And that all and singular persons having any books or writings containing the said wicked doctrines and opinions shall, within forty days after the proclamation of this present ordinance and statute, really and effectually deliver, or cause to be delivered, all the said books and writings unto the diocesan of the place. And if any person or persons, of what sex, state, or condition soever he or they be, shall hereafter do or attempt any thing in the premises, or any of them, contrary to this royal ordinance and statute aforesaid, or shall not deliver the said books in form aforesaid : that then the diocesan of the same place, in his own diocese, by authority of the said ordinance and statute, shall cause to be arrested and detained under safe custody in his own prisons the said person or persons, in this behalf defamed or evidently suspected, or any of them, until he or they so offending have canonically purged him or themselves of the articles laid to his or their charge in this behalf ; or until he or they have abjured, according as the laws ecclesiastical require, the said wicked sect, preachings, doctrines, and heretical and erroneous opinions : so that the said diocesan, by himself or his commissaries, proceed publicly and judicially to all effect of the law against the said persons so arrested and remaining under his safe custody ; and that he end and determine the matter within three months after the said arrest (all delays and excuses set apart), according to the canonical sanctions. And if any person, in any case above expressed, shall be canonically convicted before the diocesan of the place or his commissaries, that then the said diocesan may cause the said person so convicted (according to the measure and quality of his fault) to be kept in his own prisons, so long as to his discretion shall seem expedient.

A bloody  
law of  
king  
Henry IV.

And further, the said diocesan (except in cases wherein, according to the canonical sanctions, the party offending ought to be left to the secular court) may charge the said person to pay a fine of money unto the king's majesty, such as he shall think competent, for the measure and quality of his fault. In which case the said diocesan shall be bound to give notice of the said fine into the king's majesty's exchequer, by his letters patent under his seal ; to the intent that the said fine may be levied by the king's authority and to his use, of the goods of the person so convicted.

And further, if any person within the said realm and dominions shall be sentimentally convicted before the diocesan or his commissaries of the said wicked preachings, doctrines, opinions, schools, and heretical and erroneous informations, or any of them ; and will refuse duly to abjure the said wicked sect, preachings, teachings, opinions, schools, and informations ; or if, after abjuration once made by the said party, he be pronounced as relapsed by the diocesan of the place or his commissaries, so that by the canonical sanctions he ought to be left to the secular court, whereupon credence shall be given to the diocesan or his commissaries in this behalf : That then the sheriff of the same county, and the mayor and sheriffs, or the sheriff, mayor, or bailiffs of the city, town, or borough of the same county, next to the said diocesan, or his said commissaries, shall personally be present, as oft as they shall be required, to join with the said diocesan or his commissaries in giving sentence against the said persons, or any of them ; and, after the said sentence so pronounced, shall receive them, and any of them, and cause the same to be burned in an eminent place before the people ; to the intent that this kind of punishment may strike a terror on the minds of others, that the like wicked doctrines and heretical and erroneous opinions, or the authors and favourers thereof, be not maintained or in any wise tolerated (which God forbid !) within the said realm and dominions, against the catholic faith, and the christian religion, and the determinations of holy church. In all which and singular the premises, concerning the ordinance and statute aforesaid, let the sheriffs, mayors, and bailiffs of the said counties, cities, towns, and boroughs, be attendant on, aiding, and favouring the said diocesans and their commissaries.

A bloody  
statute.

By this bloody statute, so severely and sharply enacted against these simple men, here hast thou, gentle reader ! a little to stay with thyself, and to consider the nature and condition of this present world, how it hath been set and bent ever from the beginning, by all might, counsel, and ways possible, to strive against the ways of God,



and to overthrow that, which he will have set up. And although the world may see, by infinite stories and examples, that it is but in vain to strive against him, yet such is the nature of this world (all set in malignity), that it will not cease still to be like itself.

*Henry IV.*

A. D. 1401.

The like law and statute in the time of Dioclesian and Maximinus was attempted, as before appeareth; and for the more strength was written also in tables of brass, to the intent that the name of Christ should utterly be extinguished for ever: and yet the name of Christ remaineth; whereas that brazen law remained not three years. That law written then in brass, although it differ in manner and form from this our statute 'Ex officio,' yet to the same end and cruelty, to spill the blood of saints, there is no difference between the one and the other; neither is there any diversity touching the first original doer and worker of them both: for the same Satan which then wrought his uttermost against Christ, before he was bound up, the same also now, after his loosing out, doth what he can, though not after the same way, yet to the same intent; for then, with outward violence, as an open enemy, he did what he could; now, by a more covert way, under the title of the church, he impugneth the church of Christ, using a more subtle way to deceive, under gay pretended titles, but no less pernicious in the end whereto he shooteth; as well appeareth by this bloody statute 'Ex officio,' the sequel whereof cost afterwards many a christian man's life, as, in process of story, remaineth more hereafter, Christ willing, to be declared.

The law of Maximinus and the statute 'ex officio' compared.

Furthermore, for the more fortification of this statute of the king aforesaid, concurrerth also another constitution made much about the same time by the archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Arundel: so that no industry nor policy of man here did lack to set the matter forward, but specially on the bishops' parts, who left no means unattempted, how to subvert the right ways of the Lord.

*See Appendix.*

First, In most diligent and exquisite execution of the king's statute set forth; the execution whereof they did so exactly apply, that marvel it is to consider, all other laws of kings commonly, be they never so good, to be so coldly kept, and this only, among all the rest, so nearly followed. But herein is to be seen the diligence of the Romish prelates, who never let any thing fall, that maketh for the dignity of their estate.

Secondly, Beside their vigilant care in seeing the king's statute to be executed, no less industrious also were they in adding thereunto more constitutions of their own, as from time to time appeareth as well by other archbishops hereafter, and by pope Martin, as also by this constitution here present made by Thomas Arundel, the archbishop.

But before we enter on the relation of these aforesaid constitutions of the clergymen, here cometh in more to be said and noted touching the aforesaid statute 'Ex officio,' to prove the same not only to be cruel and impious, but also to be of itself of no force and validity for the burning of any person for the cause of religion; for the disproof of which statute we have sufficient authority remaining as yet in the Parliament Rolls to be seen in her majesty's Court of Records: which here were to be debated at large, but that upon special occasion we have deferred the ample discourse thereof to the

Henry  
IV.A.D.  
1409.

cruel persecution of the lord Cobham hereafter ensuing; as may appear in the defence of the said lord Cobham against Nicholas Harpsfield, under the title and name of 'Alanus Copus.' And thus referring them for the examination of this statute to the place aforesaid, let us now return to Thomas Arundel, and his bloody constitutions above-mentioned: the style and tenor whereof, to the intent the rigour of the same may appear to all men, I thought hereunder to adjoin, in words as followeth:

The cruel Constitution of Thomas Arundel, Archbishop, against the Gospellers, or followers of God's Truth.

Thirteen  
articles.

Thomas, by the permission of God, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the see apostolic: to all and singular our reverend brethren, fellow bishops, and our suffragans; and to abbots, priors, deans of cathedral churches, archdeacons, provosts and canons; also to all parsons, vicars, chaplains, and clerks in parish churches, and to all laymen, whom and wheresoever dwelling within our province of Canterbury, greeting, and grace to stand firmly in the doctrine of the holy mother church.

Blasphemy not of  
pure  
man, but  
of true  
God.Scripture  
clerkly  
applied.Κέφαλος  
ἀπὸ τῆς  
κεφαλῆς.  
Mark  
this, you  
gramma-  
rians.  
Mark  
well the  
poppe's di-  
vinity.How  
aptly he  
painteth  
the pro-  
ceedings  
of his own  
popish  
church.

It is a manifest and plain case, that he doth wrong and injury to the most reverend council, who so revolteth from the things being in the said council once discussed and decided; and whosoever dareth presume to dispute of the supreme or principal judgment here in earth, in so doing incurreth the pain of sacrilege, according to the authority of civil wisdom and manifold tradition of human law. Much more then, they, who, trusting to their own wits are so bold to violate, and with contrary doctrine to resist, and in word and deed to contemn, the precepts of laws and canons rightly made and proceeding from the key-bearer and porter of eternal life and death, bearing the room and person not of pure man, but of true God here in earth; which also have been observed hitherto by the holy fathers, our predecessors, unto the glorious effusion of their blood, and voluntary sprinkling out of their brains,<sup>1</sup> are worthy of greater punishment, deserving quickly to be cut off, as rotten members, from the body of the church militant. For such ought to consider what is in the Old Testament written, 'Moses and Aaron among his priests,' that is, were chief heads amongst them; and in the New Testament, among the apostles there was a certain difference: and though they were all apostles, yet was it granted of the Lord to Peter, that he should bear pre-eminence above the other apostles;<sup>2</sup> and also the apostles themselves would the same, that he should be the chieftain over all the rest; and being called Cephas, that is, Head, should be as a prince over the apostles, unto whom it was said, 'Thou being once converted, confirm thy brethren.' As though he would say, If there happen any doubt among them, or if any of them chance to err and stray out of the way of faith, of just living, or right conversation, do thou confirm and reduce him into the right way again,<sup>3</sup> which thing, no doubt, the Lord would never have said unto him, if he had not so minded, that the rest should be obedient unto him. And yet, all this notwithstanding, we know and daily prove what we are sorry to speak, how the old sophister, the enemy of mankind (foreseeing and fearing lest the sound doctrine of the church, determined from ancient times by the holy forefathers, should withstand his malice, if it might keep the people of God in unity of faith under one head of the church), doth therefore endeavour, by all means possible, to extirpate the said doctrine, feigning vices to be virtues. And so, under false pretences of verity dissimuled, he soweth discord among catholic people, to the intent that some going one way, some another, he, in the mean time, may gather to himself a church of the malignant, differing wickedly from the universal mother, holy church: in which, Satan, transforming himself into an angel of light, bearing a lying and deceitful balance in his hand, pretendeth great righteousness, in contrarying the ancient doctrine of the holy mother

(1) He meaneth here of Becket his predecessor, who had his brains beat out in the time of king Henry II. [See vol. ii. p. 246.—En.]

(2) This gear hangeth together like Germans' lips.

(3) An argument far fet, that true doctrine consisteth in making one head of the church.

church, and refusing the traditions of the same, determined and appointed by holy fathers; persuading men, by feigned forgeries, the same to be nought, and so inducing other new kinds of doctrine, leading to more goodness, as he by his lying persuasions pretendeth, although he in very truth neither willetli nor mindeth any goodness, but rather that he may sow schisms, whereby divers opinions, and contrary to themselves, being raised in the church, faith thereby may be diminished, and also the reverend holy mysteries, through the same contention of words, may be profaned by Pagans, Jews, and other infidels, and wicked miscreants. And so that figure in the Apocalypse, chap. vi. is well verified, speaking of him that sat on the black horse, bearing a pair of balances in his hand; by which heretics are understood, who, at the first appearance, like to weights or a balance, make as though they would set forth right and just things, to allure the hearts of the hearers; but afterwards appeareth the black horse, that is to say, their intention, full of cursed speaking. For they, under a diverse show and colour of a just balance, with the tail of a black horse sprinkling abroad heresies and errors, do strike; and, being poisoned themselves, under colour of good, raise up infinite slanders, and, by certain persons fit to do mischief, do publish abroad, as it were, the sugared taste of honey mixed with poison, thereby the sooner to be taken: working and causing, through their sleight and subtleties, that error should be taken for verity, wickedness for holiness and for the true will of Christ. Yea, and moreover, the aforesaid persons thus picked out, do preach before they be sent, and presume to sow the seed, before the seed discreetly be separate from the chaff; who, not pondering the constitutions and decrees of the canons provided for the same purpose against such pestilent sowers, do prefer sacrifice diabolical (so to term it), before obedience to be given to the holy church militant.

*Henry IV.*

A. D. 1409.

The figure of the black horse in the Apocalypse doctorly expounded.

We, therefore, considering and weighing that error which is not resisted seemeth to be allowed, and that he openeth his bosom too wide, who resisteth not the viper, thinking there to thrust out her venom; and willing, moreover, to shake off the dust from our feet, and to see to the honour of our holy mother church, whereby one uniform holy doctrine may be sown and planted in the church of God, namely, in this our province of Canterbury, so much as in us doth lie, to the increase of faith and service of God, first rooting out the evil weeds and offendicels which, by the means of perverse preaching and doctrine, have sprung up hitherto, and are likely more hereafter to grow; purposing by some convenient way, with all diligence possible, to withstand them in time, and to provide for the peril of souls which we see to rise under pretence of the premises; also, to remove all such obstacles, by which the said our purpose may be stopped, by the advice and assent of all our suffragans and other prelates, being present in this our convocation of the clergy, as also of the procurators of them that be absent, and at the instant petition of the procurators of the whole clergy within this our province of Canterbury, for the more fortification of the common law in this part; adding thereunto punishment and penalties condign, as be hereunder written.

Behold the true image of wolves under sheep's clothing

We will and command, ordain and decree: That no manner of person, secular or regular, being authorized to preach by the laws now prescribed, or licensed by special privilege, shall take upon him the office of preaching the word of God, or by any means preach unto the clergy or laity, whether within the church or without, in English, except he first present himself, and be examined by the ordinary of the place, where he preacheth: and so being found a fit person, as well in manners as knowledge, he shall be sent by the said ordinary to some one church or more, as shall be thought expedient by the said ordinary, according to the quality of the person. Nor any person aforesaid shall presume to preach, except first he give faithful signification, in due form, of his sending and authority; that is, that he that is authorized, do come in form appointed him in that behalf, and that those that affirm they come by special privilege, do show their privilege unto the parson or vicar of the place where they preach. And those that pretend themselves to be sent by the ordinary of the place, shall likewise show the ordinary's letters made unto him for that purpose, under his great seal. Let us always understand, the curate (having the perpetuity) to be sent of right unto the people of his own cure: but if any person aforesaid shall be forbidden by the ordinary of the place, or any other superior, to preach, by reason of his errors or heresies which before, peradventure, he hath preached and taught;

The first constitution.

No priests to preach, but by limitation of the prelates.

Henry  
IV.A. D.  
1409.

that then, and from thenceforth, he abstain from preaching within our province, until he have purged himself, and be lawfully admitted again to preach by the just arbitrement of him that suspended and forbade him; and shall always, after that, carry with him, to all places wheresoever he shall preach, the letters testimonial of him that restored him.

A jolly  
mean to  
bring the  
world  
into such  
darkness.

Moreover the parish priests or vicars temporal, not having perpetuities, nor being sent in form aforesaid, shall simply preach in the churches where they have charge, only those things which are expressly contained in the provincial constitution set forth by John, our predecessor, of good memory, to help the ignorance of the priests, which beginneth, '*Ignorantia Sacerdotum*;' which book of constitutions we would should be had in every parish church in our province of Canterbury, within three months next after the publication of these presents, and (as therein is required) that it be effectually declared by the priests themselves yearly, and at the times appointed. And, lest this wholesome statute might be thought hurtful to some, by reason of payment of money, or some other difficulty, we therefore will and ordain, that the examinations of the persons aforesaid, and the making of their letters by the ordinary, be done gratis and freely, without any exaction of money at all by those to whom it shall appertain. And if any man shall willingly presume to violate this our statute grounded upon the old law, after the publication of the same, he shall incur the sentence of greater excommunication, '*ipso facto*:' whose absolution we specially reserve, by tenor of these presents, to us and our successors. But, if any such preacher, despising this wholesome statute, and not weighing the sentence of greater excommunication, do, the second time, take upon him to preach, saying and alleging, and stoutly affirming, that the sentence of greater excommunication aforesaid cannot be appointed by the church in the persons of the prelates of the same, that then the superiors of the place do worthily rebuke him, and forbid him from the communion of all faithful Christians.

And that the said person hereupon lawfully convicted (except he recant and abjure after the manner of the church) be pronounced a heretic by the ordinary of the place. And that from thenceforth he be reputed and taken for a heretic and schismatic, and that he incur '*ipso facto*' the penalties of heresy and schismacy, expressed in the law; and, chiefly, that his goods be adjudged confiscate by the law, and apprehended, and kept by them to whom it shall appertain. And that his fautors, receivers, and defenders, being convicted, in all cases be likewise punished, if they cease not off within one month, being lawfully warned thereof by their superiors.

The second  
constitution.

Furthermore, no clergyman, or parochians<sup>1</sup> of any parish or place within our province of Canterbury, shall admit any man to preach within their churches, church-yards, or other places whatsoever, except first there be manifest knowledge had of his authority, privilege, or sending thither, according to the order aforesaid: otherwise the church, church-yard, or what place soever, in which it was so preached, shall '*ipso facto*' receive the ecclesiastical interdict, and so shall remain interdicted, until they that so admitted and suffered him to preach, have reformed themselves, and obtained the place so interdicted to be released in due form of law, either from the ordinary of the place, or else his superior.

The third  
constitution.

What ty-  
ranny is  
this, to  
bind the  
preacher's  
mouth  
what to  
say.

Moreover, like as a good householder casteth wheat into the ground, wel ordered for that purpose, thereby to get the more increase, even so we will and command, that the preacher of God's word, coming in form aforesaid, preaching either unto the clergy or laity, according to his matter proponed, shall be of good behaviour, sowing such seed as shall be convenient for his auditory: and chiefly preaching to the clergy, he shall touch the vices, commonly used amongst them; and to the laity, he shall declare the vices commonly used amongst them; and not otherwise. But if he preach contrary to this order, then shall he be sharply punished by the ordinary of that place, according to the quality of that offence.

The  
fourth  
constitution.

Item, Forasmuch as the part is vile, that agreeth not with the whole, we do decree and ordain, that no preacher aforesaid, or any other person whatsoever, shall otherwise teach or preach concerning the sacrament of the altar, matrimony, confession of sins, or any other sacrament of the church, or article of the

(1) 'Parochian,' a parishioner, a layman. See Appendix.—Ed.

faith, than what already is disscussed by the holy mother church; nor shall bring any thing in doubt that is determined by the church, nor shall, to his knowledge, privily or apertly pronounce blasphemous words concerning the same; nor shall teach, preach, or observe any sect, or kind of heresy whatsoever, contrary to the wholesome doctrine of the church. He that shall wittingly and obstinately attempt the contrary after the publication of these presents, shall incur the sentence of excommunication 'ipso facto:' from which, except in point of death, he shall not be absolved, until he have reformed himself by abjuration of his heresy, at the discretion of the ordinary in whose territory he so offended, and have received wholesome penitence for his offences. But if the second time he shall so offend, being lawfully convicted, he shall be pronounced a heretic, and his goods shall be confiscated, and apprehended, and kept by them to whom it shall appertain. The penance before-mentioned, shall be after this manner: if any man, contrary to the determination of the church, that is, in the decrees, decretals, or our constitutions provincial, do openly or privily teach or preach any kind of heresy or sect, he shall, in the parish church of the same place where he so preached, upon one Sunday or other solemn day, or more, at the discretion of the ordinary, and as his offence is more or less, expressly revoke what he so preached, taught, or affirmed, even at the time of the solemnity of the mass, when the people are most assembled; and there shall he effectually, and without fraud, preach and teach the very truth determined by the church; and, further, shall be punished after the quality of his offence, as shall be thought expedient, at the discretion of the ordinary.

Henry  
IV.  
A. D.  
1409.

A bar for  
the  
preach-  
ers.

Item, Forasmuch as a new vessel, being long used, savoureth after the head, we decree and ordain, that no schoolmasters and teachers whatsoever, that instruct children in grammar, or others whosoever, in primitive sciences, shall, in teaching them, intermingle any thing concerning the catholic faith, the sacrament of the altar, or other sacraments of the church, contrary to the determination of the church; nor shall suffer their scholars to expound the holy Scriptures (except the text, as hath been used in ancient time); nor shall permit them to dispute openly or privily concerning the catholic faith, or sacraments of the church. Contrariwise, the offender herein shall be grievously punished by the ordinary of the place, as a favourer of errors and schisms.

The fifth  
constitution.  
A caveat  
for  
school-  
masters.

Item, For that a new way doth more frequently lead astray, than an old way, we will and command, that no book or treatise made by John Wickliff, or others whomsoever, about that time, or since, or hereafter to be made, be from henceforth read in schools, halls, hospitals, or other places whatsoever, within our province of Canterbury aforesaid, except the same be first examined by the university of Oxford or Cambridge; or, at least, by twelve persons, whom the said universities, or one of them, shall appoint to be chosen at our discretion, or the laudable discretion of our successors; and the same being examined as aforesaid, to be expressly approved and allowed by us or our successors, and in the name and authority of the university, to be delivered unto the stationers to be copied out, and the same to be sold at a reasonable price, the original thereof always after to remain in some chest of the university. But if any man shall read any such kind of book in schools or otherwise, as aforesaid, he shall be punished as a sower of schism, and a favourer of heresy, as the quality of the fault shall require.

The sixth  
constitution.  
Books of  
John  
Wickliff  
forbid-  
den.

Item, It is a dangerous thing, as witnesseth blessed St. Jerome, to translate the text of the holy Scripture out of the tongue into another; for in the translation the same sense is not always easily kept, as the same St. Jerome confesseth, that although he were inspired, yet oftentimes in this he erred: we therefore decree and ordain, that no man, hereafter, by his own authority translate any text of the Scripture into English or any other tongue, by way of a book, libel, or treatise; and that no man read any such book, libel or treatise, now lately set forth in the time of John Wickliff, or since, or hereafter to be set forth, in part or in whole, privily or apertly, upon pain of greater excommunication, until the said translation be allowed by the ordinary of the place, or, if the ease so require, by the council provincial. He that shall do contrary to this, shall likewise be punished as a favourer of error and heresy.

The  
seventh  
constitution.  
He con-  
fesseth  
that St.  
Jerome  
erred in  
his trans-  
lation.  
And yet  
the said  
arch-  
bishop  
commen-  
deth  
queen  
Ann, for  
having

Item, For that Almighty God cannot be expressed by any philosophical terms, or otherwise invented of man: and St. Augustine saith, that he hath oftentimes revoked such conclusions as have been most true, because they have

*Henry  
IV.*A. D.  
1409.

the Scrip-  
ture in  
English.  
The  
eighth  
constitu-  
tion.  
Terms  
and propo-  
sitions  
in dis-  
puting  
to be  
observed.  
The ninth  
constitu-  
tion.

Authority  
of the  
pop's  
decretals  
not to be  
doubted  
under  
pain of  
heresy.  
Adora-  
tion of  
the cross.

The  
tenth  
constitu-  
tion.  
No priest  
to cele-  
brate  
without  
his letters  
of orders.

The  
eleventh  
constitu-  
tion.

Oxford  
famous  
for  
sincere  
religion.

been offensive to the ears of the religious; we do ordain and specially forbid, that any manner of person, of what state, degree, or condition soever he be, do allege or propone any conclusions or propositions in the catholic faith, or repugnant to good manners (except necessary doctrine pertaining to their faculty of teaching or disputing in their schools or otherwise), although they defend the same with ever such curious terms and words. For, as saith blessed St. Hugh of the sacraments, 'That which oftentimes is well spoken, is not well understood.' If any man, therefore, after the publication of these presents, shall be convicted wittingly to have proposed such conclusions or propositions, except (being monished) he reform himself in one month, by virtue of this present constitution, he shall incur the sentence of greater excommunication 'ipso facto,' and shall be openly pronounced an excommunicate, until he hath confessed his fault openly in the same place where he offended, and hath preached the true meaning of the said conclusion or proposition in one church or more, as shall be thought expedient to the ordinary.

Item, No manner of person shall presume to dispute upon the articles determined by the church, that are contained in the decrees, decretals, or constitutions provincial, or in the general councils; but only to seek out the true meaning thereof, and that expressly, whether it be openly or in secret; and none shall call in doubt the authority of the said decretals or constitutions, or the authority of him that made them; or teach any thing contrary to the determination thereof: and, chiefly, concerning the adoration of the holy cross, the worshipping of images, of saints, going on pilgrimage to certain places, or to the relics of saints, or against the oaths, in cases accustomed to be given in both common places, that is to say, spiritual and temporal. But by all it shall be commonly taught and preached, that the cross and image of the crucifix, and other images of saints, in honour of them whom they represent, are to be worshipped with procession, bowing of knees, offering of frankincense, kissings, oblations, lighting of candles, and pilgrimages,<sup>1</sup> and with all other kind of ceremonies and manners that have been used in the time of our predecessors; and that giving of oaths in cases expressed in the law, and used of all men to whom it belongeth, in both common places, ought to be done upon the book of the gospel of Christ. Contrary unto this whosoever doth preach, teach, or obstinately affirm, except he recant in manner and form aforesaid, shall forthwith incur the penalty of heresy, and shall be pronounced a heretic, in all effect of law.

Item, We do decree and ordain, that no chaplain be admitted to celebrate in any diocese within our province of Canterbury, where he was not born, or received not orders; except he bring with him his letters of orders, and letters commendatory from his ordinary, and also from other bishops in whose diocese of a long time he hath been conversant, whereby his conversation and manners may appear; so that it may be known, whether he hath been defamed with any new opinions touching the catholic faith, or whether he be free from the same: otherwise, as well he that celebrateth, as he that suffereth him to celebrate, shall be sharply punished at the discretion of the ordinary.

Finally, Because those things which newly and unaccustomably creep up, stand in need of new and speedy help, and where more danger is, there ought to be more wary circumspection and stronger resistance; and not without good cause, the less noble ought discreetly to be cut away, that the more noble may the more perfectly be nourished: considering, therefore, and in lamentable wise showing unto you, how the ancient university of Oxford, which as a fruitful vine was wont to extend forth her fruitful branches to the honour of God, the great perfection and defence of the church, now partly being become wild, bringeth forth bitter grapes, which being indiscreetly eaten of ancient fathers, that thought themselves skilful in the law of God, hath set on edge the teeth of their children: and our province being infected with divers and unfruitful doctrines, and defiled with a new and damnable name of Lollardy, to the great reproof and offence of the said university, being known in foreign countries, and to the great irksomeness of the students there, and to the great damage and loss of the church of England, which in times past by her virtue, as with a strong wall, was wont to be defended, and now is like to run into ruin not to be recovered: at the supplication, therefore, of the whole clergy of our pro-

(1) With all abomination.

vince of Canterbury, and by the consent and assent of all our brethren and suffragans, and other the prelates in this convocation assembled, and the proctors of them that are absent, lest the river being cleansed, the fountain should remain corrupt, and so the water coming from thence should not be pure, intending most wholesomely to provide for the honour and utility of our holy mother the church and the university aforesaid: we do ordain and decree, that every warden, provost, or master of every college, or principal of every hall within the university aforesaid, shall, once every month at the least, diligently inquire in the said college, hall, or other place where he hath authority, whether any scholar or inhabitant of such college or hall, etc. have holden, alleged, or defended, or by any means proposed, any conclusion, proposition, or opinion, concerning the catholic faith, or sounding contrary to good manners, or contrary to the determination of the church, otherwise than appertaineth to necessary doctrine; and if he shall find any suspected or defamed herein, he shall, according to his office, admonish him to desist. And if, after such monition given, the said party offend again in the same or such like, he shall incur 'ipso facto' (besides the penalties aforesaid) the sentence of greater excommunication. And nevertheless, if it be a scholar that so offendeth the second time, whatsoever he shall afterwards do in the said university shall not stand in effect. And if he be a doctor, a master, or bachelor, he shall forthwith be suspended from every scholar's act, and in both cases shall lose the right that he hath in the said college or hall, whereof he is, 'ipso facto'; and by the warden, provost, master, principal, or other to whom it appertaineth, he shall be expelled, and a catholic, by lawful means, forthwith placed in his place. And if the said wardens, provosts, or masters of colleges, or principals of halls, shall be negligent concerning the inquisition and execution of such persons suspected and defamed, by the space of ten days from the time of the true or supposed knowledge of the publication of these presents, that then they shall incur the sentence of greater excommunication, and nevertheless shall be deprived 'ipso facto' of all the right which they pretend to have in the colleges, halls, etc., and the said colleges and halls, to be effectually vacant: and after lawful declaration hercof made by them to whom it shall appertain, new wardens, provosts, masters, or principals, shall be placed in their places, as hath been accustomed in colleges and halls being vacant in the said university. But if the wardens themselves, provosts, masters, or principals aforesaid, be suspected and defamed of and concerning the said conclusions or propositions, or be favourers and defenders of such as do therein offend, and do not cease, being thereof warned by us, or by our authority, or by the ordinary of the place: that then by law they be deprived, as well of all privilege scholastical, within the university aforesaid, as also of their right and authority in such college, hall, etc., besides other penalties before-mentioned, and that they incur the said sentence of greater excommunication.

But if any man, in any case of this present constitution, or any above expressed, do rashly and wilfully presume to violate there our statutes in any part thereof, although there be another penalty expressly there limited, yet shall he be made altogether unable and unworthy by the space of three years after, without hope of pardon, to obtain any ecclesiastical benefice within our province of Canterbury: and nevertheless, according to all his demerits and the quality of his excess, at the discretion of his superior, he shall be lawfully punished.

And further, that the manner of proceeding herein be not thought uncertain, considering with ourselves, that although there be a kind of equality in the crimes of heresy and offending the prince, as is avouched in divers laws, yet the fault is much unlike, and that to offend the divine Majesty requireth greater punishment than to offend the prince's majesty: and where it is sufficient, for fear of danger that might ensue by delays, to convince by judgment the offender of the prince's majesty, proceeding against him fully and wholly, with a citation sent by messenger, by letters, or edict not admitting proof by witnesses, and sentence definitive to be: we do ordain, will, and declare, for the easier punishment of the offenders in the premises, and for the better reformation of the church divided and hurt, that all such as are defamed, openly known, or vehemently suspected, in any of the cases aforesaid, or, in article of the catholic faith, sounding contrary to good manners, by the authority of the ordinary of the place or other superior, be cited personally to appear, either by letters, public messenger being sworn, or by edict openly set at that place where the said

Henry  
IV

A.D.  
1409.

Inqui-  
sition to  
be made  
through  
colleges  
and halls  
of Oxford.

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were used  
now, for  
the banish-  
ment of  
papisty.

The  
twelfth  
constitu-  
tion.

The  
thir-  
teenth  
constitu-  
tion.  
Easier to  
offend  
against  
the  
prince's  
law than  
against  
the  
bishop's.

*Henry**IV.*A.D.1409.

offender commonly remaineth, or in his parish church, if he have any certain dwelling house; otherwise, in the cathedral church of the place where he was born, and in the parish church of the same place where he so preached and taught: and afterwards, certificate being given that the citation was formerly executed against the party cited being absent and neglecting his appearance, it shall be proceeded against him fully and plainly, without sound or show of judgment, and without admitting proof by witnesses and other canonical probations. And also, after lawful information had, the said ordinary (all delays set apart) shall signify, declare, and punish the said offender, according to the quality of his offence, and in form aforesaid; and further, shall do according to justice, the absence of the offender notwithstanding.

Given at Oxford.

Who would have thought, by these laws and constitutions, so substantially founded, so circumspectly provided, so diligently executed, but that the name and memory of this persecuted sort should utterly have been rooted up, and never could have stand? And yet (such be the works of the Lord, passing all men's admiration) all this notwithstanding, so far was it off that the number and courage of these good men were vanquished, that rather they multiplied daily and increased. For so I find in registers recorded, that these aforesaid persons, whom the king and the catholic fathers did so greatly detest for hereties, were in divers countries of this realm dispersed and increased; especially at London, in Lincolnshire, in Norfolk, in Herefordshire, in Shrewsbury, in Calice, and divers other quarters besides, with whom the archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Arundel, the same time had much ado, as by his own registers doth appear. Albeit, some there were that did shrink; many did revolt and renounce, for danger of the law, among whom was John Purvey, who recanted at Paul's cross (of whom more followeth,<sup>1</sup> the Lord willing, to be said) in the year 1401.<sup>2</sup> Also John Edward, priest of the diocese of Lincoln, who revoked in the Green-yard at Norwich; Richard Herbert and Emmot Willy of London; also John Beeket, who recanted at London; Item, John Seynons of Lincolnshire, who was caused to revoke at Canterbury. The articles, which commonly they did hold, and which they were constrained to abjure, most especially were these which follow:

### The Articles of divers who were constrained to abjure<sup>3</sup>

First, That the office of the Holy Cross (ordained and celebrated by the whole church) doth contain idolatry.

Item, They said and affirmed, that all they who do reverence and worship the sign of the cross, do commit idolatry, and are reputed as idolaters.

Item, They said and affirmed, that the true flesh and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, is not in the sacrament of the altar, after the words spoken by the priest truly pronounced.

Item, They said and affirmed the sacrament of the altar to be sacramental bread, not having life, but only instituted for a memorial of Christ's passion.

Item, They said and affirmed, that the body of Christ, which is taken on the altar, is a figure of the body of Christ as long as we see the bread and wine.

Item, They said and affirmed, that the decree of the prelates and clergy in the province of Canterbury, in their last convocation, with the consent of the king and the nobles in the last parliament, against him that was burnt lately in the city of London, was not sufficient to change the purpose of the said John, that the substance of material bread is even as it was before in the sacrament of the altar, no change being made in the nature of bread.

(1) See *infra*. p. 285.—Ed.

(2) See Appendix.—Ed.

(3) *Ibid*.—Ed.



<sup>1</sup>Item, That any lay-man may preach the gospel in every place, and may teach it by his own authority, without the license of his ordinary.

*Henry  
IV.*

Item, That it is sin to give any thing to the preaching friars, to the Minorites, to the Augustines, to the Carmelites.

*A. D.  
1407.*

Item, That we ought not to offer at the funerals of the dead.

Item, That the confession of sins to the priest<sup>2</sup> is unneedful.

Item, That every good man, though he be unlearned, is a priest.

Item, That the infant, though he die unbaptized, shall be saved.

Item, That neither pope, nor prelate, neither any ordinary, can compel any man to swear by any creature of God, or by the holy gospels of God.

Item, That as well the bishop and the simple man, the priest and the lay-man, be of like authority, as long as they live well.

Item, That no man is bound to give bodily reverence to any prelate.

### William Thorpe : that constant servant of God.

Thus much briefly being signified by the way, touching these who have been forced in time of this king to open abjuration, next cometh to our hands the worthy history of Master William Thorpe, a warrior valiant under the triumphant banner of Christ, with the process of his examinations before the aforesaid Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury; written by the said Thorpe, and storied by his own pen, at the request of his friends, as by his own words, in the process hereof, may appear; in whose examination, which seemeth first to begin A. D. 1407, thou shalt have, good reader, both to learn and to marvel: to learn, in that thou shalt hear truth discoursed and discussed, with the contrary reasons of the adversary dissolved; to marvel, for thou shalt behold here in this man, the marvellous force and strength of the Lord's might, spirit, and grace, working and fighting in his soldiers, and also speaking in their mouths, according to the word of his promise, Luke xxi. To the text of the story we have neither added nor diminished, but, as we have received it copied out, and corrected by Master William Tindal (who had his own hand writing), so we have here sent it, and set it out abroad. Although for the more credit of the matter, I rather wished it in his own natural speech, wherein it was first written, notwithstanding, to put away all doubt and scruple herein, this I thought before to pre-monish and testify to the reader, touching the certainty hereof, that they be yet alive who have seen the self-same copy in its own old English, resembling the true antiquity both of the speech and of the time, the name of whom, as for record of the same to avouch, is Master Whitehead; who, as he hath seen the true ancient copy in the hands of George Constantine, so hath he given credible relation of the same both to the printer and to me. Furthermore, the said Master Tindal (albeit he did somewhat alter and amend the English thereof, and frame it after our manner), yet not fully in all words but that something doth remain, savouring of the old speech of that time. What the causes were, why this good man and servant of Christ, William Thorpe, did write it, and pen it out himself, it is sufficiently declared in his own preface, set before his book, which is here prefixed in manner as followeth:

*This history first set forth and corrected by Master William Tindal.*

(1) Their article commonly was thus: that who so taketh upon him the office of a priest, though he have no cure of souls, nor license of his ordinary, is bound to preach the gospel. [See Appendix.]

(2) The editions previous to 1596 read erroneously, 'To the people.'—Ed.

*Henry  
IV.*A. D.  
1407.

## The Preface of William Thorpe.

God's  
laws must  
be known  
and fol-  
lowed.Four  
causes.The first  
cause.The se-  
cond  
causeTruth  
leaveth  
always a  
sweet  
smell be-  
hind it.Godly  
counsel  
given, if it  
may be  
followed.Persecu-  
tion fol-  
loweth  
the true  
church.

The Lorde God that knoweth all thinges, woteth well that I am right sorrowfull for to wryte or to make known this sentence beneath written, whereby, of mine euen christen set, in hie state and dignitie, so great blyndnesse and malice may be knowen, that they which doe presume of them selfe to distroie vices, and to plant in men, vertues, neither drede to offende God, nor luste to please him, as their workes showe. For certes the bidding of God and his lawe, which, in the praying of his most holie name, hee commaundeth to be knowen and kept of all men and women, yonge and olde, after the conning and power that hee hath ginen to them; the prelates of this lande and their ministers, with the couent of priests chiefly consenting to them, enforce them moste buselie to withstande and destroe the holie ordinance of God. And there thorowe, God is greatlie wroth and moued to take harde vengeance, not onlie vpon them that doe the euill, but also on them that consent to these Antichristes limmes; which knowe or might knowe, their malice and falshod, and dresse them not to withstand their malice and their great pryde. Neuerthelesse, foure things moueth me to wryte this sentence beneth.

The first thing that moueth me hereto is this: that where as it was knowen to certaine frendes, yt I came from ye prison of Shrewesburie, and as it befell in dede that I should to the prison of Caunturbury, then diuers frendes, in diuers places, spake to me full hartely and full tenderly: and commanded me then, if it so were that I should be examined before the archbishop of Caunturburie, that if I myght in anie wyse, I should write mine apposing, and mine answering. And I promised to my speciall frendes, that if I might, I would gladlie doe their biddings as I might.

The second thing that moueth me to write this sentence is this: diuers frendes which haue heard that I haue bene examined before the archebishop, haue come to me in pryson, and counselled me beselie, and coueted greatlie that I shoulde doe the same thyng. And other brethren haue sent to me, and required on Gods behalfe, that I shoulde wryte out and make knowen, both mine apposing and mine answering, for the profite that (as they say) vpon my knowledging may come thereof. But this they bad me, that I should be besie in all my wittes, to goe as nere the sentence and the wordes as I could, both that were spoken to me, and that I spake: Upaunture this writing may come another time, before the archbishop and his counsell. And of this counselling I was right glad, for in my conscience I was moued to doe this thing, and to aske hitherto the speciall helpe of God. And so then I considering the great desire of diuers frendes of sondrie places, according all in one, I occupied all my minde and my wits so besilie, that throwe Gods grace I perceined, by their meaning and their charitable desire, some profite might come there throwe. For sothfastnesse and truth hath these conditions: where euer it is impugned, it hath a sweet smell, and thereof comes a swete sauor; and the more violentlie the enemies dresse themselves to oppresse and to withstand the truth, the greater and the sweter smell cometh thereof. And therefore, this heauenly smell of Gods worde, will not as a smoke passe awaie with the wind: but it will descend and rest in some clene soule, that thirsteth there after. And thus some dele by this writing may be perceiued, through Gods grace, how that the enemies of the truth (standing boldely in their malice), enforce them to withstande the freedom of Christes gospel, for which freedom Christ became man, and shed his harte bloud. And therefore it is great pitie and sorrowe, that manie men and women doo their owne weyward will, nor besie them not to knowe nor to doo the pleasant will of God.

The men and women that heare the truth and sothfastnesse, and heare or knowe of this (perceiuing what is nowe in the church), ought here through, to be the more moued in all their wits, to able them to grace, and to set lesser pryce by themselves, that they, without taryng, forsake wilfullie and bodelie all the wretchednesse of thys lyfe, since they knowe not howe sone, nor when, nor where, nor by whom, God will teache them and assay their patience. For no doubt, who that euer wil liue piteously, that is charitable in Christ Jesu, shall suffer nowe here in this life persecution, in one wyse or another. That is, if we shal be saue, it behoueth vs to imagin full besilie, the vilitie and foule-

nesse of shme, and howe the Lord God is displeased therefore: and so of this vilitie, of hideousnesse of sin, it behoueth vs to besie vs in all our wittes, for to abhorre and hold in our mind a great shame of sinne euer, and so than we owe to sorrow hartly therefore, and euer flying all occasion thereof. And then behoueth vs to take vpon vs sharpe penance, continuing therein, for to obtaine of the Lorde forgiveness of our foredone sinnes, and grace to abstayne vs hereafter from sinne. And but if we inforce vs to do this wilfullie, and in conuenient tyme, the Lorde (if he will not vtterlie destroye and cast vs awaie) will in diuers maners moue tyrantes against vs, for to constraîne vs violentlie to doo penance, whiche we would not doo wilfully. And truste that this doyng is a speciall grace of the Lorde, and a great token of lyfe and mercie. And no doubt, who euer wil not applie himself (as is said before) to punish himself wilfullie, neither will suffer paciently, mekelie, and gladlie, the rodde of the Lorde, how so euer that he will punishe him: theyr wayward willes and their impa-  
 ciencie, are vnto them earnest of euerlasting damnaeyon. But because there are but fewe in numbre that do able them thus faithfullie to grace, for to liue here simple and purelie, and without gall of malice and of grudging: herefore the louers of this worlde hate and pursue them that they know pacient, meke, chaste, and wilfullie poore, hating and flying all worldye vanities and fleshlie lustes. For surelie, their vertuous condicions are euen contrarie to the maners of this world.

Henry  
IV.

A. D.  
1407.

The cause  
why per-  
secution  
is suffered  
to come.

The third thing that moueth me to wryte this sentence is this, I thought I shall busie me in my selfe to doo faithfullie, that all men and women (occupy-  
 ing all their businesse in knowing and in kepinge of Gods commaundementes) able them so to grace, that they might vnderstand truelie the truth, and haue and vse vertue and prudence, and so deserue to be lightned from aboue with heauenlie wisdom; so that all their words and their works may be hereby made pleasaunt sacrifice vnto the Lorde God: and net onely for healepe of their owne soules, but also for edification of holie church. For I dout not, but all they that wil applie them to haue this foresaid businesse, shall profiet full mekill both to frendes and foes. For some enemies of the truth, throwe the grace of God, shall, throwe charitable folkes, be made astonied in their conscience, and peraduenture conuerted from vices to vertues: and also, they that labour to know and to kepe faithfullie the biddings of God, and to suffer pacientlie all aduersities, shall hereby comfort manie friends.

The third  
cause.

Edifica-  
tion of  
others,  
necessary  
to be con-  
sidered.

And the fourth thinge that moueth me to wryte this sentence is this: I knowe by my soden and vnwarned apposing and answering, that al they that wil, of good hart without faining, able them self wilfullie and gladlie, after their con-  
 ning and their power, to follow Christ paciently, traneling busilie, priuile, and apertlie in worke and in word, to withdrawe whosoever that they may from vyces, planting in them (if they may) vertues, comforting them and furthering them that standeth in grace; so that therewith they be not borne vp in vaine glorie, throwe presumption of their wisdom, nor inflamed with anie worldlie prosperitie, but euer meke and pacient; purposing to abide stedfastlie in the wil of God; suffering wilfullie and gladly without anie grutching what soeuer rodde the Lord will chastise them with: then, this good Lord will not forget to comfort all such men and women in all theyr tribudacions, and at euerie poynt of temtacion that anie ennemie purposeth for to do against them. To such faithfull louers speciallie, and pacient followers of Christ, the Lord sendeth his wisdom from aboue, to them which the aduersaries of the truth may not knowe nor vnderstand. But through their olde and newe vnshamefast sinnes, those tyrantes and enemies of southfastnesse, shal be so blinded and obstinate in euill, that they shal wene them self to doo pleasaunt sacrifices vnto the Lorde God in their malicious and wrongful persewing and destroying of innocent mens and womens bodies: whiche men and women, for their vertuous liuing, and for their true knowledging of the truthe, and their pacient, wilfull, and glad suffering of persecution for righteousnesse, deserue, thorow the grace of God, to be heyres of the endles blisse of heauen. And for the feruent desire and great loue that those men haue, as to stand in sothfastnesse and witness of it, though they be sodeinlie and vnwarnedly brought forth to be apposed of their aduersaries, the Holie Ghost yet that moueth and ruleth them through his charitie, will, in that houre of their answering, speake in them and shewe his wisdom, that all their enenies shall not again say, nor again stand, lawfullie.

The  
fourth  
cause.

The as-  
sistance  
of God  
never  
failed  
them that  
are perse-  
cuted.

Henry  
IV.A. D.  
1407.

And therefore, al they that are stedfast in the faith of God, yea whiche thorow diligent keping of his commaundements and for their pacient suffring of whatsoever aduersitie that commeth to them, hope surelie in his mercie, purposing to stand continuallie in perfect charitie; for those men and women, drede not so the aduersities of this life, that they wil feare (after their conning and their power) to knowledge prudentlie the truth of Gods words, when, where, and to whom, they thinke their knowledging may profite. Yea and though, therefore, persecution come to them in one wise or an other, certes they pacientlie take it; knowing their conuersation to be in heauen. It is an hei reward and a special grace of God, for to haue and inioy the cuerlasting inheritance of heauen, for the suffering of one persecution, in so short time as is the terme of this life. For lo, this heauenlie heritage and endles reward, is the Lorde God him self, which is the best thing that may be. This sentence witnesseth the Lord God him self whereas he said to Abraham, 'I am thy mede:' And as the Lord said: he was and is the mede of Abraham: so he is of all other his saintes. This moste blessed and best mede, he graunte to vs all for his holie name, that made vs of naught, and sent his only most deare worthie sonne, our Lorde Jesu Christe, for to redeme vs with his moste precious hart bloud. Amen.

### The Examination of William Thorpe, penned with his own Hand.

Examination of  
Thorpe, before  
Thomas Arundel,  
archb.  
*See  
Appendix.*

Loitering  
prelates,  
cannot  
abide tra-  
uelling  
preach-  
ers.  
The grace  
of God,  
and of my  
lord of Can-  
terbury, be  
two  
things.

Knowne be it to al men that read or heare this wryting benethe, that on the Sondaye next after the feast of Saint Peter, that we cal Lammasse, in the yeaere of our Lorde a thousand four hundred and seven, I William Thorpe, being in prison in y<sup>e</sup> castel of Saltwode, was brought before Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, and chancelor then of England. And when that I came to him, he stode in a great chamber and much people about him: and when that hee sawe me, he went faste into a closet, bidding all seculer men that folowed him to goe forth from him soone, so that no man was left than in that closet but the archbishop himselfe, and a phisitian that was called Malucren, parson of Saint Dustanes in London, and two other persons vnknownen to me which were ministers of the lawe. And I, standing before them, by and by the archbishop said to me: William, I knowe wel that thou hast this twentie winter and more, traueiled about besilie in the north countrey and in other diuerse countries of England, sowing about false doctrine, hauing great businesse, if thou might, with thine vtrue teaching and shrewde will, for to infecte and poyson all this land. But, through the grace of God, thou art nowe withstandid and brought into my ward, so that I shall nowe sequester thee from thine euill purpose, and let thee to enuenime the shepe of my prouince. Neuertheles Saint Paul saith: If it may be, as muche as in vs is, wee are to haue peace with al men. Therefore, William, if thou wilt now mekely and of good hart, without any feining, knele downe and lay thy hand vpon a booke, and kisse it, promising faithfully, as I shal here charge thee, that thou wilt submit thee to my correction, and stande to mine ordinaunce,<sup>1</sup> and fulfil it duely by al thy conning and power, thou shalt yet find mee graciously vnto thee.

Than said I to the archbishop: Sir, sinse ye deme me an heretike and out of beleue, will ye gene me here audience to tell my beleue. And he said: Yea tell on. And I said: I beleene that there is not but one God Almightye, and in this godhead, and of this godhead, are three persones, that is, the Father, the Sonne, and the soothfast Holie Ghost. And I beleue that all these three persones are euen in power, and in conning, and in might, full of grace and of all goodnesse. For whatsoever that the Father doth or can or will, that thing also the Sonne doth and can and will: and in all their power, conning, and will, the Holie Ghost is equall to the Father and to the Sonne.

Ouer this, I beleene that through counsell of this most blessed Trinitie, in most conuenient time before ordeined for the saluation of mankinde, the seconde persone of this Trinitie, was ordeined to take the fourme of man, that is, the kinde of man. And I beleene that this second persone our Lord Jesu Christ, was conceived through the Holie Ghost, into the wombe of the most blessed Virgin Marie, without mans seede. And I beleue, that after nine monethes, Christ was borne of this most blessed Virgine, without any paine or breaking of the closter of her wombe, and without filth of her virginitee.

(1) Your ordinance<sup>1</sup> and why not God's ordinance, if it please your grace?

And I beleene that Christe our Sauour was circumcised in the eight daye after his byrth, in fulfilling of the lawe, and his name was called Jesus, which was so called of the angel, before that hee was conceived in the wombe of Marie, his mother.

Henry  
II.A. D.  
1407.

And I beleene that Christ, as he was about thirty yeare olde, was baptised in the flood of Jordane, of John Baptist: and in the likenesse of a done the Holy Ghost descended there vpon him, and a voice was harde from heauen, saying, Thou art my wel beloued Sonne, in thee I am full pleased.

And I beleene that Christ was moued then by the Holy Ghost, for to go into y<sup>e</sup> desert, and there he fasted forty daies and forty nights without bodilie meat and drinke. And I beleene that by and by, after his fasting, when the manhod of Christ hungred, the feend came to him, and tempted him in glutony, in vaine glorie, and in couetise: but in all those temptations, Christ concluded the feend, and withstode him. And then, without taryng, Jesu began to preache and to say vnto the people, Do ye penance, for the realme of heauen is now at hand.

See  
Appendix.

I beleene that Christ, in al his time here, liued moste holilie, and taught the will of his Father most truelie: and I beleene that he suffred therefore, moste wrongfullie, greatest reprieues and despisinges.

And, after this, when Christ wold make an end here of this temporal lyfe, I beleene that in the daie next before that hee would suffer passion in the morne, in forme of bread and of wyne, he ordeined the sacrament of his flesh and his bloud, that is, his owne precious bodie, and gaue it to his apostles for to eate; commaunding them, and by them all their after-commers, that they should doe it in this forme that hee shewed to them: vse them self, and teach and comone forth to other men and women, this most worshipfull and holiest sacrament, in minde fulnesse of his holiest liuing, and of his moste true teaching, and of his wilfull and pacient suffring of the moste painefull passion.

That is,  
under the  
creatures  
of bread  
and wine.

And I beleue that this Christ our Sauour, after that hee had ordeined this moste worthy sacrament of his owne pretious bodie, he went forth wilfullie against his enemies, and he suffered them most pacientlie to lay their handes most violentlie vpon him, and to bynd him, and to leade him forth as a theefe, and to skorne him and buffet him, and al to blow or file him with their spitinges.ouer this, I beleue that Christ suffred moste mekelie and pacientlie his enemies, for to dinge out with sharpe scourges the bloud that was betweene his skinne and his fleshe: yea, without grudging, Christ suffered the cruell Jewes to crowne hym with most sharpe thornes, and to strike him with a rede. And after, Christ suffered wicked Jewes to draw him out vpon the crosse, and for to nayle hym there vpon foote and hande. And so, through his pitifull nayling, Christ shed out wilfullie, for man's life, the bloud that was in his vaines. And then Christ gaue wilfullie his spirite into the handes or power of his Father, and so, as he would, and when hee woulde, Christ died wilfullie, for man's sake, vpon the crosse. And notwithstanding that Christ was wilfullie, painfully, and moste shamefully, put to death, as to the world, there was left bloud and water in his hart, as before ordeined, that he woulde shede out this bloude and this water for man's saluation. And therefore he suffered the Jewes to make a blinde knight to thruste him into the hart with a speare, and this the bloud and water that was in his hart Christ woulde shed out for man's loue, and after this, I beleene that Christ was taken downe from the crosse and buried. And I beleue that on the third daie, by y<sup>e</sup> power of his godhead, Christe rose againe from death to life. And the fortie day thereafter, I beleue that Christ ascended up into heauen, and that he there sitteth on the right hande of the Father Almighty: and the tenth<sup>1</sup> daie after this vp goyng, he sent to his apostles the Holie Ghost, that he had promised them before: and I beleue that Christ shall come and iudge al mankind, some to euerlasting peace, and some to euerlasting paines.

And as I beleue in the Father and in the Sonne, that they are one God Almighty, so I beleue in the Holie Ghoste, that he is also with them the same God Almighty.

And I beleue an holie church; that is, al they that haue bene, and that now are, and alwaies to the ende of the worlde shall be, a people the which

What is  
the holy  
church.

(1) Edition 1563, p. 147, "the tenth daie:"—Ed. 1570, p. 631, "the fifteth daie." The "up-goyng," in the text, signifies the ascension.—E1.

*Henry  
IV.*

*A. D.  
1107.*

*The true  
notes of  
the true  
church.*

*See  
Appendix.*

*What he-  
resy in  
this be-  
liefe, I  
pray you  
my lord?*

*The Old  
Testa-  
ment and  
New.*

*Doctors  
so to be  
followed,  
as they  
follow the  
word.  
To  
swear by  
a book,  
whether  
it be law-  
ful.*

shall endeuer them to know and to kepe the commaundementes of God, dredinge ouer all thing to offend God, and louing and seeking most to please him : and I beleue that all they that haue had and yet haue, and all they that yet shall haue, the foresayde vertues, surelie standing in the beleefe of God, hopying stedfastlie in his mercifull doinges, continuing to their ende in perfecte charitie, wilfullie, patientlie, and gladly, suffering persecutions, by the example of Christ chiefe and his apostles, all these haue their names written in the boke of life.

Therefore I beleue that the gadering together of this people, liuing now here in this life, is the holie church of God, fighting here on earth against the feende, the prosperitie of the world, and their fleshlie lustes. Wherefore, seeing that all the gathering together of this church before sayd, and euery parte thereof, neither coueteth, nor willeth, nor loneth, nor seeketh any thing but to eschew the offence of God, and to doe his pleasing wil ; mekelie, gladlie, and wilfullie, with all mine heart, I submitte my selfe vnto this holie church of Christ, to bee euer buxome and obedient to the ordinance of it, and of euery member thereof, after my knowledge and power by the helpe of God. Therefore I knowledge now, and euermore shall, if God wyll, that with all my hart and with all my might, I will submit me onlie to the rule and gouernance of them, whome, after my knowledge, I may perceiue, by the hauing and vsing of the before sayd vertues, to be members of the holie church. Wherefore these articles of belefe, and al other (both of the olde law and of the newe, which after the commaundemente of God any man ought to beleue), I beleue verilie in my soule, as a sinfull deadlie wretche of my cunning and power ought to beleue : praying the Lorde God, for his holie name, for to increase my belefe, and to helpe my vnbelefe.

And for because, to the praying of God's name, I desire, aboue all thinges, to bee a faithfull member of holie church, I make this protestation before you all foure that are now here present, coueting that all men and women that now be absent knewe the same : that what thing soener before this time I haue saide or done, or what thing here I shall do or say, at any time hereafter, I beleue, that all the olde lawe and newe lawe giuen and ordered by counsell of the three persones of the Trinitie, were geuen and written to the saluation of mankind. And I beleue, that these lawes are sufficient for man's saluation. And I beleue euery article of these lawes, to the intent, that these articles, ordeined and commanded of these three persons of the most blessed Trinitie, are to be beleueed.

And therefore, to the rule and the ordinaunce of these, Gods lawes, meekely, gladlie, and wilfullie, I submit me with all mine hart : that whosoener can or will, by authoritie of Gods lawe, or by open reason, tell me that I haue erred or now erre, or any tyme hereafter shall erre in any article of belefe (from which inconuenience God kepe me for his goodnesse), I submitte me to be reconciled and to be buxum and obedient vnto these lawes of God, and to enerie article of them. For, by authoritie specially of these lawes, I will, through the grace of God, be vnited charitablie vnto these lawes. Yea Sir, and ouer this, I beleue and admitte all the sentences, authorities, and reasons, of the saintes and doctours, according vnto holy scripture, and declaryng it trulie.

I submit me wilfullie and meeklie, to be euer obedient after my conning and power, to all these saintes and doctours, as they are obedient in work and in worde to God and to his law ; and further not (to my knowledge), not for any earthlie power, dignitie, or state, thorough the helpe of God. But Sir, I praie you tell me, if, after your bidding, I shall lay my hande vpon the boke, to what entent? to swear thereby? And the archbishop said to me : Yea, wherefore else? And I said to him : Sir, a booke is nothing else but a thinge coupled together of diuers creatures, and to swear by any creature, bothe Gods lawe and mans lawe is against it.

But Syr, this thyng I saye here to you before these your clerkes, with my foresayd protestation, that howe, where, when, and to whom, men are bound to swear or to obey, in any wise, after Gods lawe, and saintes and true doctours according vnto God's lawe, I will, through Gods grace, bee euer readie thereto, with all my cunning and power. But I pray you Sir, for the charitie of God, that ye will, before that I swear (as I haue here rehearsed to you), tell me howe or whereto that I shall submit me : and shewe me wherof that yee will correct mee, and what is the ordinance that yee will thus oblige mee to fulfill.

And the archbishop said vnto me: I will shortlie that nowe thou sweare here to me, that thou shalt forsake all the opinions which the sect of Lollardes holde, and is slaundered with: so that after this time, neither priuile nor apertlie, thou holde any opinion which I shall (after thou hast sworne) rehearse to thee here. Nor thou shalt fauour no man nor woman, yong nor olde, that holdeth any of these foresaide opinions; but after thy knowledge and power, thou shalt force thee to withstande all such distroublers of holie church in euerie dioecesse that thou comest in; and them that will not leaue their false and damnable opinions, thou shalt put them vp, publishing them and their names, and make them knowne to the bishop of the dioeces that they are in, or to the bishop's ministers. And, ouer this, I will that thou preach no more vnto the tyme that I knowe, by good wnesse and true, that thy conuersation be such, that thy hart and thy mouth accord truelie in one, contrarying all the lewd learning that thou hast taught here before.

*Henry  
IV.*

A. D.  
1407.

How,  
where,  
and when  
to swear.

And I, hearing these wordes, thought in my heart, that this was an vnfulfill askyng, and deemed my selfe cursed of God, if I consented hereto; and I thought howe Susan saide, Anguish is to mee on euerie side. And in that I stode still and spake not, the archbischoppe saide to me: Answer me one wise or other. And I said, Sir, if I consented to you thus as yee haue herebefore rehearsed to me, I should become an appealer, or euerie bishoppe's espie, somoner of all Englande. For and I should thus put vp, and publishe, the names of men and women, I should herein deceiue full many persons: Yea Sir, as it is likelie, by the dome of my conscience, I should herein be cause of the death both of men and women, yea both bodilie and ghostlie. For many men and women that stand nowe in the waie of saluation, if I should, for the learning and reading of their beleue, publish them therefore, up to the bishops or to their vnpietous ministers, I knowe some deale by experience, that they should be so distroubled and diseased with persecution or otherwise, that many of them (I thinke) woulde rather chuse to forsake the waie of truth then to be trauailed, skorned, slaundered, or punished, as bishops and their ministers nowe vse, for to constraine men and women to consent to them.

*See  
Appendix.*

Behold  
the pop-  
ish pro-  
ceedings  
whereto  
they tend.

But I finde in no place in holie Scripture, that this office that ye would nowe enfeaffe me with, accordeth to any priest of Christe's sect, nor to any other christian man: and, therefore, to doe this, were, to me, a full noious bond to be bounden with, and ouer greiuous charge. For I suppose that if I thus did, many men and women woulde, yea Sir, might iustlie to my confusion, say to me, that I were a traytor to God and to them, since (as I thinke in mine hart) many men and women trust so mikle in this case, that I would not, for sauing of my life, doe thus to them. For if I thus should doe, full many menne and women woulde (as they might full truelie) saie that I had falselie and cowardlie forsaken the truth, and slaundered shamefullie the word of God. For, if I consented to you to do here after your will, for bonchefe or mischiefe that may befall vnto me in this life, I deme in my conscience, that I were worthy, herefore, to be cursed of God, and also of all his saintes: from which inconuenience, keep me and all christian people, Almighty God! nowe and euer for his holie name.

No mar-  
vel why;  
for Christ  
and Anti-  
christ,  
how can  
they  
agree?

And then the archbishop saide vnto me: Oh, thine heart is full harde indurate as was the heart of Pharaoh, and the diuell hath ouercomen thee and peruerthed thee, and he hath so blinded thee in al thy wits, that thou hast no grace to knowe the truth, nor the measure of mercie that I haue profered to thee. Therefore, as I perceiue nowe by thy foolish answer, thou hast no will to leaue thine old errours. But I say to thee, leud losell,<sup>1</sup> other quicklie consent thou to mine ordinance, and submit thee to stand to my decrees; or, by saint Thomas, thou shalt be degraded, and followe thy fellow<sup>2</sup> into Smithfield. And at this saying, I stood still and spake not; but I thought in mine hart that God did to me great grace, if he woulde, of his great mercie, bring me to such an ende. And, in mine heart, I was nothing afraide with this manasing of the archbishop. And I considered there, twoe thinges in him. One, that he was not yet sorrowfull for that hee hadde made William Sawtre wrongfullie to bee burnt; and, as I considered that the archbischoppe thirsted yet after more shedding out of innocent bloud. And fast, therefore, I was moued in all my wittes, for to holde the archbishop nother for prelate nor for priest of God. And, for that mine inwarde man was thus altogether departed from the arch-

It is  
pretty  
when  
Pharaoh  
Judgeth  
Moses  
hard-  
hearted.  
Where  
learned  
you, my  
lord, to  
call your  
brother  
Raca?

(1) "Losell," a lost person.—Ed.

(2) He meaneth God's martyr, William Sautre.

*Henry**IV.*

A. D.

1407.

*See*  
*Appendix.*The order  
and man-  
ner of his  
bringing  
up.

bishop, me thought I shoulde not haue any dread of him; but I was right heauie and sorrowfull, for that there was no audience of secular men by: but in my heart I praied the Lord God, for to comfort me and strength mee against them that there were against the soothfastnesse, and I purposed to speake no more to the archbishop and his clerkes then me need behoned. And all thus I praide God for his goodnesse to geue mee, then and alwaie, grace to speake, with a mecke and an easie spirit; and whatsoeuer thing that I should speake, that I might thereto haue true authorities of Scriptures, or open reason. And, for that I stood thus still and nothing spake, one of the archbishop's clerkes saide vnto me: What thing musest thou? Do thou as my lord hath nowe commanded to thee heere.

And yet I stood still, and answered him not. And then, soon after, the archbishop saide to me: Art thou not yet bethought, whether thou wilt do as I haue said to thee? And I said then to him: Sir, my father and my mother, on whose soules God haue mercie (if it bee his will), spent mikle money, in diuers places, about my learning, for the intent to haue made mee a priest to God. But when I came to yeaeres of discretion, I had no will to be priest, and therefore my friendes were right heauie to me, and then methought their grudging against me was so painefull to me, that I purposed therefore, to haue left their companie. And when they perceiued this in me, they spake sometime full faire and pleasant words to me; but, for that they might not make me to consent, of good heart, to be a priest, they spake to me ful oftentimes verie greuous words, and manased me in diuers manners, shewing to me full heauie cheere. And thus one while in faire manner, another while in greuous, they were long time (as me thought) full busie about me, or I consented to them to be a priest.

But at the last, when, in this matter, they would no longer suffer myne excusations, but either I should consent to them, or I should euer beare their indignation, yea their curse (as they saide), then I, seeing this, praied them that they would giue me licence for to goe to them that were named wise priestes, and of vertuous conuersation, to haue their counsell, and to knowe of them the office and the charge of priestthoode. And hereto my father and my mother consented full gladlie, and gane me their blessing and good leaue to goe, and also money to spend in this iourney. And so that I went to those priestes whom I heard to be of best name, and of most holie liuing, and best learned, and most wise of heauenlie wisdom; and so I communed with them vnto the time that I perceiued, by their vertuous and continual occupations, that their honest and charitable workes passed their fame which I had hearde before of them.

Wherefore Sir, by the example of the doctrine of them, and speciallie for the godlie and innocent workes which I perceiued then of them, and in them, after my cunning and power I haue exercised me then and in this time, to know perfectlie God's lawe, hauing a will and desire to liue thereafter, which willett that all men and women shoulde exercise themselues faithfullie thereabout. If than Syr, other for pleasure or displeasure of them that are nother so wise, nor of so vertuous conuersation to my knowledge, nor by common fame to any other man's knowledge in this lande, as these men were, of whome I tooke my counsell and information, I should now forsake thus suddenlie, and shortlie, and vnwarned, all the learning that I haue exercised my selfe in this thirtie winter and more, my conscience should euer be herewith out of measure vnquieted; and as Syr, I knowe well, that manie men and women should be there-through greatlie troubled and slaundered; and as I said Syr, to you before, for mine vntruth and false cowardnesse, manie a one shoulde bee put into full great reproofe: yea (Sir, I dread that manie one as they might then iustlie) would curse me full bitterlie; and Syr, I feare not but the curse of God, which I should deserue herein, would bring me to a full euill ende, if I continued thus. And if, thorough remorse of conscience, I repented me any time, returning into the waie which you doe your diligence to constraine me nowe to forsake, yea Sir, all the bishoppes of this lande, with full manie other priestes, would defame me, and pursue me as a relapse; and they that nowe haue (though I be vnworthie) some confidence in mee, hereafter would neuer trust to me, though I coulde teach and liue neuer so vertuouslie, more then I can or may. For if, after your counsell, I left vtterlie all my learning, I should heereby first wound and defile mine owne soule, and also I shoulde, here-through, giue occasion to many men



and women of full sore hurting: yea Syr, as it is likelie to mee, if I consented to your will, I shoulde herein, by mine euill example in it, as farre as in mee were, slea manie folke ghostlie, that I shoulde neuer deserue for to haue grace of God, to the edifying of his church, neither of my selfe, nor of none other man's life, and vndone both before God and man.

But Syr, by example chieffie of some whose names I wil not nowe rehearse, of H., of I. P., and B., and also by the present doing of Philip Rampington, that now is become B. of Lincolne, I am now learned (as many moe hereafter through God's grace shall be learned) to hate and to flee all such slaumder that these foresaid men chieffie haue defiled principally themselves with. And in it that in them is, they haue enuenomed al the church of God, for the slanderous reuoking at the crosse of Paules, of H. P., and of B., and how now Philip Rampington pursueth Christes people. And the faining that these men dissemble by worldlie prudence, keeping them cowardlie in their preaching and communing, within the bondes and tearmes, which, without blame, may be spoken and shewed out to the most worldlie liuers, will not be vn Timerished of God: for to the point of truth that these men shewed out sometime, they will not now stretch forth their liues. But by example, eache one of them, as their words and their works shewe, busie them through their faining, for to slander and to pursue Christ in his members, rather then they will be pursued.

And the archbishop said to me: These men the which thou speakest of nowe, were fooles and heretikes, when they were counted wise men of thee and other such losels. But now they are wise men, though thou and such other deeme them vn Timer: neuertheles I wist neuer none that right said, that any whils were enuenomed with your contagiousnesse, that is, contaminated and spotted doctrine.

And I saide to the archbishoppe: Sir, I thinke well that these men and such other are nowe wise as to this world; but as their wordes sounded sometime, and their workes shewed outwardlie, it was like to moue me that they had earnest of the wisdome of God, and that they should haue deserued mikle grace of God, to haue sau ed their owne soules and manie other mens, if they had continued faithfullie in wilfull pouertie, and in other simple vertuous liuing; and speciallie if they had, with these foresaid vertues, continued in their busie fruitfull sowing of God's word; as, to many mennes knowledge, they occupied them a season in al their wits, ful busily to know ye pleasant will of God, traueilling at their members ful busily for to do thereafter, purelie and chieffie to the praising of the most holie name of God, and for grace of edification and saluation of christen people. But woe worth false couetise, and euill counsell, and tyrannie, by which they, and manie men and women, are led blindlie into an euill end.

Then the archbishop said to me: Thou and such other losels of thy sect, would shaue your beards full neare for to haue a benefice. For, by Jesu, I know none more couetous shrewes then ye are, when that ye haue a benefice. For loe, I gaue to John Purueie a benefice but a mile out of this castle, and I heard more complaints about his couetousnesse for tithes and other misdoinges, then I did of all men that were aduanced within my dioces.

And I saide to the archbishop: Sir, Purueie is neither with you now for the benefice that you gaue him, nor hee holdeth faithfullie with the learning that he taught and writ before time: and thus he sheweth himselfe neither to be hot nor colde, and therefore he and his fellowes, maie sore dread that if they turn not hastilie to the waie that they haue forsaken, peradventure they be put out of the number of Christs chosen people.

And the archbishop said: Though Purueie be nowe a false harlot, I quite me nowe to him: but come he more for such cause before me, or we depart, I shall know with whom hee holdeth. But I saie to thee: Which are these holie men and wise, of whom thou hast taken thine information?

And I said: Sir, Maister John Wickliffe was holden of full mainie men, the greatest clearke that they knewe then liuing; and therewith hee was named a passing rulie man and an innocent in his liuing: and, herefore, great men commended oft with him, and they loued so his learning, that they writ it, and busilie inforced them to rule themselves thereafter. Therefore Sir, this foresaid learning of M. John Wickliffe is yet holden of full manie men and women, the most agreeable learning vnto the liuing and teaching of Christ and of his apostles, and most openlie shewing and declaring how the church of Christ

Henry IV.

A. D. 1407.

Philip Repington made bishop, and a persecutor.

See Appendix.

Happy be they that continue to the end.

Woe worth false couetousness.

It is pity these prelates cannot swear. Covetousness joined with pishness.

A worthy commendation of Master John Wickliffe.

*Henry  
IV.*

A. D.  
1407.

*See  
Appendix.*

hath beene, and yet shoulde bee, ruled and gouerned. Therefore, so many men and women couet this learning, and purpose, through God's grace, to conforme their liuing like to this learning of Wickliff. M. Jehn Aston taught and writte accordingle and full busilie, where and when, and to whom that he might, and he vsed it himselfe right perfecte vnto his liues end. And also Philip of Rampington, while he was a canon of Leicester,<sup>1</sup> Nicholas Herford, Dan Geffrey of Pickering, monke of Byland and a maister of diuinitie, and John Purnaie, and many other which were holden right wise men and prudent, taught and writ busilie this foresaide learning, and conformed them thereto. And with all these men I was right homelie and communed with them long time and oft: and so, before all other men, I chose wilfullie to be informed of them and by them, and speciallie of Wickliffe himselfe, as of the most vertuous and godlie wise man that I heard of or knew. And therefore of him speciallie, and of these men, I tooke the learning that I haue taught, and purpose to liue thereafter (if God will) to my liues end. For though some of those men be contrarie to the learning that they taught before, I wote wel y<sup>t</sup> their learning was true which they taught; and therefore, with the helpe of God I purpose to hold and to vse the lerning which I heard of them, while they sate on Moises chaire, and speciallie while they sate on the chaire of Christ. But after the workes that they now do, I will not do, with God's helpe. For they feine, and hide, and contrarie the truth, which before they taught out plainlie and trulie. For, as I knowe well, when some of those men haue bene blamed for their slanderous dooing, they grant not that they haue taught a misse or erred before time, but that they were constrained, by paine, to leaue to tell out the sooth, and thus they chuse now rather to blaspheme God, then to suffer a while here persecution bodilie, for soothfastnesse that Christ shed out his hart bloud for. And the archbishop saide: That learning that thou eallest truth and soothfastnesse, is open slaunder to holie church, as it is proued of holie church. For, albeit that Wickliffe, your author, was a great clearke, and though that many men held him a perfect liuer, yet his doctrine is not approued of holie church, but manie sentences of his learning are damned, as they well worthie are. But as touching Philip of Rampington, that was first, canon, and afterward, abbot of Leicester, which is now bishoppe of Lincolne, I tell thee, that the daie is commen, for which he fasted the cenen. For neither hee holdeth nowe, nor will holde, the learning that he taught, when hee was a canon of Leicester; for no bishoppe of this lande pursueth now more sharplie them that holde thy waie, then he doth.<sup>1</sup>

And I saide: Sir, full manie men and women wondereth vpon him, and speaketh him mikle shame, and holdeth him for a cursed enemie of the truth.

And the archbishop said to me: Wherefore tariest thou me thus here with such fables? wilt thou shortlie (as I haue said to thee) submit thee to me or no?

And I said: Sir, I tell you at one word, I dare not, for the dread of God, submit me to you, after the tenor and sentence that ye haue aboue rehearsed to me. And thus, as if he had beene wroth, he saide to one of his clerkes: Fetch hither quicklie, the certification that came to me from Shrewesburie vnder the bailiffes seale, witnessing the errors and heresies, which this losel hath venimouslie sowne there. Then hastilie the clerke tooke out and laide forth on a cupbord, diners rolles and writings, among which there was a little one, which the clearke deliuered to the archbishop. And by and by the archbishoppe read this roll containing this sentence: "The thirde Sundaie after Easter, A. D. 1407., William Thorpe came vnto the towne of Shrewesburie, and through leaue granted vnto him to preach, he saide openlie, in S. Chads church, in his sermon, that the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration, was material bread. And that images should in no wise be worshipped; and that men should not goe on pilgrimages; and that priests haue no title to tithes; and that it is not lawfull for to sweare in any wise."

And when the archbishop had red thus this roll, he rolled it vp againe, and said to me: Is this wholesome learning<sup>2</sup> to be among the people.

And I said to him: Sir, I am both ashamed on their behalfe, and right sorrowfull for them that haue certified you these things thus vntrulie; for I preached neuer, nor taught thus, priuile nor apertlie.

(1) Repington became a persecutor, after he was made bishop.

(2) Wholesome enough for man's soul, though not for your kitchen.

The testi-  
mony for  
Wickliff  
out of the  
mouth of  
his own  
adver-  
sary. Many  
such  
vigils  
haue our  
popish  
calen-  
dars.

The sacra-  
ment  
after con-  
secration,  
material  
bread.

And the archbishop said to me: I will giue credence to these worshipfull men which haue written to me, and witnessed vnder their seales there among them. Though nowe thou deniest this, weenest thou that I will giue credence to thee? Thou losell! hast troubled the worshipfull communitie of Shrewsburie, so that the bailiffes and communitie of that town haue written to me, praying me that an archbishop of Canterbury, primate and chancellor of Englande, that I will vouchsafe to graunt them, that if thou shalt be made (as thou art worthie) to suffer open iouresse for thine heresies, that thou may haue thy iouresse openlie there among them:<sup>1</sup> so that all they whom thou and such other losels haue there peruerterd, may, through feare of thy deed, be reconciled againe to the vnitie of holie church; and also they that stand in true faith of holie church, may, thorough thy deed, be more established therein. And, as if this asking well pleased the archbishop, hee saide: By my thrift, this hartie praier, and feruent request, shall be thought on.

But certainlie, nother the praier of the men of Shrewesburie, nor the manasing of the archbishop made me any thinge afraide; but in rehearsing of this malice, and in the hearing of it, my heart greatly reioiced, and yet doth. I thanke God for the grace that I then thought, and yet thinke, shall come to all the church of God here-thorow, by the speciall mercifull doing of the Lord. And, as hauing no dread of the malice of tyrants, by trusting stedfastlie in the helpe of the Lord, with full purpose for to knowledge the soothfastnesse, and to stand thereby after my cunning and power, I said to the archbishop: Sir, if the truth of Gods word might now be accepted as it should be, I doubt not to proue by likelie euidence, that they that are famed to be out of the faith of holie church in Shrewsburie, and in other places also, are in the true faith of holie church.<sup>2</sup> For, as their wordes sound, and their workes shew to mans iudgement (dreading and louing faithfullie God), their will, their desire, their loue, and their busines, are most set to dread to offend God, and to loue for to please him in true and faithful keeping of his commandements. And againe, they that are said to be in the faith of holie church in Shrewesburie and in other places, by open euidence of their proud, enuious, malicious, conetous, lecherous, and other foule wordes and workes, neither know, nor haue will to know, nor to occupie their wits truely and effectuouslie in the right faith of holie church. Wherefore all these, nor none that followe their maners, shall any time come verilie in the faith of holie church, except they inforce them more truely to come in the waie which now they despise. For these men and women that are nowe called faithfull, and holden iust, nother knowe, nor will exercise themselue to know (of faithfulnessse), one commandment of God. And thus full many men and women nowe, and speciallie men that are named to be principall lims of holy church, stir God to great wrath, and deserue his curse for that they call or hold them iust men, which are ful vniust; as their vicious words, their great customable swearing, and their slanderous and shamfull workes, shewe openlie and witnessse. And therefore such vicious men and vniust, in their owne confusion, call them vniust men and women, which, after their power and cunning, busie themselues to liue iustlie after the commandment of God. And where Sir ye saie, that I haue distroubled the communitie of Shrewesburie, and many other men and women with my teaching: if this be, it is not to be wondred of wise men, since all the communitie of the cittie of Jerusalem was distroubled of Christes owne person, that was verie God and man, and ye most prudent preacher that euer was or shall be. And also all the synagogue of Nazareth was moued against Christ, and so fulfilled with ire towards him for his preaching, that the men of the synagogue rose vp and cast Christ out of their citie, and led him vp to the top of a mountain for to cast him downe there headlong: also accordinglie hereto, the Lord witnesseth by Moises, that he shall put dissention betwixt his people, and the people that contrarieth and pursueth his people. Who, Sir, is he that shall preach the truth of Gods worde to the vnfaithfull people, and shall let the soothfastnesse of the gospell, and the prophecie of God Almighty, to be fulfilled.

And the archbishop saide to me: It followeth of these thy words, that thou and such other thinkest, that yee do right well for to preach and teach as ye

Henry  
IV.

A. D.  
1407.

OShrews-  
bury!  
thou hast  
a cause to  
repent  
thee, in  
that thou  
wouldest  
not recei-  
ue the  
truth  
when it  
was of-  
fered  
thee.

See  
Appendix

A sure  
trust in  
God's  
truth con-  
foundeth  
the ma-  
lice of  
tyrants

Shrews-  
bury!  
except  
thou  
turn from  
thy wick-  
ed ways,  
thou  
canst not  
receiue  
the truth.  
Jerusa-  
lem trou-  
bled by  
the  
preaching  
of Christ.

(1) The Romish church must be established, by persecuting of true preachers.

(2) If the touch-stone might try, truth should be known.

*Henry IV.**A. D.  
1407.*

The word  
of God  
ought  
truly to be  
preached.

If this  
lesson  
had been  
well fol-  
lowed, the  
world had  
not been  
brought  
to such  
darkness  
by blind  
and dumb  
priests.

An effec-  
tuous  
prayer,  
God  
grant, in  
all minis-  
ters.

*See  
Appendix.*

Why? he  
preached  
without  
the  
bishop's  
licen-  
ce. He an-  
swereth to  
the  
question  
concern-  
ing the  
letter of  
licen-  
ce. The in-  
conveni-  
ences of  
seeking  
of the  
bishop's  
letter or  
licen-  
ce.

The wit-  
ness of  
the  
preachers  
is the  
good life  
of the fol-  
lowers

doe, without authoritie of any bishop. For you presume, that the Lord hath chosen you only for to preach, as faithfull disciples and speciall followers of Christ.

And I said: Sir, by authoritie of Gods law, and also of saints and doctors, I am learned to deeme, that it is euerie priests office and duty for to preach busilie, freely, and truelie the worde of God. For no doubt euerie priest should purpose first in his soule, and conet, to take the order of priestthoode chiefly for to make knowne to the people the worde of God, after his cunning and power; approuing his words euer to be true by his vertuous workes, and for this intent we suppose that bishops and other prelates of holie church should chieflie take and vse their prelaacie, and for the same cause bishoppes should giue to priests their orders. For bishoppes should accept no man to priesthood, except that he had good will and full purpose, and were well disposed, and well learned to preach.

Wherefore Sir, by the bidding of Christ, and by the example of his most holy liuing, and also by the witnessing of his holie apostles and prophets, wee are bound, vnder full great paine, to exercise vs, after our cunning and power (as euerie priest is likewise charged of God), to fulfill duellie the office of preesthood.

We presume not here of our selues for to be esteemed (neither in our owne reputation nor in none other mans) faithfull dysciples, and speciall followers of Christ. But Sir, as I said to you before, we deeme this, by authoritie chiefly of Gods word, that it is the chiefe dutie of euerie priest, to busie them faithfullie to make the law of God knowne to his people, and so to commune the commandment of God charitable, how that we may best, where, when, and to whom that euer we may, is our verie dutie. And, for the will and businesse that we owe of due debt to doe iustlie our office thorough the stirring and speciall helpe (as we trust) of God, hoping stedfastlie in his mercie, we desire to be the faithfull disciples of Christ: and we pray this gratus Lord, for his holie name, that he make vs able so to please him with deuout prayers, and charitable priestlie works, that we may obtain of him to follow him thankfully.

And the archbishop said to me: Lewd losel! whereto makest thou such vaine reasons to me? Asketh not Saint Paule, How should priestes preach, except they be sent? But I sent thee neuer to preach; for thy venomous doctrine is so knowne throughout England, that no bishop will admit thee to preach by witnessing of their letters. Why then, lewd idiot! wilt thou presume to preach, since thou art not sent, nor licensed of thy soueraign to preach? Saith not Saint Paule, that subiects ought to obey their soueraignes, and not onelie good and vertuous, but also tyrants that are vicious?

And I said to the archbishop: Sir, as touching your letter of licence or other bishops, which ye say we shoulde haue to witnesse that we were able to be sent for to preach, wee knowe well that neither you Sir, nor any other bishop of this land, will grant to vs any such letters of licence, but if we should oblige vs to you, and to other bishops, by vnlefull oathes, for to passe not the bounds and termes which ye Sir, or other bishops, will limit to vs. And since in this matter your termes be some too large, and some too strait, we dare not oblige vs thus to bee bounden to you for to keepe the termes, which you will limit to vs, as you doe to friers and such other preachers; and therefore, though we haue not your letter Sir, nor letters of anie other bishops written with inke vpon parchment, we dare not therefore leaue the office of preaching (to which preaching, all priests, after their cunning and power, are bounden by diuers testimonies of Gods lawe, and great doctors) without anie mention making of bishoppes letters. For, as mikle as we haue taken vpon vs the office of priesthood (though we are vnworthie thereto), we come and purpose to fulfill it with the help of God, by authoritie of his owne lawe, and by witnesse of great doctors and saints, accordinglie hereto trusting stedfastlie in the mercie of God. For that he commandeth vs to doe the office of priesthood, he will be our sufficient letters and witnesse, if we, by example of his holie liuing and teaching, speciallie occupie vs faithfullie to do our office iustlie: yea the people to whom we preach (be they faithfull or vnfaithfull) shall be our letters, that is, our witnesse bearers; for the truth where it is sowne, may not be vnwitnessed. For all y<sup>t</sup> are conuerted and sau'd by learning of Gods word, and by working thereafter, are witnesse bearers, that the truth and soothfastnesse which they heard and did after, is cause of their saluation. And again, all vnfaithfull men and women which heard the truth told out to them, and would not do thereafter: also all they

that might haue heard the truth and would not heare it, because that they would not do thereafter. All these shall beare witnes against themselves, and the truth which they would not heare, or else heard it and despised to doe thereafter, through their vnfaithfulnesse, is and shal be cause of their damnation. Therefore Sir, since this aforesaid witnessing of God, and of diuers saintes and doctors, and of all the people, good and euill, sufficeth to all true preachers, we thinke that we doe not the office of priesthood, if that we leaue our preaching; because that we haue not, or may not haue, dulle bishoppes letters, to witnesse that we are sent of them to preach. This sentence approneth Saint Paule, where he speaketh of himselfe, and of faithfull apostles and disciples, saieing thus: We need no letters of commendations, as some preachers do, which preach for conetousnesse of temporall goods, and for mens praising. And where ye saie Sir, that Paule biddeth subiects obeie their soueraignes, that is sooth, and may not be denied. But there is two maner of soueraignes, vertuous soueraignes and vicious tyrantes. Therefore, to these last soueraignes, neither men nor women that be subiect, owe to obey in two maners. To vertuous soueraignes and charitable, subiects owe to obeie wilfullie and gladdie, in hearing of their good counsell, in consenting to their charitable biddings, and in working after their fruitfull workes.

This sentence Paule approneth where he saith to subiects: Be ye mindfull of your soueraignes, that speake to you the word of God; and followe you the faith of them, whose conuersation you knowe to be vertuous. For, as Paule saith after, these soueraignes, to whom subiects owe to obey in following of their maners, work busilie, in holie studieng, how they may withstand and destroe vices, first in themselves, and after in all their subiects, and howe they maie best plant in them vertues. Also these soueraignes, make deuout and feruent praiers for to purchase grace of God, that they and their subiects maie, ouer all thing, dread to offend him, and to loue for to please him. Also these soueraignes to whom Paule biddeth vs obeie, as it is saide before, liue so vertuouslie, that all they that will liue well, maie take of them good example, to know and to keep the commandements of God. But, in this foresaid wise, subiectes ought not to obeie, nor to be obedient to tyrants, while they are vicious tyrants, since their will, their counsell, their biddings, and their workes are so vicious, that they ought to be hated and left. And though such tyrants be maisterfull and cruell in boasting and menacing, in oppressions and diuers punishings, S. Peter biddeth the seruants of such tyrants, to obeie meeklie such tyrants, suffering patientlie their maliciois cruelties. But Peter counselleth not anie seruant or subiect, to obeie to anie lord, or prince, or soueraign, in anie thing that is not pleasing to God.

And the archbishop saide vnto me: If a soueraigne bid his subiect do that thing that is vicious, this soueraigne herein is to blame; but the subiect, for his obedience, deserueth meede of God: for obedience pleaseth more to God than anie sacrifice.

And I said: Samuel the prophet said to Saule, the wicked king, that God was more pleased with the obedience of his commandement, then with anie sacrifice of beasts. But Dauid saith, and S. Paule, and S. Gregorie accordingle together, that not onlie they that do euill, are worthie of death and damnation; but also they that consent to euill doers. And Sir, the law of holie church teacheth in the decrees, that no seruant to his lord, nor childe to the father or mother, nor wife to her husband, nor monke to his abbot, ought to obeie, except in lefull things, and lawfull.

And the archbishop saide to me: All these alledginges that thou bringest forth are not else but proud presumptuousnesse; for hereby thou inforcest thee to proue, that thou and such other are so iust, that ye ought not to obeie to prelates. And thus, against the learning of Saint Paule that teacheth you not to preach but if ye were sent, of your owne authoritie ye will go forth and preach, and doe what ye list.

And I said: Sir, presenteth not euerie priest the office of the apostles, or the office of the disciples of Christ? And the archbishop said, Yea. And I said: Sir, as the tenth chapter of Matthew, and the last chapter of Mark witnesseth, Christ sent his apostles for to preach. And the tenth chapter of Luke witnesseth, that Christ sent his two and seentie disciples for to preach, in euerie place that Christ was to come to: and S. Gregorie, in the common lawe, saith, that euerie man that goeth to priesthoode, taketh vpon him the office of preaching: for, as he saith, that priest stirreth God to great wrath, of whose mouth is not heard

*Henry  
IV.*

*A. D.  
1407.*

Two kinds of soue-  
reigns. He mean-  
eth pre-  
lates that be un-  
vertuous.

Two manner of obeying:  
1. In fol-  
lowing  
their do-  
ings and  
exam-  
ples.  
2. In  
suffering  
their  
wrongs.  
Well rea-  
soned, my  
lord, and  
like a  
clerk.

*See  
Appendix.*

Obedi-  
ence not  
to be  
given, ex-  
cept in  
things  
lawful.

All is pre-  
sumption  
that  
standeth  
against  
your mas-  
terful  
ambition.

*Henry  
IV.*

A. D.  
1107.

Priests  
that  
preach  
not, be  
slayers  
of the  
people.

the voice of preaching; and, as other more gloses vpon Ezechiel wnesse, that the priest that preacheth not busilie to the people, shall be partaker of their damnation that perish through his default. And, though the people be saued by other speciall grace of God then by the priestes preaching, yet the priests, in that they are ordeined to preach, and preach not, as before God, they are manslayers. For, as farre as in them is, such priestes as preach not busilie and truelie, sleieth all the people ghostlie, in that they withholde from them the word of God, that is y<sup>e</sup> life and sustenance of mens soules. And S. Isidore said, priestes shall be damned for wickednesse of the people, if they teach not them that are ignorant, or blame not them that are sinners. For all the worke or businesse of priestes standeth in preaching and teaching; that they edifie all men, as well by cunning of faith, as by discipline of workes, that is, vertuous teaching; and, as y<sup>e</sup> gospell witnesseth, Christ sayd in his teaching: I am borne and comen into this worlde, to beare wnesse to the truth; and he that is of the truth, heareth my voice.

Priests  
not only  
sent,  
but com-  
manded  
to preach.  
Whatso-  
ever a  
man  
doth,  
leaving  
that un-  
done  
which he  
is chiefly  
bound to  
do, is sin.  
Yet this  
bishop  
plucketh  
him not  
by the  
beard,  
nor burn-  
eth off his  
hand, as  
Bonner  
did.

Then Sir, since by the word of Christ speciallie, that is his voice, priests are commanded to preach, and whatsoever priest that it be, that hath not good will and full purpose to doe thus, and ableth not himselfe, after his cunning and power, to doe his office by the example of Christ and of his apostles, whatsoever other thing that he doth, displeaseth God. For lo, S. Gregorie saith, That thing left, that a man is bound chieffie to doe, whatsoever other thing that a man dooth, it is unthankfull to the Holy Ghost; and therefore, saith Lincolne, the priest that preacheth not the word of God, though he be seen to haue none other default, he is Antichrist and Sathanas, a night theefe and a daie theefe, a slayer of soules, and an angell of light turned into darkenesse. Wherefore Sir, these authorities and other well considered, I deeme my selfe damnable, if I, either for pleasure or displeasure of any creature, applic mee not diligentlie to preach the word of God. And in the same damnation I deeme all those priestes, which, of good purpose and will, enforce them not busilie to do thus, and also all them that haue purpose or will to let any priest of this businesse.

*See  
Appendix.*

And the archbishop said to those three clerks that stode before him: Loe Sirs, this is the maner and businesse of this losell and such other, to picke out such sharpe sentences of holy Scripture and doctors, to maintaine their sect and lore against the ordinance of holy church. And therefore, losell! it is thou that couetest to haue again the Psalter that I made to bee taken from thee at Canturburie, to record sharpe verses against vs. But thou shalt neuer haue that Psalter, nor none other booke, till that I know that thy hart and thy mouth accord fullie, to be gouerned by holy church.

And I said, Sir, all my will and power is, and euer shall be (I trust to God), to be gouerned by holie church.

And the archbishop asked me what was holie church.

And I said: Sir, I told you before, what was holy church: but since ye aske me this demand, I cal Christ and his saints, holie church.

And the archbishop said unto me: I wote well that Christ and his saints are holie church in heauen; but what is holie church in earth?

Two  
parts of  
holie  
church.

And I said, Sir: though holie church be every one in charitie, yet it hath two parts. The first and principall part hath ouercomen perfectie all the wretchednesse of this life, and raigneth ioyfullie in heauen with Christ. And the other parte is here yet in earth, busilie and continuallie fighting, day and night, against temptations of the fiend, forsaking and hating the prosperity of this world, despising and withstanding their fleshlie lustes; which onele are the pilgrimes of Christ, wandering toward beauen by stedfast faith and grounded hope, and by perfect charitie. For these heauenlie pilgrimes may not, nor wil not, be letted of their good purpose, by the reason of any doctors discording from holie Scripture, nor by the floudes of any tribulation temporall, nor by the winde of any pride, of boast, or of manasing of any creature; for they are all fast grounded vpon the sure stone, Christ, hearing his worde and louing it, exercising them faithfullie and continuallie in all their wits to doe thereafter.

And the archbishop said to his clerkes: See ye not how his hart is indurate, and how he is trauelled with the deuill, occupying him thus busilie to alledge such sentences to maintaine his errors and heresies? Certaine, thus he would occupie vs here all day, if we would suffer him!

One of the clerkes answered: Sir, he saide right-nowe, that this certification

that came to you from Shrewesburie, is vntrolie forged against him. Therefore, Sir, appose you him now here in all the points which are certified against him, and so we shall heare of his owne mouth his answeres, and wnesse them.

*Henry  
IV.*

And the archbishop took the certification in his hande, and looked thereon awhile, and then he said to me: Loe here it is certified against thee, by worthy men and faithfull of Shrewesburie, that thou preacheest there openlie, in S. Chads church, that the sacrament of the aultar was material bread after the consecration: what saiest thou? was this truelie preached?

*A. D.  
1407.*

*Well  
helped  
forward  
master  
clerk.*

And I said: Sir, I tell you trulie that I touched nothing there of the sacrament of the aultar, but in this wise, as I will, with God's grace, tell you here. As I stood there in the pulpit, busying me to teach the commandment of God, there knilled a sacring bell, and therefore mickle people turned away hastilie, and with noise ran fro towards me. And I, seeing this, said to them thus: Good men! ye were better to stand here still and to heare God's word; for certes the vertue and the meede of the most holie sacrament of the aultar standeth mickle more in the beleefe thereof that ye ought to haue in your soule, then it doth in the outward sight thereof. And therefore, ye were better to stand still, quietlie to heare God's worde, because that through the hearing thereof, men come to very true beleefe. And otherwise, Sir, I am certain I spake not there of the worthe sacrament of the aultar.

*The vir-  
tue of the sacra-  
ment  
standeth  
in the  
beliefe,  
more  
than in  
the  
outward  
sign.*

And the archbishop saide to me: I beleue thee not, whatsoever thou saist, since so worshipfull men haue witnessed thus against thee. But, since thou deniest that thou sayedst thus there, what saist thou now? resteth there, after the consecration in the hoast, materiall bread or no?

And I said: Sir, I know in no place in holie Scripture where this terme materiall bread is written; and therefore, Sir, when I speak of this matter, I vse not to speake of material bread.

*Material  
bread.*

Then the archbishop said to me: How teachest thou men to beleuee in this sacrament?

*See  
Appendix.*

And I said: Sir, as I beleuee my selfe, so I teach other men.

He said: Tell out plainlie thy beleefe thereof.

And I saide, with my protestation: Sir, I beleue that the night before that Christ Jesu woulde suffer (wilfullie) passion for mankinde on the morne after, he tooke bread in his holie and most worshipfull hands, lifting vppe his eies, and giuing thanks to God his Father, blessed this bread and brake it, and gaue it to his disciples, saying to them: Take eate of this all you, this is my bodie. And that this is and ought to be all mens beleefe, Matthew, Marke, Luke, and Paule, witnesseth. Other beleefe Sir, I haue none, nor will haue, nor teach; for I beleuee, that this sufficeth in this matter. For in this beleefe, with God's grace, I purpose to liue and die, knowledging as I beleuee and teach other men to beleuee, that the worshipfull sacrament of the aultar, is the sacrament of Christ's flesh and his bloud in forme of bread and wine.

And the archbishop saide to me: It is sooth that this sacrament is very Christes bodie in forme of bread; but thou and thy sect teachest it to be substance of bread. Thinke you this true teaching?

And I said: Neither I, nor any other of the sect that yee damne, teach any otherwise then I haue tolde you, nor beleuee otherwise, to my knowing. Neuerthelesse Sir, I aske of you for charitie, that ye will tell me here plainely, howe yee shall vnderstand the text of Saint Paule, where he saith thus: This thing feele you in yourself, that is in Christ Jesu, while he was in the forme of God. Sir, calleth not Paule here the forme of God, the substance or kind of God? also Sir, saith not the church, in the houres of the moste blessed virgine accordinglie hereto, where it is written thus: Thou author of health! remember, that sometime thou tooke of the vndefiled virgin, the forme of our bodie? Tell me for charitie, therefore, whether the forme of our bodie be called here the kind of our bodie or no?

*The  
papists  
have no  
other  
defence  
for them  
but only  
the  
church.*

And the archbishop said to me: Wouldest thou make mee to declare this text after thy purpose, since the church now hath determined, that there abideth no substance of bread after the consecration, in the sacrament of the aultar? Beleueest thou not this ordinance of the church?

And I said: Sir, whatsoever prelates haue ordained in the church, our beleefe standeth euer whole. I haue not heard, that the ordinance of men vnder beleefe, should bee put into beleefe.

Henry  
IV.A. D.  
1407.

Every ordinance  
of church-  
men bindeth  
not our  
faith.  
The  
greatest  
doctors  
of the  
church be  
apostles,  
St. Paul,  
the canon  
of the  
mass, and  
St. Aus-  
tin, call-  
eth it  
bread.  
My lord  
can revile  
apace, he  
can de-  
clare but  
a little.  
Choke  
him up  
my lord.

Tem-  
plum  
Domini.  
Tem-  
plum  
Domini  
The  
church  
stood  
sound  
till the  
fiend  
broke  
house.

It is  
happy he  
did not  
fly in his  
face, as  
Bonner  
did.

And the archbishop said to me : If thou hast not learned this before, learne now to knowe that thou art out of beleefe, if in this matter and other, thou beleeeuest not as the holie church beleeeuest. What say doctors treating of this sacrament ?

And I said : Sir, Saint Paule, that was a great doctor of holie church, speaking to the people, and teaching them in the right beleefe of this most holie sacrament, calleth it bread, that we breake : and also in the canon of the masse after the consecration, this moste worthy sacrament is called holie bread ; and euerie priest in this land, after that he hath receiued this sacrament, saith in this wise : That thing that we haue taken with our mouth, we pray God that wee may take it with a pure and cleane minde. That is, as I vnderstand, we praie God that we may receiue, through verie beleefe, this holie sacrament worthily. And Sir, Saint Augustine saith : That thing that is seene, is bread ; but that mens faith asketh to be informed of, is very Christs body. And also, Fulgence, an ententiffe doctor saith : As it were an error to say that Christ was but a substance, that is verie man, and not verie God, or to say that Christ was verie God, and not very man ; so is it (this doctor saith) an error to saie, that the sacrament of the altar is but a substance. Also Sir, accordingly hereto, in the Secret of the mid masse on Christnase daies, it is written thus : ' Idem refulsit Deus, sic terrena substantia nobis conferat quod diuinum est ; ' which sentence, Sir, with the secret of the fourth ferie, ' quatuor temporum Septembris : ' I pray you, sir, declare here openlie in English.

And the archbishop said to me : I perceiue well enough where about thou art, and howe the deuill blindeth thee, that thou may not vnderstand the ordinance of holie church, nor consent thereto. But I command thee now, answere me shortlie : Beleuest thou that after the consecration of this foresaid sacrament, there abideth substance of bread, or not ?

And I saide : Sir, as I vnderstande, it is all one to grant or beleeeue, that there dwelleth substance of bread, and to grant and to beleeeue, that this most worthie sacrament of Christs owne bodie is accident without subiect.<sup>1</sup> But Sir, for as mickle as your asking passeth my vnderstanding, I dare neither denie it nor grant it, for it is schoole matter, about which I busied me neuer for to know it ; and therefore I commit this terme ' accidens sine subiecto ' to those clerkes which delight them so in curious and subtle sophistry, because they determine oft so difficult and strange matters, and wade and wander so in them, from argument to argument, with 'pro' and 'contra,' till that they wot not where they are, and vnderstand not themselves. But the shame that these proud sophisters haue to yeeld them to men, and before men, maketh them oft fooles, and to bee concluded shamefullie before God.

And the archbishop said to me : I purpose not to oblige thee to the subtle arguments of clerkes, since thou art vnable thereto ; but I purpose to make thee obeye to the determination of holie church.

And I said : Sir, by open euidence and great witnesse, a thousand yeare after the incarnation of Christ, the determination which I haue here before you rehearsed, was accept of holy church, as sufficient to the saluation of all them that would beleeeue it faithfullie, and worke thereafter charitablie. But Sir, the determination of this matter, which was brought in since the feend was loosed by friar Thomas Aquine,<sup>2</sup> speciallie calling the most worshipfull sacrament of Christes owne bodie an accident without subiect : which terme, since I know not that Gods law approueth it in this matter, I dare not grant ; but vtterlie I denie to make this friars sentence, or any such other, my beleefe, doe with me God ! what thou wilt.

And the archbishop said to me : Well, well, thou shalt say otherwise or that I leaue thee. But what saiest thou to this second point that is recorded against thee by worthy men of Shrewesburie, saying that thou preachedst there, that images ought not to be worshipped in any wise ?

And I said : Sir, I preached neuer thus, nor, through Gods grace, I will not at any time consent to think nor to saie thus, neither priuilie nor apertlie. For loe, the Lorde witnesseth by Moses, that the thinges which he made were right good, and so then they were, and yet they are and shall be, good and worship-

(1) To grant real being of the body without bread, is as much as to grant the accident to be without the subject.

(2) See Appendix. - Ed



full in their kind. And therefore, to the end that God made them to, they are all praisable and worshipfull, and speciallie man, that was made after the image and likeness of God, is full worshipfull in his kind, yea this holie image that is man, God worshippeth. And herefore euerie man shoulde worshippe other, in kinde, and also for heauenlie vertues that men vse charitable. And also I say, wood, tin, golde, siluer, or any other matter that images are made of: all these creatures are worshipfull in their kind, and to the end that God made them for. But the caruing, casting, and painting of an imagery, made within mans hand, albeit that this doing be accept of man of highest state and dignitie, and ordained of them to be a calender to lewd men, that neither can, nor wil be learned to know God in his word, neither by his creatures, nor by his wonderful and diuers workings, yet this imagerie ought not to bee worshipped in forme, nor in the likeness of mans craft.<sup>1</sup> Neuerthelesse, that euerie matter the painters paint with, since it is Gods creature, ought to be worshipped in the kinde, and to the end, that God made and ordained it to serue man.

Then the archbishop said to me: I grant well that no bodie ought to doe worship to any such images for themselves. But a crucifix ought to be worshipped for the passion of Christ that is painted therein, and so brought therethrough to mans mind: and thus the images of the blessed Trinitie, and of the Virgin Marie, Christs mother, and other images of saints, ought to be worshipped. For loe, earthlie kings and lords, which vse to send their letters ensealed with their armes, or with their priuie signet to them that are with them, are worshipped of these men.<sup>2</sup> For when these men receiue their lords letters, in which they see and knowe the wils and biddings of the lords, in worship of their lords they do off their caps to these letters. Why not then, since in images made with mans hande we may read and know many diuers thinges of God, and of his saintes, shall we not worship their images?

And I saide: With my foresaid protestation I saie, that these worldlie vsages of temporall lawes that ye speake now of, may be done in case without sinne. But this is no similitude to worship images made by mans hand, since that Moyses, Dauid, Salomon, Baruch, and other saintes in the Bible, forbid so plainelie the worshipping of all such images.<sup>3</sup>

Then the archbishop said to mee: Lewd losell! in the olde law, before that Christ tooke mankind, was no likeness of any person of the Trinitie, neither shewed to man nor knowne of man; but nowe, since Christ became man, it is lefull to haue images to shew his manhood.<sup>4</sup> Yea, though many men which are right great clerks and other also, held it an error to paint y<sup>e</sup> Trinitie, I saie it is well don to make and to paint the Trinitie in images;<sup>5</sup> for it is great mouing of deuotion to men, to haue and to behold the Trinitie, and other images of saints, carued, cast, and painted. For beyond the sea, are the best painters that euer I saw. And Sirs, I tell you, this is their maner, and it is a good maner:<sup>6</sup> when that an image maker shall carue, cast in mold, or paint any images, he shall goe to a priest, and shrine him as cleane, as if he should then die; and take penance, and make some certaine vow of fasting, or of praying, or pilgrimages doing, praying the priest speciallie to pray for him, that he may haue grace to make a faire and deuout image.

And I said: Sir, I doubt not, if these painters that ye speak of, or any other painters, vnderstood truely the text of Moyses, of Dauid, of the wise man, of Baruch, and of other saints and doctors, these painters shoulde bee moued to shrine them to God with full inward sorrowe of heart, taking vpon them to doe right sharpe penance for the sinnefull and vaine craft of painting, caruing, or casting they had vsed; promising God faithfullie, neuer to doe so after; knowing openlie, before all men, their reproveable learning. And also Sir, these priests, that shrine (as you doe saie) painters, and enioyne them to doe penance, and pray for their speed, promising to them helpe of their prayers for to be curious in their sinnefull craftes, sin herein more greeuouslie then y<sup>e</sup> painters. For these priests do comfort and giue them counsell to doe that thing, which,

Henry  
IV.A. D.  
1407.Man a  
worship-  
ful image  
of God.See  
Appendix.The  
image  
of the  
Trinity

(1) Though man accept the painting or caruing of images, yet is it not the right way to learn to serve God.

(2) A similitude of the king's seal or letters, to prove the worship of images.

(3) No similitude to be made between earthly things and spiritual, namely, when God's word doth express to the contrary.

(4) So you say, my lord, but God saith contrary, in his commandments,

(5) Painters' devotion and the pope's divinity do well agree.

(6) Preparation of the painters to make a fair and a deuout image.

Henry  
IV.

A. D.  
1407.

The true  
books and  
calenders  
to know  
God.

of great paine, yea vnder the paine of Gods curse, they should vtterlie forbid them. For certes Sir, if the wonderfull working of God, and the holie liuing and teaching of Christ, and of his apostles and prophetes, were made knowne to the people by holie liuing and true, and busie teaching of priests, these things, Sir, were sufficient bookes and kalenders to knowe God by, and his saints, without any images made with mans hande. But certes, the vicious liuing of priestes, and their couetousnesse, are chief cause of this error, and all other viciousnesse that raigneth among the people.

Then the archbishoppe said unto me : I holde thee a vicious priest and acurst, and all them that are of thy sect, for al priests of holie churche, and all images that mooue menne to deuotion, thou and such other goe about to destroy. Losell ! were it a faire thinge to come into the churche and see therein none image ?<sup>1</sup>

The right  
service of  
a Chris-  
tian

And I saide : Sir, they that come to the church for to pray deuoutlie to the Lord God, may in their inward wittes be the more feruent, that all their outward wits bee closed from all outward seeing and hearing, and from all distroublance and lettings. And, since Christ blessed them that saw him not bodilie, and haue beleued faithfullie in him, it sufficeth then to all men (through hearing and knowing of Gods word, and to do thereafter) for to beleue in God, though they neuer see images made with mans hande after any person of the Trinitie, or of any other saint.

And the archbishop said to me, with a feruent spirite : I saie to thee, losell ! that it is right well done to make and to haue an image of the Trinitie ; yea,<sup>2</sup> what saist thou ? is it not a stirring thing to behold such an image ?

And I said : Sir, ye saide right, now, that in the olde lawe, or Christ tooke mankind, no likenesse of any person of the Trinitie was shewed to men ; wherefore Sir, yee saide, it was not then lefull to haue images : but now ye say, since Christ is becomen man, it is lefull to make and to haue an image of the Trinitie, and also of other saints. But Sir, this thing woulde I learn of you : since the Father of heauen, yea and every Person of the Trinitie was, without beginning, God Almighty, and many holie prophets that were deadlie men were martyred violentlie in the old law, and also many men and women then did confessors : why was it not then as lefull and necessarie as now, to haue made an image of the Father of heauen, and to haue made and had other images of martyrs, prophetes, and holy confessors, to haue bene kalenders to aduise men and moue them to deuotion, as ye saie that images now doe ?<sup>3</sup>

The syna-  
gogue of  
Anti-  
christ will  
haue au-  
thority

And the archbishop said : The sinagogue of the Jewes had not authoritie to approne those thinges as the church of Christ hath now.

And I saide : Sir, Saint Gregorie was a great man in the newe lawe, and of great dignitie, and, as the common lawe witnesseth, he commended greatlie a bishop, in that he forbad vtterlie the images made with mans hande should be worshipped.

See  
Appendix.

And the archbishop said : Ungratious losell ! thou sauourest no more truth then an hound. Since at the rood at the Northdore at London, at our Ladie at Walsingham, and manie other diuers places in England, are many great and praisable miracles done, should not the images of such holie saints and places, at the reverence of God, and our Ladie, and other saints, be more worshipped then other places and images, where no miracles are done ?

A chris-  
tian man  
ought not  
to vow,  
seek, nor  
bow, nor  
pray, nor  
offer to  
kiss an  
image.

And I said : Sir, there is no such vertue in any imagerie, that any images should herefore be worshipped ; wherefore I am certain that there is no miracle done of God, in any place in earth, because that any images made with mannes hande should be worshipped.<sup>4</sup> And herfore Sir, as I preached openlie at Shrewesburie and other places, I saie now here, before you : That no bodie shoulde trust that there were any vertue in imagery made with mans hand, and therefore no bodie should vowe to them, nor seeke them, nor kneele to them, nor bowe to them, nor praie to them, nor offer any thing to them, nor kisse them, nor encesue them. For loe the most worthy of such images, the brasen serpent (by Moyses made, at Gods bidding), the good king Ezechias destroyed worthilie and thankfully, and all because it was ensenced. Therefore Sir, if men take good heede to the writing and to the learning of S. Augustine, of

(1) A better sight, my lord, than to see blind stocks there to be worshipped.

(2) My lord, your yea will not answer God's nay.

(3) Note this, ye worshippers and maintainers of images.

(4) Miracles importing worship to be done to images may well be suspected not to come of God.

S. Gregorie, and of Saint John Chrysostome, and of other saints and doctors, how they spake and wrote of miracles that shall be done now in the last end of the world, it is to dreȳd, that for the vnfaithfulness of men and women, the fiend hath great power for to worke many of the miracles that nowe are done in such places. For both men and women delight nowe more to heare and know miracles, then they do to know Gods word, or to heare it effectuously. Wherefore, to the great confusion of al them that thus do, Christ saith: The generation of adulterers requireth tokens, miracles, and wonders. Neuerthelesse, as diuers saintes say, nowe, when the faith of God is published in Christendome, the word of God sufficeth to mans saluation, without such miracles: and thus also the word of God sufficeth to all faithful men and women, without any such images. But good sir, since the Father of heauen, that is God in his godhead, is the most vnknowne thing that may be, and the most wonderfull spirit, hauing in it no shape or likenesse of any members of any deadly creature, in what likenes, or what image, may God the Father be shewed or painted?

And the archbishop said: As holy church<sup>1</sup> hath suffered the images of the Trinitie, and al other images to be painted and shewed, it sufficeth to them that are members of holie church. But since thou arte a rotten member, cut away from holie church, thou fauorest not the ordinance thereof. But since the daie passeth, leaue we this matter.

And then he said to me: What saiest thou to the third point that is certified against thee, preaching openly in Shrensburie, that pilgrimage is not lefull; and ouer this, thou saidest that those men and women that go on pilgrimages to Canturburie, to Beuerley, to Karlington, to Walsingham, and to any such other places, are accursed and made foolish, spending their goods in wast.

And I said: Sir, by this certification I am accused to you that I should teach, that no pilgrimage is lefull. But I saide neuer thus. For I know that there be true pilgrimages and lefull, and full pleasant to God; and therefore, sir, howsoeuer mine enemies haue certified you of me, I told at Serewsburie of two maner of pilgrimages.

And the archbishop saide to me: Whome callest thou true pilgrimes?

And I said: Sir, with my protestation, I call them true pilgrimes traouelling towarde the blisse of heauen, which, in the state, degree, or order that God called them to, doe busie them faithfullie for to occupie all their wits bodellie and ghostlie, to knowe truely, and to keepe faithfullie the biddings of God, hating and fleeing all the seauen deadlie sins, and euerie branch of them: ruling them vertuousslie (as it is said before) withal their wits; doing discreettlie, willfullie, and gladly, all the works of mercie, bodellie and ghostly: after their cunning and power, abling them to the gifts of the Holie Ghost; disposing them to receiue them in their soules, and to hold therein, the right blessings of Christ: busieng them to knowe and to keepe the seauen principall vertues, and so then they shall obtaine heere, through grace, for to vse thankefullie to God, all the conditions of charitie. And then, they shall be moued with the good Spirit of God, for to examine oft and diligentlie their conscience, that neither willfullie nor wittinglie they erre in any article of beleefe; hauing continuallie (as frailtie will suffer) all their businesse to dread and to flee the offence of God, and to lone ouer all thing, and to seeke euer to doe, his pleasant will. Of these pilgrimes I said, whatsoeuer good thought that they any time thinke, what vertuous worde that they speake, and what fruitfull worke that they worke: euerie such thought, worde, and worke, is a step, numbred of God, towarde him into heauen. These foresaide pilgrimes of God, delight sore when they heare of saintes or of vertuous men and women, how they forsooke wilfullie the prosperitie of this life, howe they withstoode the suggestion of the fiende, how they restrained their fleshly lustes, howe discreet they were in their penance doing, howe patient they were in all their aduersities, howe prudent they were in counselling of men and women, mouing them to hate all sinne, and to fle them, and to shame euer greatlie thereof, and lone all vertues, and to drawe to them, imagining howe Christ, and his followers, by example of him, suffered scornes and sclaunder, and howe patientlie they abode and tooke the wrongful manasing of tyrantes: howe homelie they were and seruisable to poore men, to relieue and

Henry IV.

A. D. 1407.

For the unfaithfulness of men, the devil may work miracles. The word of God sufficeth us to salvation, without miracles.

The third article. Pilgrimage.

Two kinds of pilgrimage.

The true pilgrimage is to travail in heavenly things. See Appendix.

Every good work, is a good step to heaven. The manner and examples of saints.

(1) 'Holy church' of your own building.

Henry  
IV.A. D.  
1407.

comfort them bodelie and ghostlie, after their power and cunning; and howe deuout they were in praiers, howe feruent they were in heauenlie desires, and howe they absented them from spectacles of vaine sayings and hearings; and how stable they were to let and destroe all vices, and howe laborious and ioyfull they were, to sowe and to plante vertues. These heauenlie conditions and such other haue the pilgrimes, or endeuour them for to haue, whose pilgrimage God accepteth.

See  
Appendix.Pilgrimage dis-  
pleasant  
to God.Goods  
evil be-  
stowed in  
pilgrimage.The in-  
conveni-  
ence that  
cometh  
by pil-  
grimage.

And againe, I saide, as their workes shewe, the most parte of men and women that goe now on pilgrimages, haue not these foresaide conditions, nor loueth to busie them faithfullie for to haue. For, as I well know, since I haue full oft assaid, examine, whosoener will, twenty of these pilgrimes, and hee shall not find three men or women that know surely a commendement of God, nor can say their Pater Noster and Aue Maria, nor their Creed readily in any maner of language. And, as I haue learned, and also know somewhat by experience, of these same pilgrimes, telling the cause, whie that many men and women go hither and thither now on pilgrimage: It is more for the health of their bodies, then of their soules; more for to haue riches and prosperitie of this worlde, then for to be enriched with vertues in their soules; more to haue here worldly and fleshlie friendship, then for to haue friendship of God, and of his saints in heauen: for whatsoever thing man or woman doth, the friendship of God, nor of any other saint, cannot be had, without keeping of Gods commandements. Further, with my protestation, I saie now as I said in Shrewsbury, though they that haue fleshly wils, trauell far their bodies and spend mikle mony, to seeke and to visite the bones or images (as they saie they do) of this saint or of that, such pilgrimage-going is neither praiseable nor thankfull to God, nor to any saint of God, since, in effect, all such pilgrimes despise God and all his commandements and saints. For the commandements of God they will nother know nor keepe, nor conforme them to liue vertuously by example of Christ and of his saintes. Wherefore sir, I haue preached and taught openlie, and so I purpose all my life time to doe with Gods helpe, saying, that such fond people waste blamefullie Gods goods in their vaine pilgrimages, spending their goods vpon vitious hostelars, which are oft vnclene women of their bodies; and at the least, those goods, with the which they should doe workes of mercie, after Gods bidding, to poore needie men and women.

These poore mens goods and their liuelode, these runners-about offer to rich priests, which haue mikle more liuelode then they neede: and thus those goods they wast wilfullie, and spend them vnuslie, against Gods bidding, vpon strangers, with which they should helpe and relieue, after Gods wil, their poore needie neighbours at home. Yea and ouer this follie, oft times diuers men and women of these runners thus madlie hither and thither into pilgrimage, borrow hereto other mens goods; yea and sometime they steale mens goodes hereto, and they paie them neuer againe. Also Sir, I knowe well that when diuers men and women will goe thus after their own willes, and finding out one pilgrimage, they will ordaine with them before, to haue with them both men and women that can well sing wanton songes, and some other pilgrimes will haue with them bagge pipes; so that euerie towne that they come through, what with the noise of their singing, and with the sound of their piping, and with the iangling of their Canturburie bells, and with the barking out of dogges after them, that they make more noice, then if the king came there away, with all his clarions, and many other minstrels. And if these men and women be a moneth out in their pilgrimage, many of them shall be an halfe yeare after, great ianglers, tale-tellers, and liars.

And the archbishop said to me: Lend losell! thou seest not far inough in this matter, for thou considerest not the great trauaile of pilgrimes, therefore thou blamest that thing that is praiseable. I say to thee, that it is right wel done, that pilgrims haue with them both singers and also pipers; that when one of them that goeth barefoot, striketh his toe vpon a stone, and hurteth him sore, and maketh him to bleede, it is well done that he or his fellow begin then a song, or else take out of his bosom a bagpipe, for to drine awaie with such mirth, the hurt of his fellow: for with such solace, the trauaile and wearinesse of pilgrimes, is lightly and merely borne out.<sup>2</sup>

(1) Well spoken, my lord, for Lincolnshire bag-pipes.

(2) And why then blamed Bonner Philpot, for singing in the stocks?

And I said: Sir, S. Paule teacheth men to weepe with them that weepe.

And the archbishop saide: What ianglest thou against mens deuotion? What-soeuer thou or such other saie, I saie that the pilgrimage that now is vsed, is to them that do it, a praiseable and a good meane to come the rather to grace. But I hold thee vnable to know this grace, for thou enforceest thee to let the deuotion of the people; since by authoritie of holie scripture, men may lefullie haue and vse such solace as thou reprocst. For Dauid, in his last Psalm, teacheth men to haue diuers instruments of musicke, for to praise therewith God.

And I said: Sir, by the sentence of diuers doctors expounding the Psalmes of Dauid, that musicke and minstrelsie that Dauid and other saints of the olde lawe spake of, ought nowe nother to be taken nor vsed by the letter; but these instruments, with their musicke, ought to be interpreted ghostly: For all those figures are called vertues and grace, with which vertues men should please God, and praise his name; for S. Paule saith, all such things befell to them in figure. Therefore, Sir, I vnderstand, that the letter of this psalm of Dauid and of such other Psalmes and sentences, doth slaie them that take them now litterallie. This sentence, as I vnderstand sir, Christ approueth himselfe, putting out the minstrels, or that hee would quicken the dead damsell.

And the archbishop saide to me: Leud losel! is it not lefull to vs to haue organes in the church, for to worship there-withall God? And I said: Ye sir, by mans ordinance; but by the ordinance of God, a good sermon to the peoples vnderstanding were mikle more pleasant to God.<sup>1</sup>

And the archbishop said, that organes and good delectable songs, quickned and sharpened more mens wits then should any sermon.

But I said: Sir, lustie men and worldly louers, delite and couet and trauail to haue all their wits quickned and sharpened with diuers sensible solace: but all the faithfull louers and followers of Christ, haue al their delite to heare Gods word, and to vnderstand it truely, and to worke thereafter faithfully and continually. For no doubt, to dread to offend God, and to loue to please him in all things, quickeneth and sharpeneth all the wits of Christs chosen people, and ablet them so to grace, that they ioy greatlie to withdrawe their eares and all their wits and members, from al worldly delite and from all fleshlie solace. For S. Jerome (as I thinke) saith, No bodie maie ioy with this world and raigne with Christ.

And the archbishop (as if he had beene displeased with mine answer) said to his clerks: What gesse ye that this idiot wil speake there, where he hath no dread; since hee speaketh thus now here in my presence: Well, well, by God, thou shalt be ordained for. And then he spake to me all anglerie:

What saiest thou to this fourth point, that is certified against thee, preaching openly and boldly in Shrewsburie, that priests haue no title to tithes.

And I said: Sir, I named there no word of tithes in my preaching. But more then a month after that I was arested there in prison, a man came to me into the prison, asking me what I said of tithes. And I saide to him: Sir, in this towne are many clerkes and priestes, of which some are called religious men, though many of them be seculars; therefore aske ye of them this question. And this man said to me: Sir, our prelates say, that we also are obliged to paie our tithes of all things that renue to vs; and that they are accursed, that withdraw any part wittinglie fro them of their tithes. And I said, Sir, to that man, as with my protestation I saie nowe before you, that I wonder that any priest dare saie men to be accursed, without ground of Gods worde. And the man said: Sir, our priests say, that they curse men thus by authoritie of Gods lawe. And I said: Sir, I know not where this sentence of cursing is authorised now in the Bible. And therefore Sir, I praie you that yee will aske the most cunning clerke of this towne, that ye may know where this sentence of cursing them that tithe not, is now written in Gods law; for if it were written there, I would right gladly be learned where. But shortly this man would not go fro me, to aske this question, of an other body, but required me there, as I would answer before God, if in this case, that cursing of priests were lawfull and approued of God? And shortlie herwith came to my mind the learning of S. Peter, teaching priests speciallie to hallow the Lord Christ in their harts; being euermore redie (as far as in them is) to answer through faith and hope to them that aske

Henry  
IV.

A. D.  
1407.

A new found way to grace, of the bishop's making. Instruments and music of the Old Testament, how they are to be applied and used in the New Testament. Organs in the church.

See  
Appendix.

You swear, my lord!

The fourth article concerning priests' tithes.

A paradox without God's word

(1) A fit comparison, my lord, and like yourself.

Henry  
II.A. D.  
1407.

A difference to be put between the old law and the new.

Christ commandeth alms, not tithes, except tithes be alms.

Tithes, by whom and when they were first commanded in the new law.

See  
Appendix.

Paul, having power to take, yet used it not.

If priests were covetous then, what be they now?

of them a reason. And this lesson Peter teacheth men to vse with a meeke spirit and with dread of the Lord. Wherefore Sir, I said to this man in this wise: In the old law, which ended not fully till the time that Christ rose vp againe from death to life, God commanded tithes to be giuen to the Leuites, for the great busines and dailie trauaile that pertained to their office. But priests, because their trauaile was mikle more easie and light, then was the office of the Leuites, God ordained the priests should take for their liuelode, to do their office, the tenth part of those tithes that were giuen to the Leuites. But now (I said), in the new lawe, neither Christ nor any of his apostles tooke tithes of the people, nor commaunded the people to paie tithes, neither to priestes nor to deacons. But Christ taught the people to doe almes, that is, works of mercy to poore needy men, of surplus (that is, superfluous of their temporal goods) which they had, more then them needed reasonably to their necessary liuelode. And thus (I said) not of tithes, but of pure almes of the people, Christ lined and his apostles, when they were so busie in preaching of the worde of God to the people, that they might not trauel otherwise for to get their liuelood. But, after Christs ascension, and when the apostles had receiued the Holie Ghost, they trauailed with their hands, for to get their liueloode, when that they might thus do for busie preaching. Therefore, by example of himselfe, S. Paule teacheth all the priestes of Christ for to trauaile with their hand, when for busie teaching of the people they might thus do. And thus, all these priestes whose priesthood God accepteth now, or will accept, or did in the apostles time, and after their decease, will do to the worldes end. But (as Cisterciensis telleth) in the thousand yeare of our Lord Jesus Christ, 211. yeare, one Pope Gregorie the X. ordained new tithes first to be giuen to priestes now in the new lawe. But Saint Paule, in his time, whose trace or example all priestes of God enforce them to followe, seeing the couetousnesse that was among the people, desiring to destroie the foule sinne, through the grace of God and true vertuous living and example of himselfe, wrought and taught all priests for to follow him as he followed Christ, patiently, willinglie, and gladly in high pouertie. Wherefore, Paule saith thus: The Lord hath ordained that they that preach the gospell, shall liue of the gospell. But we (saith Paule) that couet and busie vs to be faithfull followers of Christ, vse not this power. For lo (as Paule witnesseth afterward), when he was ful poore and needie, preaching among the people, he was not chargeous vnto them, but with his hands he trauailed not onely to get his own living, but also the living of other poore and needie creatures. And since the people was neuer so couetous, nor so auarous (I gesse) as they are now, it were good counsell that all priests tooke good heede to this heavenly learning of Paule, following him here in wilfull pouertie, nothing charging the people for their bodily liuelode.<sup>1</sup> But, because that many priests do contrarie to Paule in this foresaid doctrine, Paule biddeth the people take heede to those priests, that follow him as he had giuen them example. As if Paule would say thus to the people: Accept ye none other priests then they, that liue after the forme that I haue taught you. For certain, in whatsoever dignitie or order that any priest is in, if he conforme him not to follow Christ and his apostles in wilful pouerty, and in other heauenly vertues, and speciallie in true preaching of Gods word, though such a one be named a priest, yet hee is no more but a priest in name; for the worke of a verie priest such a one wanteth. This sentence approueth Augustine, Gregory, Chrysostom, and Lincolne plainly.

And the archbishop said to me: Thinkest thou this wholesom learning<sup>2</sup> for to sow openly, or yet priuile among the people? Certain, this doctrine contrarieth plainly the ordinance of holy fathers<sup>3</sup> which haue ordained, granted, and licenced priests to be in diuers degrees, and to liue by tithes and offerings of the people, and by other duties.

And I said: Sir, if priestes were now in measurable measure and number, and lined vertuouslie, and taught busilie and truly the word of God by example of Christ and of his apostles, without tithes, offerings, and other duties that priests now chalenge and take, the people would giue them freely sufficient liuelode.<sup>4</sup>

(1) This rule, with the rule of begging friars, can not stand together.

(2) Wholesome enough, my lord, if your taste were good to favor it.

(3) But it contrarieth not the ordinance neither of God nor of his word.

(4) If priests would not slack in their duty, they should not lack in having sufficient.

And a clerke said to me: How wilt thou make this good, that the people will giue freely to priestes their liuelode; since that now, by the law, euery priest can scarcely constrain the people to giue them their liuelode?<sup>1</sup>

And I saide: Sir, it is nowe no wonder though the people grudge to giue priests the liuelode that they aske. Mekil people know now, how that priests should liue, and how that they liue contrary to Christ and to his apostles. And therefore, the people is ful heauy to pay (as they do) their temporall goods to parsons, and to other vicars and priestes, which should be faithfull dispensatours of the parishes goods; taking to themselues no more, but a searse liuing of tithes nor of offrings, by the ordinance of the common law. For whatsoever priests take of the people (be it tithe or offering, or any other duty or seruice), the priests ought not to haue therof no more, but a bare liuing: and to depart the residue to the poore men and women specially of the parish of whom they take this temporall liuing. But the most deale of priests now wasteth their parishes goods, and spendeth them at their own wil, after the world, in their vaine lusts; so that in fewe places poore men haue duely (as they should haue) their owne sustenance, nother of tithes nor of offrings, nor of other large wages and foundations that priests take of the people in diuers maners, aboue that they neede for needefull sustenance of meat and clothing. But the poore needy people are forsaken and left of priestes to be sustained of the parishners,<sup>2</sup> as if the priests tooke nothing of the parishners for to help the people with.

And thus sir, into ouer great charges of the parishners they pay their temporall goods twice, where once might suffice, if priests were true dispensatours. Also Sir, the parishners that paie their temporal goods (be they tithes or offerings) to priests that do not their office among them iustly, are parteners of euery sinne of those priestes; because that they sustaine those priests folly in their sinne, with their temporall goods. If these things be well considered, what wonder is it then sir, if the parishners grudge against these dispensators?

Then the archbishop said to me: Thou that shouldest be iudged and ruled by holy church, presumptuously thou deemest holie church to haue erred in the ordinance of tithes and other duties to be paid to priests. It shall be long or thou thriue, losel, that thou despisest thy ghostly mother.<sup>3</sup> How darest thou speake this (losel) among the people? Are not tithes giuen to priests for to liue by?

And I said: Sir, S. Paule saith, that tithes were giuen in the old law to Leuites and to priests, that came of the linage of Leuy. But our priestes, he saith, came not of the linage of Leuy, but of the linage of Juda, to which Juda no tithes were promised to be giuen. And therefore Paule saith: Since the priesthoode is changed from the generation of Leuy to the generation of Juda,<sup>4</sup> it is necessarie that changing also be made of the law. So that priests liue now, without tithes and other duty that they claime, following Christ and his apostles in wilfull pouerty, as they haue giuen them example. For since Christ liued, all the time of his preaching, by pure almes of the people, and by example of him, his apostles liued in the same wise, or else by the trauaile of their hands, as is said aboue; euery priest, whose priesthoode Christ approueth, knoweth well, and confesseth in word and in worke, that a disciple ought not to be aboue his maister; but it sufficeth to a disciple to bee as his maister, simple and pure, meeke and patient: and by example specially of his maister Christ, euery priest should rule him in all his liuing; and so, after his cunning and power, a priest should busie him to enforme and to rule whom soener he might charitable.

And the archbishop said to me, with a great spirit: Gods curse<sup>5</sup> haue thou, and mine, for this teaching! for thou wouldest herby, make the olde lawe more free and perfect then the newe lawe. For thou saiest that it is leful to Leuites and to priests to take tithes in the old lawe, and so to enioie their priuiledges: but to vs priests in the new law, thou saist, it is not lawfull to take tithes. And

Henry  
IV.

A. D.  
1407.

Why the  
people be  
slack in  
their  
tithes.

Priests  
being  
content  
with a  
suffi-  
ciency  
ought to  
part the  
residue to  
the poor.  
See Ap-  
pendix.

Whether  
tithes are  
to be paid  
to priests  
doing not  
their  
duty.

(1) Fallax argumentum secundum non causam ut causam.

(2) Priests did so then, but our priests do not so now.

(3) Ghostly mother? nay, an unghostly stepdame, to all God's children!

(4) By the law, none could challenge tithes, but the seed of Levi. Our priests be not of the seed of Levi; ergo, by the law, our priests cannot challenge tithes. As the priesthoode is changed, so is the law changed.

(5) Bless, but curse not, saith St. Paul!

*Henry IV.* thus thou giuest to Leuits of the old law, more freedome than to priests of the new law.<sup>1</sup>

*A. D. 1107.* And I saide : Sir, I maruell that ye vnderstand this plaine text of Paule thus. Ye wot well, that the Leuites and priests in the old law that tooke

The difference of the freedoms between the old and new laws.

For what cause tithes were given in the old law.

If you take away tithes, you undo the church

tithes, were not so free nor so perfect, as Christ and his apostles that tooke no tithes. And Sir, there is a doctor (I thinke that it is Saint Jerome) that saith thus : The priests that chalenge now in the new law, tithes, say in effect, that Christ is not become man, nor that he hath yet suffered death for mans loue. Wherefore this doctor saith this sentence : Since tithes were the hires and wages limited to Leuites and to priests of the old law, for bearing about of the tabernacle, and for slaying and fleing of beastes, and for burning of sacrifice, and for keeping of the temple, and for tromping of battell before the hoste of Israell, and other diuers obseruances that pertained to their office : those priestes that will chalenge or take tithes, denie that Christ is come in the flesh, and do the priests office of the old lawe, for whome tithes were granted : for else (as this doctor saith) priests take nowe tithes wrongfullie.

And the archbishop said to his clerks : Heard you euer losel speake thus ? Certaine this is the learning of them all, that wheresoeuer they come, and they may be suffered, they enforce them to expugne the freedome of holie church.

And I saide : Sir, why call you of taking the tithes, and of such other duties that priestes chalenge now (wrongfullie), the freedom of holie church ; since neither Christ nor his apostles, chalenge nor tooke such duties ? Therefore these takings of priests now, are not called iustly the freedome of holie church ; but all such giuing and taking ought to be called, and holden, the slanderous couetousnes of men of the holie church.

And the archbishop saide to me : Why, losell ! wilt not thou and other that are confedered with thee, seeke out of holie Scripture and of the sence of doctours, all sharpe authorities against lords, knights, and squiers, and against other secular men, as thou doest against priests ?

And I saide : Sir, whatsoever men or women, lords or ladies, or any other that are present in our preaching speciallie, or in our communing, after our cunning, we tell out to them their office and their charges : but sir, since Chrysostome saith that priests are the stomack of the people, it is needfull in preaching, and also in communing, to be most busie about this priesthood.<sup>2</sup> Since, by the vitiousnesse of priests, both lords and commons are most sinfullie infected and led into the worst. And because that the couetousnesse of priests and pride, and the boast that they haue and make of their dignitie and power, destroieth not onely the vertues of priesthoode in priests themselves, but also, ouer this, it stirreth God to take great vengeance both vpon the lordes, and vpon the commons, which suffer their priests charitablie.

The viciousnes and pride of priests infecteth all the world.

A spiteful meekness, that is, in scarlet gowns.

The signs and marks of proud priests.

And the archbishop saide to me : Thou iudget euerie priest proud, that will not go araied as thou doest. By God, I deme him to be more meeke that goeth euery day in a scarlet gown, than thou in thy threed-bare blewe gowne. Whereby knowest thou a proud man ?

And I said : Sir, a proud priest may be known, when he denieth to follow Christ and his apostles in wilful pouertie and other vertues, and coueteth worldly worship, and taketh it gladlie, and gathereth together with pletyng, manasing, or with flattering, or with simony, any worldly goods : and most, if a priest busie him not cheffy in himselfe, and after in all other men and women, after his cunning and power to withstand sin.

And the archbishop said to me : Though thou knewest a priest to haue all these vices, and though thou sawest a priest a fornicator, wouldest thou therefore deme this priest damnable ? I saie to thee that in the turning about of thy hand, such a sinner may be verilie repented.

And I said : Sir, I will not damne any man for any sinne that I know done or may be done, so that the sinner leaueth his sinne. But, by authoritie of holie Scripture, he that sinneth thus openly as ye shew here, is damnable for doing of such a sin ; and most speciallie, a priest that should be an example to all other for to hate and fle sinne. And in how short time that euer ye say that such a sinner may be repented, he ought not, of him that knoweth his

(1) He goeth near you, my lord, when he toucheth your tithes.

(2) Thorpe ! preach against whom thou wilt, so thou touch not this scab.



sinning, to be iudged verelie repentant, without open euvidence of great shame and hartie sorrow for his sinne. For whosoener (and specially a priest) that vseth pride, enuy, couetousnesse, lechery, simony, or any other vices, sheweth not as open euvidence of repentance, as he hath giuen euill example and occasion of sinning, if he continue in any such sinne as long as he may, it is likelie that sinne leaueth him, and he not sinne. And as I vnderstand, such a one sinneth vnto death, for whom no bodie oweth to praie, as S. John saith.

And a clerke saide then to the archbishop: Sir, the lenger that ye appose him, the worse he is; and the more ye busie you to amend him, the waywarder he is. For he is of so shrewd a kind, that he shameth not only to be himselfe a foule nest, but without shame he busieth him to make his nest fouler.

And then the archbishop said to his clerke: Suffer a while, for I am at an end with him, for there is an other point certified against him, and I will heare what he saith thereto.

And so than he said to me: Loe it is here certified against thee, that thou preachedst openly at Shrewsburie, that it is not lawfull to sweare in any case.

And I saide: Sir, I preached neuer so openly, nor I haue taught in this wise in any place. But Sir, as I preached in Shrewsburie, with my protestation I say to you now here, that by the authoritie of the Gospell of S. James, and by wines of diuers saints and doctors, I haue preached openly in one place or other, that it is not lefull in any case to sweare by any creature. And ouer this Sir, I haue also preached and taught, by the foresaid authorities, that no bodie should sweare in any case, if that without othe, in any wise, hee that is charged to sweare, might excuse him to them that haue power to compell him to sweare, in lefull thing and lawfull. But if a man may not excuse him without oth, to them that haue power to compell him to sweare, than he ought to sweare onely by God, taking him only that is soothfastnesse, for to wites the soothfastnes.

And then a clerke asked me, if it were not leful to a subiect, at the bidding of his prelate, for to kneele down and touch the holy gospel booke, and kisse it, saying: So helpe me God, and this holidome; for he should, after his cunning and power, doe all things that his prelate commandeth him.<sup>1</sup>

And I said to them: Sirs, ye speake here full generallie or largely. What if a prelate commanded his subiect to doe an vnlawful thing, should he obey thereto?

And the archbishop saide to me: A subiect ought not to suppose, that his prelate will bid him do an vnlawful thing.<sup>2</sup> For a subiect ought to thinke that his prelate will bid him doe nothing but that hee will aunsweare for before God, that it is lefull: and then, though the bidding of the prelate bee vnlefull, the subiect hath no perill to fulfill it, since that he thinketh and iudgeth, that whatsoeuer thing his prelate biddeth him do, that it is leful to him for to do it.

And I said: Sir I trust not thereto. But to our first purpose. Sir, I tell you, that I was once in a gentlemans house, and there were then two clerkes there, a maister of diuinitie, and a man of law, which man of law was also communing in diuinitie. And among other things, these men spake of othes, and the man of law said: At the bidding of his soneraigne, which had power to charge him to sweare, he would lay his hand vpon a booke, and heare his charge; and if his charge to his vnderstanding were vnlefull, he would hastily withdraw his hand from the book; and if he perceived his charge to be lefull, he woulde holde still his hande vpon the booke, taking there onely God to witesse, that he would fulfill that lefull charge, after his power. And the maister of diuinitie saide then to him thus: Certaine, he that laieth his hand vpon a booke in this wise, and maketh there a promise to do that thing that he is commanded, is obliged thereby, by booke-oth, then to fulfill his charge. For no doubt he that chargeth him to laie his hand thus vpon a booke (touching the booke, and swearing by it, and kissing it, promising in this forme to do this thing or that), will saie and witesse, that hee that toucheth thus a booke, and kisseth it, hath sworne vpon that booke. And all other men that see that man thus doe, and also all those that heare hereof, in the same wise will saie and witesse, that this man hath sworne vpon a booke. Wherefore, the maister of diuinitie saide, it was not lefull neither to giue nor to take any such charge vpon a booke; for

Henry  
IV.A. D.  
1407.Clerkly  
spoken,  
and like a  
ParasiteForget  
nothing.  
I pray  
you, my  
lord.See  
Appendix.A com-  
muni-  
cation be-  
twixt a  
lawyer  
and a di-  
vine.

(1) Well said, Sir John, of you; your holy mother stroke your head.

(2) These prelates would be thought to be good, be they never so bad.

Henry  
IV.

A. D.  
1407.

To swear  
on a booke  
is to  
swear by  
creatures.

every booke is nothing else, but diuers creatures which it is made of. Therefore, to swear vpon a booke, is to swear by creatures: and this swearing is ener vneful. This sentence witnesseth Chrysostome plainly, blaming them greatly that bring forth a booke for to swear vpon; charging clerks that in no wise they constraîne any bodie to swear, whether they thinke a man to

swear true or false. And the archbishop and his clerkes scorned me, and blamed me greatlie for this saying. And the archbishop manased me with great punishment and sharpe, except I left this opinion of sweating.<sup>1</sup>

And I said: Sir, this is not mine opinion, but it is the opinion of Christ our Saviour, and of S. James, and of Chrysostome, and of other diuers saints and doctors.

Than the archbishop bad a clerke read this homily of Chrysostome, which homily this clerke held in his hand, written in a roule; which roule the archbishop caused to be taken from my fellow at Canturburie. And so then this clerke read this role, till he came to a clause where Chrysostome saith, That it is sin to swear well.

And then a clerke (Malveren as I gesse)<sup>2</sup> saide to the archbishop: Sir, I praie you wete of him, how he vnderstandeth Chrysostome here, saying it to be sinne to swear well.

And so the archbishop asked me, how I vnderstood here Chrysostome.

And certaine, I was somewhat afraid to answere hereto; for I had not busied me to studie about the sense thereof; but, lifting vp my mind to God, I praied him of grace, and as fast as I thought howe Christ saide to his apostles: When for my name ye shall be brought before judges, I shall giue into your mouth, wisdom that your aduersaries shall not against saie. And trusting faithfullie in the word of God, I said: Sir, I know well that many men and women, haue nowe swearing so in custome, y<sup>t</sup> they know not, nor will not knowe, that they do euil for to swear as they do; but they thinke and saie, that they do well for to swear as they doe, though they know well that they swear vntrulie. For the say, they may, by their swearing (though it be false), voide blame or temporal harme, which they should haue, if they swear not thus. And Sir, many men and women maintaine stronglie that they swear well, when that thing is sooth that they swear for. Also, full many men and women say nowe, that it is well done to swear by creatures, when they may not (as they saie) otherwise be beleued. And also, full manie men and women nowe saie, that it is well done to swear by God, and by our ladie, and by other saints, for to haue them in minde. But, since all these sayings are but excusations and sinne, me thinketh Sir, that this sense of Chrysostome may be alleaged wel against all such swearers, witnessing that all these sin greuouslie, though they thinke themselves for to swear, in this foresaid wise, wel: for it is euill done and great sinne, for to swear truth, when in any maner, a man may excuse himselfe without othe.

And the archbishop saide, that Chrysostome might bee thus vnderstand.

And then a clerke said to me: Wilt thou tarrie my lord no lenger, but submit thee here meekelie to the ordinance of holie church,<sup>3</sup> and laie thy hand vpon a booke, touching the holie gospel of God, promising not onlie with thy mouth, but also with thine hart, to stand to my lords ordinance?

And I said: Sir, haue I not told you here, how that I heard a maister of diuinitie saie, that in such case it is al one to touch a booke, and to swear by a booke?

And the archbishop said: There is no maister of diuinitie in England so great, that if he hold this opinion before me, but I shall punish him as I shall doe thee, except thou swear as I shall charge thee.<sup>4</sup>

And I said: Sir, is not Chrysostome an ententif doctor?

And the archbishop said, Yea.

And I saide: If Chrysostome proueth him worthie greate blame, that bringeth forth a booke to swear vpon, it must needes follow, that he is more to blame that sweareth on that booke.

(1) Here now lacked Bonner, to scratch him by the face.

(2) Either Malveren, or else Sir Brian Blowcole.

(3) Pope-holy church.

(4) It is happy that he called not for a candle, and made a Scævola of him, as Bonner did of Tomkins.

Christ  
promis-  
eth and  
giveth  
mouth  
and utter-  
ance.

What it  
is, to  
swear  
well.

See  
Appendix.

And the archbishop said : If Chrysostome ment accordingle to the ordinance of holie church, we will accept him.<sup>1</sup>

Henry  
IV.

And then said a clerke to me : Is not the worde of God and God himselfe equipollent, that is, of one authoritie ?

A. D.  
1407.

And I said, Yea.

Then he said to me : Whie wilt thou not sweare then by the gospel of God, that is God's word ;<sup>2</sup> since it is all one to sweare by the word of God, and by God himselfe ?

And I saide : Sir, since I may not now otherwise be beleueed, but by swearing, I perceiue (as Austen saith) that it is not speedeful that ye that should be my brethren, should not beleue me : therefore I am redie, by the word of God (as the Lord commanded me by his word) to sweare.

Thorep  
refuseth  
not to  
sweare.

Then the clerke saide to me : Laie then thine hand vpon the booke, touching the holie gospell of God, and take thy charge.

And I said : Sir, I vnderstand that the holie gospel of God may not be touched with mans hand.

And the cleark said, I fonded, and that I said not truth.

And I asked this clerke, whether it were more, to reade the gospell, or to touch the gospell ?

And he said, it was more to read the gospell.

Then I said : Sir, by authoritie of S. Hierome, the gospell is not the gospell for reading of the letter, but for the beliefe that men haue in the word of God. That it is the gospell that we beleue, and not the letter that we read ; for because the letter that is touched with mans hand, is not the gospel, but the sentence that is verilie beleueed in mans heart, is the gospel. For so Hierome saith : The gospel, that is the vertue of Gods word, is not in the leaues of the booke, but it is in the roote of reason. Neither the gospel (he saith) is in the writing aboue of the letters, but the gospell is in the marking of the sentence of Scriptures. This sentence approueth S. Paule, saying thus : The kingdome of God is not in worde, but in vertue. And Dauid saith : The voice of the Lord that is his word, is in vertue. And after, Dauid saith : Through the worde of God the heauens were formed, and in the spirit of his mouth is all the vertue of them. And I praie you Sir, vnderstand ye wel how Dauid saith, then, in the spirit of the mouth of the Lorde, is all the vertue of angels and of men.

Whether  
the book  
be the  
gospel.

And the clerke said to me : Thou wouldest make vs to fond with thee. Say we not that the gospels are written in the masse booke ?<sup>3</sup>

And I said : Sir, though men use to saie thus, yet it is an vnperfect speech ; for the principall part of a thing is properlie the whole thing. For loe, mans soule that may not now be seene here, nor touched with any sensible thing, is properlie man. And all the vertue of a tree is in the root therof, that may not be seene ; for to away the roote, and the tree is destroyed. And Sir, as ye said to me right now, God and his word are of one authoritie. And Sir, S. Hierome witnesseth, that Christ (verie God and verie man) is hid in the letter of the law : thus also Sir, the gospell is hid in the letter. For Sir, as it is ful likely many diuers men and women here in the earth, touched Christ, and saw him, and knew his bodelie person, which neither touched, nor saw, nor knew ghostly his godhead, right thus Sir, many men now touch, and see, and write, and read the Scriptures of God's law, which neither see, touch, nor read effectually, the gospell. For, as the godhead of Christ (that is, the vertue of God) is knowne by the vertue of beliefe, so is the gospell, that is, Christ's word.

The gos-  
pel is not  
the letter,  
but hid in  
the letter.

And a clerke said to me : These be full mistie matters<sup>4</sup> and vnsauerie, that thou shewest here to us.

And I said : Sir, if ye, that are maisters, know not plainelie this sentence, ye may sore dread that the kingdome of heauen be taken from you, as it was from the princes of priestes and from the elders of the Jewes.

And then a clerke (as I gesse Malueren), said to me : Thou knowest not thine equiuocations ; for the kingdome of heauen hath diuers vnderstandings. What callest thou the kingdome of heauen in this sentence, that thou shewest here ?

(1) It is happy that Chrysostome was not here, or else ye would have had him by the back.

(2) But that word cannot be touched.

(3) This clerk was well seen in the mass book.

(4) Misty matters, for your blind eyes.

Henry  
IV.

And I said: Sir, by good reason and sentence of doctors, the realm of heauen is called here, the vnderstanding of God's word.

A. D.  
1407.

And a clerke said to me: From whom thinkest thou that this vnderstanding is taken away?

The king-  
dom of  
God  
taken  
for the  
under-  
standing  
of God's  
word.

And I saide: Sir, by authoritie of Christ himselfe, the effectuall vnderstanding of Christ's word is taken awaie from all them chieffie, which are great lettered men, and presume to vnderstand high things, and will be holden wise men, and desire maistership and high state and dignitie;<sup>1</sup> but they wil not conforme them to the liuing and teaching of Christ and of his apostles.

Help  
down  
with him,  
Sir John.

Then the archbishop said: Well, well, thou wilt iudge thy soueraignes. By God, the king doth not his dutie, but he suffer thee to be condemned.

And then an other clerke said to me: Why, on Fridaie that last was, counsailest thou a man of my lords, that he should not shriue him to no man but only to God?

And with this asking I was abashed; and then, by and by, I knew that I was subtile betrayed of a man that came to me in prison on the Fridaie before, communing with me in this matter of confession.<sup>2</sup> And certaine, by his wordes I thought, that this man came then to me of ful feruent and charitable will; but now I know he came to tempt me and to accuse me, God forgiue him, if it be his will! And with all my heart, when I had thought thus, I saide to this clerke: Sir, I praie you that yee would fetch this man hither, and all the wordes, as neere as I can repete them, which that I spake to him on Fridaie in the prison, I wil rehearse now heer before you all, and before him.

And (as I gesse) the archbishop saide then to me: They that are nowe here, suffice to repete them. How saidst thou to him?

A false  
brother.

And I saide: Sir, that man came and asked me in diuers things, and, after his asking, I answered him (as I vnderstood) that good was. And, as he shewed to me by his words, he was sorie of his liuing in court, and right heauie for his owne vicious liuing, and also for the viciousnes of other men, and speciallic of priests euill liuing: and herefore he said to me, with a sorrowfull heart (as I gessed), that hee purposed fullie within short time for to leaue the court, and to busie him to know God's lawe, and to conforme all his life thereafter. And when he had said to me these words, and moe other which I would rehearse and he were present, he praied me to heare his confession. And I saide to him: Sir, wherefore come ye to me, to bee confessed of me? ye wote wel that the archbishop putteth and holdeth me here, as one vnworthy either to giue or to take any sacrament of holie church.

Auricular  
confes-  
sion.

See  
Appendix.

And he said to me: Brother, I wote well, and so wote many other moe, that you and such other are wrongfullie vexed, and therefore I common with you the more gladly. And I said to him: Certain I wote well that any men of this court, and specially the priests of this houshold, would be ful euil apayd both with you and me, if they wist that yee were confessed of mee. And he said, that he cared not therefore, for he had full little affection in them: and, as me thought, he spake these words and many other, of so good will and of so high desire, for to haue knowne and done the pleasant wil of God. And I said to him, as with my foresaid protestation I say to you nowe here: Sir, I counsaile you, for to absent you from all euill company, and to draw you to them that loue and busie them to know and to keepe the precepts of God; and then the good spirit of God will moouue you for to occupy buslie all your wits in gathering together of all your sins, as far as ye can bethinke you, shaming greatlie of them and sorrowing hartelie for them. Yea Sir, the Holy Ghost will then put in your hart a good will and a feruent desire for to take and to hold a good purpose, to hate ener and to flie (after your cunning and power) all occasion of sinne: and so then, wisdom shall come to you from aboue, lightening, with diuers beames of grace and of heauenly desire, all your wits, enforming you how ye shal trust stedfastly in the mercy of the Lord, knowledging to him onely all your vicious liuing, praying to him euer deuoutlie of charitable counsell and continuance; hoping without doubt, that if ye continue thus, busying you faithfullie to know and to keepe his biddings, that he will (for he onely, may) forgiue you all your sinnes. And this man said to me: Though God forgiue men their

A crafty  
train of  
a popish  
dissem-  
bler.

(1) This salt was somewhat too sharp for their rotten flesh to abide.

(2) Note: here the crafty practice of this holy church.

sinnes, yet it behoueth men to be assoiled of priests, and to do the penance that they enioine them.

And I saide to him: Sir, it is all one to assoile men of their sinnes, and to forgiue men their sinnes. Wherefore, since it pertaineth onely to God to forgiue sinne, it sufficeth, in this case, to counsell men and women for to leaue their sinne, and to comfort them that busie them thus to do, for to hope stedfastly in the mercie of God. And againeward, priests ought to tel sharply to customeable sinners, that if they will not make an ende of their sinne, but continue in diuers sins while that they may sinne, all such deserve paine without any end. And therefore, priests should ener busie them to liue well and holilie, and to teach the people busilie and truly the word of God, shewing to all folke, in open preaching and in priuie counselling, that the Lord God only forgiveth sinne. And therefore, those priests that take vpon them to assoile men of their sinnes, blaspheme God; since that it pertaineth onely to the Lord, to assoile men of all their sinnes. For no doubt a thousand yeare after that Christ was man, no priest of Christ durst take vpon him to teach the people, neither priuily nor apertly, that they behoued needes to come to be assoiled of them, as priests now do. But, by authoritie of Christ's word, priests bound indurate customeable sinners, to euermlasting paines, which in no time of their liuing would busie them faithfullie to knowe the biddings of God, nor to keepe them. And againe, all they that would occupy al their wits to hate and to flie all occasion of sinne, dreading ouer all things to offend God, and longing for to please him continually: to these men and women priestes shewed, how the Lord assoileth them of all their sinnes. And thus Christ promised to confirme in heauen, all the binding and loosing that priests, by authoritie of his word, bind men in sinne, that are indurate therein, or loose them out of sinne here vpon earth, that are verely repentant. And this man, hearing these words, said, that he might well, in conscience, consent to this sentence. But he said: Is it not needefull to the lay people that cannot thus doe, to go shrive them to priests? And I said: If a man feele himselfe so distroubled with any sinne, that he cannot, by his own wit, auoid this sin without counsell of them that are herein wiser than he: in such a case, the counsell of a good priest is full necessarie. And if a good priest faile, as they do now commonlie, in such a case S. Augustine saith, that a man may lawfullie commune and take counsell of a vertuous secular man. But certaine, that man or woman is overladen and too beastle, which cannot bring their own sinnes into their mind, busying them night and daie for to hate and to forsake all their sins, doing a sigh for them after their cunning and power. And Sir, fil accordinglie to this sentence, vpon Middlent Sundaie (two yeare as I gesse now agone), I heard a monke of Feuesam, that men called Morden, preach at Canturburie at the crosse within Christ-Church Abbey, saying thus of confession: That as, through the suggestion of the feend without counsell of any other bodie, of themselves many men and women can imagine and find meanes and waies inough to come to pride, to theft, to lecherie, and other diuers vices; in contrariwise this monke saide: Since the Lorde God is more readie to forgiue sinne than the feend is, or may be, of power to moue any bodie to sin, than whosoener wil shame and sorrow hartelie for their sinnes, knowledging them faithfullie to God, amending them after their power and cunning, without counsell of any other bodie than of God and of himselfe (through the grace of God), al such men and women may find sufficient meanes to come to God's mercy, and so to be cleane assoiled of all their sinnes. This sentence I said Sir, to this man of yours, and the selfe wordes, as neere as I can gesse.

And the archbishop said: Holie church approneth not this learning.<sup>1</sup>

And I said: Sir, holy church of which Christ is head in heauen and in earth, must needes approue this sentence. For loe, hereby all men and women may, if they will, be sufficientlie taught to know and keepe the commandements of God, and to hate and to flie continually all occasion of sin, and to loue and to seeke vertues busilie, and to beleene in God stablie, and to trust in his mercie stedfastlie, and so to come to perfect charity, and continue therein perseterantlie: and more the Lord asketh not of any man here nowe in this life. And certaine, since Jesu Christ died vpon the crosse wilfully to make men free, men of the church are too bold and too busie to make men thral, binding them

Henry  
IV.

A. D.  
1407.

God only  
forgiveth  
sin, man  
only can  
counsel  
to leaue  
sin.

Shrift  
and con-  
fession to  
priests.

A good  
secular  
man may  
be coun-  
sellor,  
where  
a priest  
faileth.

Morden,  
preach-  
ing of  
confes-  
sion.

Hearty  
repent-  
ance to  
God  
needeth  
no con-  
fession to  
a priest.

Christ  
giveth  
freedom,  
the pope  
giveth  
thraldom.

*Henry**IV.*

A.D.

1407.

under the paine of endles curse (as they saie) to do many obseruances and ordinances, which neither the liuing nor teaching of Christ, nor of his apostles, approueth.

And a clerke said then to me: Thou shewest plainlie here thy deceit, which thou hast learned of them that trauell to sow the pople among the wheat. But I counsell thee to goe awaie cleane from this learning, and submit thee lowly to my lord, and thou shalt find him yet to be gracious to thee.

And as fast then, an other clerke saide to me: How wast thou so bold at Paules Crosse in London, to stand there hard, with thy tippet bounden about thine head, and to reprove in his sermon the worlthie clerke Alkerton, drawing awaie all that thou mightest? yea, and the same daie at afternoone, thou, meeting the worlthie doctor in Watling streete, calledst him false flatterer and hypocrite.

And I said: Sir, I thinke certainly that there was no man nor woman that hated verilie sinne, and loued vertues (hearing the sermon of the clerke at Oxford, and also Alkerton's sermon), but they said, or might iustly saie, that Alkerton reproued that clerke vntreuly, and slandered him wrongfullie and vncharitable. For, no doubt, if the liuing and teaching of Christ chieffie, and of his apostles, be true, no bodie that loneth God and his law wil blame any sentence that the clerke then preached there; since, by authoritie of Gods word, and by approved saints and doctors, and by open reason, this clerke approued all things clearlie that he preached there.

And a clerke of the archbishops said to me: His sermon was false, and that, he sheweth openlie; since he dare not stand forth and defend his preaching that he then preached there.

And I said: Sir, I thinke that he purposeth to stand stedfastly therby, or else he sclaundereth foully himselfe, and also many other that haue great trust that hee will stand by the truth of the gospell. For I wote wel, this sermon is written both in Latin and English, and many men haue it, and they set great price thereby. And Sir, if ye were present with the archbishop at Lambeth, when this clerke appeared and was at his answer before the archbishop, ye wote well that this clerke denied not there his sermon, but two days he maintained it before the archbishop and his clerkes.

And then the archbishop, or one of his clerkes, saide (I wote not which of them): That harlot shall be met with, for that sermon; for no man but he and thou, and such other false harlots, praiseth any such preaching.

And then the archbishop said: Your cursed sect is busie, and it ioieth, right greatly, to contrary and to destroe the priuilege and fredome of holie church.

And I said: Sir, I know no men that trauell so busily as this sect dooth, which you reprove, to make rest and peace in holie church. For pride, couetousnesse, and simonie, which distrouble most holie church, this sect hateth and fleeth; and trauaileth busilie to moue al other men, in like maner, vnto meeknesse, and wilfull pouertie, and charitie, and free ministring of the sacraments: this sect loveth and vseth, and is full busie to moue all other folkes thus to do. For these vertues, owe all members of holie church, to their head Christ.

Then a clerke said to the archbishop: Sir, it is farre daies, and ye haue farre to ride to night; therefore make an end with him, for hee will none make. But the more Sir, that ye busie you for to draw him toward you, the more contumax he is made, and the further fro you.

And then Malueren said to me: William, kneele down, and praie my lorde of grace, and leaue all thy phantasies, and become a child of holie church.

And I saide: Sir, I haue praied the archbishop oft, and yet I praie him for the loue of Christ, that hee will leaue his indignation that he hath against me; and that he will suffer me, after my cunning and power, for to doe mine office of priesthood, as I am charged of God to do it. For I couet nought else but to serue my God to his pleasing, in the state that I stand in, and haue taken me to.

And the archbishop said to me: If of good hart thou wilt submit thee now here meeklie, to be ruled from this time forth by my counsel, obeying meeklie and wilfullie to mine ordinance, thou shalt find it most profitable and best to thee for to do thus. Therefore tarrie thou me no lenger; grant to do this that I haue said to thee now here shortlie, or denie it vtterlie.

True  
freedom  
of holy  
church  
not de-  
stroyed,  
but in-  
creased,  
by true  
preach-  
ers.

Take my  
lord's  
blessing,  
and stand  
up.

My lord  
hath  
haste, for  
being be-  
nighted.

See  
Appendix.

And I said to the archbishop: Sir, owe we to beleuee that Jesu Christ was and is, verie God and verie man?

*Henry IV.*

And the archbishop said, Yea.

And I said: Sir, owe we to beleuee that all Christes liuing and his teaching is true in euerie point?

*A. D. 1407.*

And he said, Yea.

And I said: Sir, owe we to beleuee, that the living of the apostles, and the teaching of Christ and all the prophets, are true, which are written in the Bible for the health and saluation of good people?

And he said, Yea.

And I said: Sir, owe all christen men and women, after their cunning and power, for to conforme all their liuing to the teaching specialle of Christ, and also to the teaching and liuing of his apostles and of prophetes, in things that are pleasant to God, and edification of his church?

And he said, Yea.

And I said: Sir, ought the doctrine, the bidding, or the counsell of any bodie, to bee accepted or obeyed vnto, except this doctrien, these biddings, or this counsell, may be granted and affirmed by Christ's liuing and his teaching specialle, or by the liuing and teaching of his apostles and prophetes?

And the archbishop said to me: Other doctrine ought not to bee accepted, nor we owe not to obeie to any man's bidding or counsell, except we can perceiue that his bidding or counsell accordeth with the life and teaching of Christ, and of his apostles and prophetes.

And I said: Sir, is not all the learning, and biddings and counsels of holie church, meanes and healefull remedies, to know and to withstand the priuy suggestions, and the aperte temptations of the fiende? and also waies and healefull remedies to slea pride and all other deadly sinnes, and the braunches of them, and soueraigne meanes to purchase grace, for to withstand and ouercome all the fleshlie lusts and mouings?

*And why compel you this man to the contrary? Thorpe content to submit himself to the ordinance of councils.*

And the archbishop said, Yea.

And I said: Sir, whatsoever thing ye or any other body bid or counsell me to do, accordingly to this foresaid learning, after my cunning and power, through the helpe of God, I will meekely, with all my heart, obey thereto.

And the archbishop said to me: Submit thee than now here meekly and wilfully, to the ordinance of holie church, which I shall shew to thee.

And I said: Sir, accordingly as I haue here now before you rehearsed, I will now be readie to obeie full gladdie to Christ, the head of the holie church, and to the learning, and biddings, and counsels, of euerie pleasing member of him.

Then the archbishop, striking with his hand fiercely vpon a cupbord,<sup>1</sup> spake to me with a great spirit, saying: By Jesu, but if thou leaue such additions, obliging thee now here, without any exception, to mine ordinance, or that I go out of this place, I shall make thee as sure, as any theefe that is in the prison of Lanterne: aduise thee now what thou wilt do. And then, as if he had beene angered, he went from the cupbord where he stood, to a window.

And then Malueren and an other clerke came nearer me, and they spake to me many words full pleasantly; and an other while they manassed me, and counselled full busily to submitte me, or else, they said, I should not escape punishing ouer measure: for they said, I should be degraded, cursed, and burned, and so then damned. But now they said, Thou maist eschew al these mischiefes, if thou wilt submit thee wilfully and meekly to this worthie prelate, that hath cure of thy soul. And for the pittie of Christ (said they) bethinke thee, how great clerks the bishop of Lincoln, Herford, and Puruey were, and yet are, and also B., that is a well vnderstanding man, which also haue forsaken and renoked all the learning and opinions, that thou and such other hold. Wherefore, since each of them is mikle wiser then thou art, we counsell thee for the best, that by the example of these foure clerkes, thou follow them, submitting thee as they did.

*See Appendix.*

*The multitude not to be followed in evil.*

And one of the bishops clerkes said then there, that hee heard Nicoll Herford say, that since he forsooke<sup>2</sup> and renoked all the learning and Lollards opinions, he hath had mikle greater fauour and more delite to hold against them, then euer he had to hold with them, while he held with them.

(1) If Bonner had been here, he would not have stroken the cupboard.

(2) See what man is, God giving him up to himself.

*Henry**IV.**A. D.**1407.*

And therefore Mahueren said to me : I vnderstand, and thou wilt take thee to a priest, and shrine thee cleane,<sup>1</sup> forsake all such opinions, and take the penance of my lord beere, for the holding and teaching of them, within short time, thou shalt be greatly comforted in this doing.

And I said to the clerkes, that thus busilie counselled me to follow these foresaid men : Sirs, if these men, of whome ye counsel me to take example, had forsaken benefices of temporall profite, and of worldly worship, so that they had absented them, and eschewed from all occasions of couetousness and of fleshly lusts, and had taken vpon them simple liuing, and wilfull pouertie, they had herein giuen good example to me and to many other, to haue followed them. But now, since all these foure men, haue slanderously and shamefully done the contrarie, consenting to receiue, and to haue and to hold temporall benefices, liuing now more worldly and more fleshlie then they did before, conforming them to the maners of this world, I forsake them herein, and in all their foresaid slanderous doing. For I purpose, with the helpe of God (into remission of my sinnes, and of my foule cursed liuing), to hate and to flee priuily and apertly, to follow these men, teaching and counselling, whom so euer that I may, for to flee and eschew the way that they haue chosen to go in, which wil lead them to the worst end (if in conuenient time they repent them not), verely forsaking and reuoking openly the slander that they haue put, and euery day yet put, to Christs church. For certaine, so open blasphemy and slander as they haue spoken and done, in their reuoking and forsaking of the truth, ought not, nor may not, priuilie be amended duly. Wherefore, Sirs, I pray you that ye busie you not for to moue me to follow these men, in reuoking and forsaking of the truth and sothfastnes as they haue done and yet doe : wherein, by open euidence, they stirre God to great wroth, and not only against themselues, but also against all them that fauor them, or consent to them herein, or that communeth with them, except it be for their amendment ; for whereas these men first were pursued of enemies, nowe they haue obliged them, by oth, for to slander and pursue Christ in his members. Wherefore (as I trust stedfastly in the goodnesse of God) the worldly couetousnes, and the lustie liuing, and the sliding from the truth, of these runnagates, shall be to me, and to many other men and women, an example and an euidence, to stand more stiffly by the truth of Christ.

For certaine, right many men and women, doe marke and abhorre the foulnesse and cowardnes of these foresaid vntrue men, how that they are overcome and stopped with benefices, and withdrawn from the truth of Gods word, forsaking vtterly to suffer therefore bodily persecution. For by this unfaithfull doing and apostasie of them (speciale that are great lettered men, and haue knowledged openly the truth, and now, either for pleasure or displeasure of tyrantes, haue taken hire and temporall wages to forsake the truth, and to hold against it, slandering and pursuing them that couet to follow Christ in the way of righteousnes), many men and women therefore are now moued. But many mo, thorow the grace of God, shall be moued hereby for to learne the truth of God, and to do thereafter, and to stand boldly thereby.

Than the archbishop said to his clerks : Busie you no lenger about him, for he and other such as he is are confedered so together, that they will not sweare to be obedient, and to submit them to prelates of holy church. For nowe since I stood here, his fellow also sent me word, that he will not sweare, and that this fellow counselled him, that hee should not sweare to me. And, losell ! in that thing that in thee is, thou hast busied thee to loose this young man ; but, blessed be God, thou shalt not haue thy purpose of him. For he hath forsaken all thy learning, submitting him, to be buxum and obedient to the ordinance of holy church, and weepeth full bitterlie, and curseth thee full heartily, for the venemous teaching which thou hast shewed to him, counselling him to do thereafter.

And for thy false counselling of many other and him, thou hast great cause to be right sory, for long time thou hast busied thee to peruert whomsoever thou mightest. Therefore, as many deathes thou art worthie of, as thou hast giuen euill counsels. And therefore, by Jesu, thou shalt go thether, where Nicoll Harford and Thomas Puruey were harbored. And I undertake, or this day eight-daies, thou shalt be right glad for to do what thing that euer I bid thee to do. And, losell ! I shall assay, if I can make thee there as sorrowfull as.

Other men's examples are so to be followed, as they be the followers of Christ.

Promotions and great livings, choke truth.

Men following the ways of Badaam.

Thorpe's fellow reuseth to sweare to the prelates.

See Appendix.



it was told me, thou wast glad of my last going out of England. By St. Thomas, I shall turne thy ioy into sorrow.

And I said: Sir, there can no bodie proue lawfully, that I ioied ener, of the maner of your going out of this land.

But Sir, to say the soth, I was ioyfull when ye were gone; for the bishop of London, in whose prison ye left me, found in me no cause for to hold me lenger in his prison, but, at the request of my frends, he deliuered me to them, asking of me no maner of submitting.

Then the archbishop said to me: Wherefore that I yede out of England, is vnknowne to thee; but bee this thing well knowne to thee, that God (as I wote well) hath called me againe, and brought me into this land, for to destroie thee and the false sect that thou art of; as, by God, I shall pursue you so narrowly, that I shall not leaue a stepe of you in this land.<sup>1</sup>

And I said to the archbishop: Sir, the holy prophet Jeremy said to the false prophet Anany: When the word that is the prophecie of a prophet, is knowne or fulfilled, then it shall be knowne, that the Lord sent the prophet in truth.

And the archbishop, as if he had not beene pleased with my saying, turned him awayward hether and thether, and said: By God, I shall set vpon thy shinnes a paire of pearles,<sup>2</sup> that thou shalt be glad to change thy voice.

These, and many moe wonderous and conuicious wordes were spoken to me, manassing me and all other of the same sect, for to be punished and destroyed vnto the vttermost.

And the archbishop called then to him a clerke, and rowned with him: and that clerke went forth, and soone he brought in the constable of Saltwood Castle, and the archbishop rowned a good while with him: and then the constable went forth, and then came in diuers seculars, and they scorned me on euerie side, and manassed me greatly.<sup>3</sup> And some counselled the archbishop to burne me by and by, and some other counselled him to drowne me in the sea, for it is neare hand there.

And a clerke, standing beside me there, kneeled downe to the archbishop, praying him that he would deliuer me to him for to say mattins with him; and he would vndertake, that within three daies, I should not resist any thing that were commanded me to do of my prelate.

And the archbishop said, that he would ordaine for me himselfe.

And then after, came againe the constable, and spake priuillie to the archbishop. And than the archbishop commanded the constable to lead me forth thence with him, and so he did. And whan we were gone forth thence, we were sent after againe. And when I came in againe before the archbishop, a clerke bad me kneele downe, and aske grace, and submit me lowlie, and I should find it for the best.

And I said then to the archbishop: Sir, as I haue said to you diners times to daie, I will wilfullie and lowlie obey and submit me to be ordeined ener, after my cunning and power, to God and to his law, and to euery member of holy church, as far forth as I can perceiue that members accord with their head Christ, and will teach me, rule me, or chastise me by authoritie, speeciallie of Gods law.

And the archbishop said: I wist well he would not, without such additions, submit him.

And then I was rebuked, scorned, and manassed on euerie side: and yet after this, diuers persons cried vpon me to kneele downe and submit me, but I stoode still, and spake no word. And then there was spoken of me and to me many great words, and I stoode and heard them manasse, curse and scorne me: but I said nothing.

Then a while after, the archbishop said to me: Wilt thou not submit thee to the ordinance of holy church?

And I said: Sir, I will full gladlie submitte me, as I haue shewed you before.

And then the archbishop bad the constable to haue me forth thence in haste.

And so then I was led forth, and brought into a foule vn honest prison, where I came nener before. But, thanked be God, when all men were gone forth then from me, and had sparred fast the prison doore after them, by and by after, I,

Henry  
IV.

A.D.  
1407.

Arundell  
going out  
of Eng-  
land.

The gentle-  
ness of  
the bishop of  
London.

A notable  
answer of  
Thorpe to  
the  
bishop.

See  
Appendix.

Obe-  
dience to  
God and  
to his law  
would not  
serve.

In  
patience  
and  
silence  
possess  
your  
souls.  
Thorpe  
cast in  
prison.

(1) So promised Winchester in queen Mary's time, but that passed his power to perform.

(2) Such pearls would better besecm, my lord, your golden shoes.

(3) \* At illi clamabant dicentes, Tolle, tolle, crucifige eum.

*Henry**IV.*

A. D.

1107.

Comforted and strengthened of the Lord, after his conflict with the bishop.

therein by my selfe, busied me to thinke on God, and to thanke him for his goodnesse. And I was then greatly comforted in all my wits, not onely for that I was then deliuered for a time from the sight, from the hearing, from the presence, from the scorning, and from the manassing of mine enemies; but much more I reioysed in the Lord, because that through his grace he kept me so, both among the flattering speciallie, and among the manassing of mine aduersaries, that, without heauinesse and anguish of my conscience, I passed awaie from them. For, as a tree layd vpon an other tree, ouerthwart or on crosse wise, so was the archbishop and his three clerkes alwaies contrairie to me, and I to them.

Now, good God! for thine holie name, and to the praising of thy most blessed name, make vs one together, if it be thy will (by authority of thy word, that is true perfite charitie), and els not. And that it may thus be, all that this writing reade or heare, praie hartelie to the Lord God, that he, for his great goodnesse that can not be with toong expressed, graunt to us and to all other, which, in the same wise, and for the same cause speciallie, or for anie other cause, be at distance, to be knit and made one in true faith, in stedfast hope, and in perfite charitie. Amen.

Besides this examination here above described, came another treatise also to our hands of the same William Thorpe, under the name and title of his testament; which rather by the matter and handling thereof might seem to be counted a complaint of vicious priests; which treatise or testament, in this place we thought not meet to be left out.

### The Testament of William Thorpe.

Matthew, an apostle of Christ, and his gospeller, witnesseth truly in the holy gospel, the most holy living, and the most wholesome teaching of Christ. He rehearseth how that Christ likeneth them that hear his words, and keep them, to a wise man that buildeth his house upon a stone, that is, a stable and a sad ground. This house is man's soul, in which Christ delighteth to dwell, if it be grounded, that is, established faithfully, in his living and in his true teaching, adorned or made fair with divers virtues, which Christ used and taught without any meddling of any error, as are chiefly the conditions of charity.

This aforesaid stone is Christ, upon which every faithful soul must be builded; since, upon none other ground than upon Christ's living and his teaching, any body may make any building or housing wherein Christ will come and dwell. This sentence witnesseth St. Paul to the Corinthians, showing to them that no body may set any other ground than is set, that is Christ's living and teaching. And because that all men and women should give all their business here in this life, to build them virtuously upon this sure foundation, St. Paul, acknowledging the fervent desire, and the good will of the people of Ephesus, wrote to them comfortably, saying, 'Now ye are not strangers, guests, nor yet comelings, but ye are the citizens, and of the household of God, builded above upon the fundament of the apostles and prophets. In which fundament, every building that is builded or made through the grace of God, it increaseth or groweth into an holy temple;' that is, every body that is grounded or builded faithfully in the teaching and living of Christ, is there through made the holy temple of God.

This is the stable ground and steadfast stone Christ, which is the sure corner-stone, fast joining, and holding mightily together, two walls. For through Christ Jesus, the mean or middle person of the Trinity, the Father of Heaven, is pitiously or mercifully joined and made one together to mankind; and through dread to offend God, and fervent love to please him, men be inseparably made one to God, and defended surely under his protection. Also this aforesaid stone Christ, was figured by the square stones of which the temple of God was made; for as a square stone, wheresoever it is cast or laid, abideth and lieth stably; so Christ and every faithful member of his church, by example of him, abideth and dwelleth stably in true faith, and in all other heavenly virtues in all adversities that they suffer in this valley of tears.

Christ dwelleth in a faithful soul.

He is the stone whereon we must build.

How we are made the temple of God.

Mark what we have by Christ.

The property of a square stone.

For lo! when these aforesaid square stones were hewen and wrought for to be laid in the walls or pillars of God's temple, no noise or stroke of the workman was heard. Certain, this silence in working of this stone figureth Christ chiefly, and his faithful members, who, by example of him, have been, and yet are, and ever to the world's end shall be, so meek and patient in every adversity, that no sound, nor yet any grudging, shall at any time be perceived in them.

Nevertheless, this chief and most worshipful corner-stone, which only is the ground of all virtues, proud beggars reproved; but this despite and reproof Christ suffered most meekly in his own person, to give example of all meekness and patience to all his faithful followers. Certain, this world is now so full of proud beggars, who are named priests; but the very office of working of priesthood, which Christ approveth true, and accepteth, is far from the multitude of priests that now reign in this world.

For, from the highest priest to the lowest, all, as they say, study, that is, they imagine and travail busily, how they may please this world and their flesh. This sentence with many such others dependeth upon them, if it be well considered: either God, the Father of heaven, hath deceived all mankind by the living specially and teaching of Jesu Christ, and by the living and teaching of his apostles and prophets; or else all the popes that have been since I had any knowledge or discretion, with all the college of cardinals, archbishops and bishops, monks, canons, and friars, with all the contagious flock of the commonalty of priesthood, who have, all my life time, and mickle longer, reigned and yet reign, and increase damnably from sin to sin, have been, and yet be, proud, obstinate heretics, covetous sinners, and defouled adulterers in the ministering of the sacraments, and specially in the ministering of the sacrament of the altar. For, as their works show, whereto Christ biddeth us take heed, the highest priests and prelates of this priesthood, challenge and occupy unfeulfully temporal lordships; and, for temporal favour and meed, they sell and give benefices to unworthy and unable persons;<sup>1</sup> yea, these simoners sell sin, suffering men and women, in every degree and estate, to lie and continue from year to year in divers vices slanderously. And thus, by evil example of high priests in the church, lower priests under them are not only suffered, but they are maintained, to sell full dear to the people, for temporal meed, all the sacraments.

And thus all this aforesaid priesthood is blown so high, and borne up in pride and vain glory of their estate and dignity, and so blinded with worldly covetousness, that they disdain to follow Christ in very meekness and wilful poverty, living holily, and preaching God's word truly, freely, and continually, taking their livelihood at the free will of the people, of their pure alms, where and when they suffice not, for their true and busy preaching, to get their sustenance with their hands. To this true sentence, grounded on Christ's own living, and the teaching of his apostles, these aforesaid worldly and fleshly priests will not consent effectually; but, as their works and also their words show, boldly and unshamefacedly these beforesaid priests and prelates covet and enforce them mightily and busily, that all holy scriptures were expounded and drawn accordingly to their manners, and to their ungrounded usages and findings; for they will not (since they hold it but folly and madness) conform their manners to the pure and simple living of Christ and his apostles, nor will they follow freely their learning. Wherefore all the emperors and kings, and all other lords and ladies, and all the common people in every degree and state, who have before time known, or might have known, and also all they that now yet know, or might know, this aforesaid witness of priesthood, and would not; nor yet will enforce them, after their cunning and power, to withstand charitably the aforesaid enemies and traitors of Christ, and of his church: all these strive with Antichrist against Jesus, and they shall bear the indignation of God Almighty without end, if in convenient time they amend them not and repent them verily, doing therefor due mourning and sorrow, after their cunning and power. For, through presumptuousness and negligence of priests and prelates (not of the church of Christ, but occupying their prelacy unduly in the church), and also through flattering and false covetousness of other divers named priests, lousengers and pounders are wrongfully made and named hermits, and have leave to defraud poor and needy creatures of their livelihood, and to live, by their false winning

Henry  
IV.A. D.  
1407.Christ an  
example  
of all per-  
fect  
meek-  
ness.Priests  
seek the  
pleasure  
of this  
world.The lives  
of the  
popes,  
and  
Christ  
and his  
apostles.Fleshly  
priests.They  
hunt after  
this, with  
tooth and  
nail.An ex-  
hortation  
to see  
priest-  
hood  
amended.Prelates  
and  
priests  
negligent  
in their  
duty.  
See  
Appendix.

(1) When priests forget God's truth, ye see whither they run headlong. The great infect the small.

*Henry*  
*IV.*

A. D.  
1107.

and begging, in sloth and in other divers vices. And also by these prelates, these coker-noses are suffered to live in pride and hyppocrisy, and to defoul themselves both bodily and ghostly. Also by the suffering and counsel of these aforesaid prelates and other priests, are made both vain brotherhoods and sisterhoods, full of pride and envy, which are full contrary to the brotherhood of Christ, since they are cause of mickle dissension, and they multiply and sustain it mecharitably: for, in lusty eating and drinking, unmeasurably and out of time, they exercise themselves. Also this vain confederacy of brotherhood is permitted to be of one clothing, and to hold together.

And in all these ungrounded and unlawful doings, priests are partners, and great meddlers and counsellors; and over this viciousness, hermits and pardoners, Ankers and strange beggars, are licensed and admitted by prelates and priests, to beguile the people with flattering and leasings slanderously against all good reason and true belief; and so to increase divers vices in themselves, and also amongst all them that accept them, or consent to them.

And thus the viciousness of these aforesaid priests and prelates hath been long time, and yet is, and shall be cause of wars, both within the realm and without. And in the same wise these unable priests have been, and yet are, and shall be, the chief cause of pestilence of men, and murrain of beasts, and of barrenness of the earth, and of all other mischiefs, to the time that the lords and commons able them, through grace, to know and to keep the commandments of God, enforcing them then, faithfully and charitably, by one assent, to redress and make one this aforesaid priesthood, to the wilful, poor, meek and innocent living and teaching, specially of Christ and his apostles.

Therefore all they that know, or might know the viciousness that reigneth now cursedly in these priests, and in their learning, if they suffice not to understand this contagious viciousness, let them pray to the Lord heartily for the health of his church, abstaining them prudently from the indurate enemies of Christ and of his people, and from all their sacraments, since to all them that know them, or may know them, they are but fleshly deeds and false; as St. Cyprian witnesseth in the first question of decrees, and in the first cause, Cap. 'Siquis inquit:' for, as this saint and great doctor witnesseth there, not only vicious priests, but also all they that favour them, or consent to them in their viciousness, shall together perish with them, if they amend them not duly; as all they perished, that consented to Dathan and Abiram. For nothing were more confusion to these aforesaid vicious priests, than to eschew them prudently in all their unlawful sacraments, while they continue in their sinful living slanderously, as they have long time done, and yet do. And no body needs to be afraid, though death did follow by one way or other, to die out of this world, without taking of any sacrament of these aforesaid Christ's enemies, since Christ will not fail to minister, himself, all lawful and healful sacraments, and necessary at all time, and especially at the end, to all them that are in true faith, in steadfast hope, and in perfect charity.

But yet some mad fools say, to eschew slander, they will be shriven once in the year, and communed of their proper priests, though they know them defouled with slanderous vices. No doubt but all they that thus do or consent, privily or apertly, to such doing, are culpable of great sin; since St. Paul witnesseth, that not only they that do evil are worthy of death and damnation, but also they that consent to evil doers. Also, as their slanderous works witness, these aforesaid vicious priests despise and cast from them heavenly cunning that is given of the Holy Ghost. Wherefore the Lord throweth all such despisers from him, that they neither use, nor do, any priesthood to him.

No doubt, then, all they that wittingly or wilfully take, or consent that any other body should take, any sacrament of any such named priest, sin openly and damnable against all the Trinity, and are unable to any sacrament of health.

And that this aforesaid sentence is altogether true, 'Unto remission of all my sinful living, trusting steadfastly in the mercy of God, I offer to him my soul.'

And to prove also the aforesaid sentence true, with the help of God, I purpose fully, to suffer meekly and gladly my most wretched body to be tormented where God will, of whom he will, and when he will, and as long as he will, and what temporal pain and death he will; to the praising of his name, and to the edification of his church.

And I that am a most unworthy and wretched caitiff, shall now, through the

special grace of God, make to him pleasant sacrifice with my most sinful and unworthy body : beseeching heartily all folk that read or hear this end of my purposed testament, that, through the grace of God, they dispose verily and virtuously all their wits, and able in like manner all their members, to understand truly, and to keep faithfully, charitably, and continually, all the commandments of God, and so then to pray devoutly to all the blessed Trinity, that I may have grace, with wisdom and prudence from above, to end my life here in this afore-said truth, and for this cause ; in true faith, and steadfast hope, and perfect charity. Amen.

*Henry IV.*

*A. D. 1401.*

What was the end of this good man, and blessed servant of God, William Thorpe, I find as yet in no story specified. By all conjectures it is to be thought that the archbishop Thomas Arundel, being so hard an adversary against those men, would not let him go ; much less it is to be supposed, that he would ever retract his sentence and opinion, which he so valiantly maintained before the bishop ; neither doth it seem that he had any such recanting spirit. Again, neither is it found that he was burned ; wherefore it remaineth most likely to be true, that he, being committed to some straight prison, according as the archbishop, in his examination before, did threaten him there (as Thorpe confesseth himself), was so straightly kept, that either he was secretly made away with, or else he died there by sickness.

The like end also I find to happen to John Ashton, another good follower of Wickliff, who, for the same doctrine of the sacrament, was condemned by the bishops ; and, because he would not recant, he was committed to perpetual prison, wherein the good man continued till his death : A. D. 1382.

*See Appendix.*

### *The Story of John Purvey.*

Furthermore, in the said examination of William Thorpe mention was made, as ye heard, of John Purvey, of whom also something we touched before ; promising of the said John Purvey more particularly to entreat in order and process of time. Of this Purvey Thomas Walden writeth thus in his second tome : “ John Purvey,” saith he, “ was the library of Lollards, and glosser upon Wickliff. He said that the worshipping of Abraham was but a salutation.” And in his third tome he saith, “ This John Purvey, with Herford, a doctor of divinity, were grievously tormented and punished in the prison of Saltwood, and at length recanted at Paul’s Cross at London, Thomas Arundel being then archbishop of Canterbury. Afterwards again, he was imprisoned under Henry Chichesley, archbishop of Canterbury, A. D. 1421.” Thus much writeth Walden. The works of this man which he wrote, were gathered by Richard Lavingham, his adversary, which I think worthy to be remembered. First, as touching the sacrament of the last supper, the sacrament of penance, the sacrament of orders, the power of the keys, the preaching of the gospel, of marriages, of vows, of possessions, of the punishing and correcting of the clergy, of the laws and decrees of the church, of the state and condition of the pope and the clergy : of all these generally, he left divers monuments gravely and exactly written, part

*John Purvey  
prisoned  
after his  
recantation.*

*Henry  
IV.*

whereof here, in the end of his story, we thought to exhibit, being translated out of Latin into English.

*A. D.  
1401.*

The articles which he taught, and afterwards was forced to recant at Paul's Cross, were these hereafter following :

### Articles of John Purvey, which he afterwards recanted.

*See  
Appendix.*

1. That in the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration, there is not, neither can be, any accident without the subject ; but there verily remaineth the same substance, and the very visible and corruptible bread, and likewise the very same wine, which, before the consecration, were set upon the altar to be consecrate by the priest ; like as when a pagan or infidel is baptized, he is spiritually converted into a member of Christ through grace, and yet remaineth the very same man which he before was, in his proper nature and substance.

2. That auricular confession, or private penance, is a certain whispering, destroying the liberty of the gospel, and newly brought in by the pope and the clergy, to entangle the consciences of men in sin, and to draw their souls into hell.

3. That every layman being holy and predestinated unto everlasting life, albeit he be a layman, yet is he a true priest before God.<sup>1</sup>

4. That divers prelates and others of the clergy do live wickedly, contrary to the doctrine and example of Christ and his apostles : therefore they who so live, have not the keys either of the kingdom of heaven, or yet of hell ; neither ought any Christian to esteem their censure any more than as a thing of no force. Yea, albeit the pope should, peradventure, interdict the realm, yet could he not hurt, but rather profit us, forasmuch as thereby we should be dismissed from the observation of his laws, and from saying of service according to the custom of the church.

5. That if any man do make an oath or vow, to keep perpetual chastity, or do any thing else whereunto God hath not appointed him (giving him grace to perform his purpose), the same vow or oath is unreasonable and indiscreet, neither can any prelate compel him to keep the same, except he will do contrary unto God's ordinance. But he ought to commit him unto the governance of the Holy Ghost and of his own conscience ; forasmuch as every man, who will not fulfil his vow or oath, cannot do it for that cause.

*The  
charge of  
priests*

6. That whosoever taketh upon him the office of priesthood, although he have not the charge of souls committed unto him according to the custom of the church, not only may, but ought, to preach the gospel freely unto the people ; otherwise he is a thief, excommunicated by God, and by the holy church.

*Against  
transub-  
stantia-  
tion.*

7. That pope Innocent III., and six hundred bishops, and a thousand other prelates, with all the rest of the clergy, who together with the same pope agreed and determined, that in the sacrament of the altar, after the conversion of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, the accidents of the said bread and wine do remain there without any proper subject of the same ; who also ordained, that all Christians ought to confess their sins once a year unto a proper priest, and to receive the reverend sacrament at Easter, and made certain other laws at the same time : All they, saith he, in so doing, were fools and blockheads, heretics, blasphemers, and seducers of christian people. Wherefore we ought not to believe the determinations of them, or of their successors ; neither ought we to obey their laws or ordinances, except they be plainly grounded upon the holy Scripture, or upon some reason which cannot be impugn'd.

### Other Articles drawn out of Purvey's Books more at large, by Richard Lavingham.

As touching the sacrament of thanksgiving, Purvey saith, That that chapter of repentance and remission, " *Omnis utriusque sexus,*" wherein it is ordained, that every faithful man ought once every year at least, that is to say, at

(1) He speaketh of priests here, and not of public ministers, appointed in the church.

Easter, to receive the sacrament of the eucharist, is a beastly thing, heretical and blasphemous.

Item, That pope Innocent III. was the head of Antichrist, who, after the letting loose of Satan, invented a new article of our faith, and a certain feigned verity touching the sacrament of the altar; that is to say, that the sacrament of the altar is an accident without a substance, or else a heap of accidents without a substance: but Christ and his apostles do teach manifestly, that the sacrament of the altar is bread and the body of Christ together, after the manner that he spake. And in that he calleth it bread, he would have the people to understand, as they ought with reason, that it is very and substantial bread, and no false nor feigned bread.

And although Innocent, that Antichrist, doth allege, that in the council of Lyons, where this matter was decided, were six hundred bishops with him, and one thousand prelates, who were in one opinion of this determination, all those notwithstanding, he calleth fools, according to that saying of Eccles. i. 'Of fools there are an infinite number.' And so in like manner he calleth them false Christs and false prophets, of whom Christ speaketh in Matthew xxiv. 'Many false Christs and false prophets shall arise, and deceive many.' And, therefore, every christian man ought to believe firmly, that the sacrament of the altar is very bread indeed, and no false nor feigned bread. And although it be very bread indeed, yet notwithstanding, it is the very body of Christ in that sort he spake, and called it his body; and so it is very bread, and the very body of Christ. And as Christ, concerning his humanity, was both visible and passible, and by his divinity was invisible and impassible; so likewise this sacrament, in that it is very bread, may be seen with the corporal eye, and may also abide corruption. But although a man may see that sacrament, yet notwithstanding cannot the body of Christ in that sacrament be seen with the corporal eye, although it be the body of Christ in that manner he spake it; for, that notwithstanding, the body of Christ is now incorruptible in heaven. So the sacrament of the cup is very wine, and the very blood of Christ, according as his manner of speaking was. Also Innocent III., with a great multitude of his secular priests, made a certain new determination, 'That the sacrament of the altar is an accident without a substance,' whereas neither Jesus Christ, nor any of his apostles taught this faith, but openly and manifestly to the contrary; neither yet the holy doctors, for the space of a thousand years and more, taught this faith openly.

Therefore when Antichrist, or any of his shavelings, doth ask of thee that art a simple Christian, whether this sacrament be the very body of Christ or not? affirm thou it manifestly so to be. And if he ask of thee whether it be material bread, or what other bread else? say thou, That it is such bread as Christ understood and meant by his proper word; and such bread as the Holy Ghost meant in St. Paul, when he called that to be very bread which he brake: and wade thou no further therein. If he ask thee how this bread is the body of Christ? say thou, As Christ understood the same to be his body, who is both omnipotent and true, and in whom is no untruth; say thou also as the holy doctors do say, That the terrestrial matter or substance may be converted into Christ, as the pagan or infidel may be baptized, and hereby spiritually be converted, and be a member of Christ, and so, after a certain manner, become Christ, and yet the same man remain still in his proper nature. For so doth St. Augustine grant that a sinner, forsaking his sin, and being made one spirit with God by faith, grace, and charity, may be converted into God, and be, after a manner, God (as both David and St. John do testify), and yet be the same person in substance and nature, and in soul and virtue be altered and changed. But yet men of more knowledge and reason may more plainly convince the falsity of Antichrist both in this matter and in others, by the gift of the Holy Ghost working in them. Notwithstanding, if those that be simple men will humbly hold and keep the manifest and apparent words of the holy Scripture, and the plain sense and meaning of the Holy Ghost, and proceed no further, but humbly commit that unto the Spirit of God, which passeth their understanding; then may they safely offer themselves to death, as true martyrs of Jesus Christ.

As touching the sacrament of penance, that chapter 'Omnis utriusque sexus,' by which a certain new-found auricular confession was ordained, is full, he saith, of hypoerisy, heresy, covetousness, pride, and blasphemy; and he reproveth the same chapter *verbatim*, and that by the sentences of the same

Henry  
IV.

A.D.  
1401.

The sac-  
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of the po-  
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Pope In-  
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the head  
of Anti-  
christ.

The sac-  
rament  
in sub-  
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bread; in  
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tion, the  
body of  
Christ.

Transub-  
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Christ.

See  
Appendix.

The sac-  
rament,  
both  
bread and  
the body,  
in divers  
respects.

Auricular  
confes-  
sion and  
penance.

Henry  
IV.A.D.  
1101.See  
Appendix.The order  
of priest-  
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standing.What if  
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were no  
pope  
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makes  
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priest.

process: also, that the penance and pains limited by the canons be unreasonable and unjust, for the austerity and rigorousness which they contain, more than are taxed by God's law. He also doth exemplify of the solemn and public denial of penitents to be received into orders, according to the decree of the general council, *Distinctione 50. cap. 'Ex pœnitentibus'*: also of the seven-fold penitence of a priest committing fornication, according to the chapter, '*Presbyter*,' *Dist. 82*. And further he sheweth another example of the penitence of priests, according to that chapter, '*Qui presbyterum*,' &c., where the decretal of the general council saith, 'That such a one ought to remain continuing his life in the wars, and not to marry;' and how *Innocent III.* brought in a new-found confession, whereby the priests do oppress the simple laymen, and that many other things they do, compelling them to confess themselves to blind and ignorant priests, in whom is nothing else but pride and covetousness, having such in contempt as are learned and wise. Also that the decretal of *Innocent III.*, touching the aforesaid auricular or vocal confession, was brought in and invented to intricate and entangle men's consciences with sin, and to draw them down to hell; and furthermore, that such manner of confession destroyeth the evangelical liberty, and doth hinder men from inquiring after and retaining the wise counsel and doctrine of such as be good priests, who know faithfully how to observe God's precepts and commandments, and who would willingly teach the people the right way to heaven: for which abuse all christian men, and especially all Englishmen, ought to exclaim against such wicked laws.

As touching the sacrament of order, *Purvey* saith, That all good Christians are predestinate, and be ordained of God, and made true priests to offer Christ in themselves, and to Christ, themselves; as also to teach and preach the gospel to their neighbours,<sup>1</sup> as well in word, as in example of living. But the worldly shavelings do more magnify the naked and bare signs of priesthood (invented by sinful men) than the true and perfect priesthood of God, grounded by a true and lively faith, annexed with good works. Also, if it were needful to have such shavelings,<sup>2</sup> God knoweth how, and can make, when it pleaseth him, priests (without man's working and sinful signs; that is to say, without either sacraments or characters) to be known and discerned of the people by their virtuous life and example, and by their true preaching of the law of God; for so made he the first-made priests and elders before the law of Moses; and so made he Moses a priest before Aaron, and before the ceremonies of the law, without man's operation at all; and even so hath God made all such as are predestinate, to be his priests. But such as be true Christians receive none such as priests, unless they follow Christ and his apostles; neither do they believe that they make the sacrament of the altar (which they affirm to be God's body) when it pleaseth them, lest haply God be not with them, forasmuch as they do this thing for covetousness' sake, or else to brag of their own power. And therefore such as be simple men, will worship that sacrament in this doubtfulness, with a silent condition; that is, if it be made by God's authority, and have their devotion to the body of Christ in heaven. Also, that such as be elders, if they be God's priests, be bishops, prelates, and curates of their christian brethren, whom they may lead to heaven by the example of their holy conversation, and by preaching the gospel, although they make no sacrifice to that Antichrist of Rome for their confirmation, neither be they dedicated to the world by secular divine things, and by consuming the livings of the poor, as be those secular bishops, prelates, and curates. Also, that although there were no pope, according as the custom of the church is, yet Christ, who is the head of his church, doth ordain such a pope as pleaseth him; and that is, whosoever is most humble and lowly, and best doth the office of a true priest, although he be unknown to the world; and although there were no such proud bishop above all the rest as the church doth use, yet all the priests might well govern the church by common assent, as once they did, before such worldly pride crept in amongst the bishops, &c. And, admit that no such priests were, according to the accustomed use now, of receiving of order and tonsure by such a mitred bishop and his tonsure, yet Christ knoweth both how to make and choose such as shall well please him both in conversation of life, and sincere preaching of the gospel, in ministering to his people all necessary sacraments.

(1) He meaneth of private preaching to their neighbours.

(2) True ministers may be made without shaving.



And every holy man who is a minister of Christ, although he be not shaven, is a true priest ordained of God, although no mitred bishop ever laid his character upon him : so that the pope and prelates do make more estimation of their characters (as tonsures and crowns by them invented), than of the true and perfect priesthood ordained of God ; whereas all those that are predestinate, are true priests made of him.

Henry  
IV.A. D.  
1401.

As touching the authority of the keys and censures, no christian man ought to esteem Satan (whom men call the pope), and his unjust censures, more than the hissing of a serpent, or the blast of Lucifer. Also, that no man ought to trust or put confidence in the false indulgences of covetous priests, which indulgences do draw away the hope, which men ought to repose in God, to a sort of sinful men, and do rob the poor of such alms as are given to them. Such priests be manifest betrayers of Christ and of the whole church, and be Satan's own stewards, to beguile christian souls by their hypocrisy and feigned pardons. Also, forasmuch as those prelates and clergymen live so execrable a life, contrary to the gospel of Christ and examples of his apostles, and teach not truly the gospel, but only lies and the traditions of sinful wicked men, it appeareth most manifestly, that they have not the keys of the kingdom of heaven, but rather the keys of hell ; and they may be right well assured, that God never gave unto them authority to make and establish so many ceremonies and traditions which be contrary to the liberty of the gospel, and are blocks in christian men's ways, that they can neither know nor observe the same his gospel in liberty of conscience, and so attain a ready way to heaven.

The  
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Also, that all manner of religious men, notwithstanding the chapter 'Religiosi,' touching the privileges in the 'Clementines,' may lawfully minister all sacraments to them that are worthy the same ; forasmuch as the same is a work of charity, which it is only the will and ordinance of the pope and his fautors, in this case, to hinder and let. Item, If the pope shall interdict this our realm, that cannot hurt us, but much profit us, because that thereby he should separate us from all his wicked laws, and from the charges of sustaining so many thousand shavelings, who, with small devotion, or none at all, patter and chatter a new-found song, 'Secundum usum Sarum : ' so that not whatsoever the pope in his general council bindeth on earth, is bound of God in heaven, either for that he bindeth unreasonably, and contradictorily doth against himself, or else, for that he hath forsaken the judgment of God.

The  
pope's  
curse  
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As touching the preaching of the gospel, whosoever receiveth or taketh upon him the office of a priest, or of a bishop, and dischargeth not the same by the example of his good conversation and faithful preaching of the gospel, is a thief, excommunicated of God and of holy church. And further, if the curates preach not the word of God, they shall be damned, and if they know not how to preach, they ought to resign their benefices : so that those prelates who preach not the gospel of Christ, although they could excuse themselves from the doing of any other evil, are dead in themselves, are Antichrists, and Satans transfigured into angels of light, night-thieves, man-quellers by daylight, and betrayers of Christ's people.

Concerning the sacrament of matrimony : notwithstanding any spiritual kindred or gossopry, a man and woman may lawfully marry together by the law of God, without any dispensation papistical. And in the same place he saith, that if our realm do admit one not born in matrimony, or illegitimate, to the imperial crown, so that he doth well discharge the office of a king, God maketh him a king, and by consequence doth reject another king or heir of the kingdom, being born in matrimony and legitimate : so for such spiritual kindred there ought no divorce to be made. Also, notwithstanding the chapter 'Si inter', 'de sponsalibus,' if any man shall make any contract with any woman by the words of the future tense, by an oath taken, and afterwards shall, with another woman, make the like contract by the words of the present tense, that then the second contract standeth. Also if a man make any contract with a woman by the words of the future tense, upon his oath taken, and maketh afterwards the like contract with another, not altering the words, and hath carnal connexion upon the same, the first contract maketh the matrimony good, and not the second. Also if a man, before witness, assure himself to a woman by a contract made in the present tense, and hath children by the same woman, and afterwards the same man marieth another woman, with the like words in the

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*Henry IV.*A.D.  
1401.

present tense before witness, although the first witnesses be dead, or else by bribes corrupt, and the second bring his witnesses before the judge to prove the second contract, the first contract yet standeth in force, although the pope, allowing the second contract, doth compel them to live in adultery, against the commandment of God. Also he condemneth the decretal of the restitution of things stolen, cap. 'Literas tuas,' which willet that a man and woman having carnal connexion in the degree of consanguinity forbidden, and no witness thereof, if the woman will depart from the man, she shall be compelled by the censures to remain with him, and to yield her debt. Also, in case where a man hath made contract with two women, with one secretly, having no witness, and with the other openly, having witness, then were it better to acknowledge the insufficiency of the law, and to suffer men to be ruled by their own consciences, than by the censures to compel them to commit, and live in adultery.

Keeping  
and  
making  
vows.

As touching the keeping and making of vows : that vow or oath is beastly, and is without all discretion made, which to perform and keep, a man hath no power, but by grace given him of God ; because that some such there be, whom God doth not accept to persevere in the state of chastity and perpetual virginity ; and such a one cannot keep his vow, although he make the same. Also that every one making a vow of continency or chastity, when, making the same, he shall not be accepted of God, doth very indiscreetly, and as one without all reason maketh the same, when he is not able of himself, without the gift of God, to fulfil his promise, according to that saying of the wise man, chapter viii. 'No man hath the gift of continency, unless that God give it unto him : ' for otherwise, if God help not such a one to perform the vow or oath which he hath made and taken, no prelate can compel him, unless he do contrary to God's ordinance ; but he ought to commit himself to the government of God's Holy Spirit, and his own conscience.

Possessions  
of  
the  
church.

As to the possessions of the church, in another treatise it is declared, how the king, the lords, and commons, may, without any charge at all, keep fifteen garrisons, and find fifteen thousand soldiers (having sufficient lands and revenues to live upon) out of the temporalities gotten into the hands of the clergy, and feigned religious men, who never do that which pertaineth to the office of curates to do, nor yet to secular lords. And, moreover, the king may have, every year, twenty thousand pounds to come freely into his coffers, and above. Also he may find or sustain fifteen colleges more, and fifteen thousand priests and clerks with sufficient living, and a hundred hospitals for the sick, and every house to have one hundred marks in lands. And all this may they take of the aforesaid temporalities, without any charge to the realm ; whereunto the king, the lords, and the commons are to be invited : for otherwise, there seemeth to hang over our heads a great and marvellous alteration of this realm, unless the same be put in execution. Also, if the secular priests and feigned religious, who be simoniacs and heretics, who feign themselves to say mass, and yet say none at all, according to the canons, which to their purpose they bring and allege, 1 quæst. 3. 'Audivimus,' et cap. 'Pudenda,' et cap. 'Schisma ;' by which chapter such priests and religious do not make the sacrament of the altar : that then all Christians, especially all the founders of such abbeyes, and endowers of bishoprics, priories, and chantries, ought to amend this fault and treason committed against their predecessors, by taking from them such secular dominions as are the maintenance of all their sins : and also that christian lords and princes are bound to take away from the clergy such secular dominion as nourisheth and nourisheth them in heresies, and ought to reduce them unto the simple and poor life of Christ Jesus and his apostles.

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And further, that all christian princes, if they will amend the malediction and blasphemy of the name of God, ought to take away their temporalities from that shaven generation, which most of all doth nourish them in such malediction. And so in like wise the fat tithes from churches appropriate to rich monks, and other religious, feigned by manifest lying, and other unlawful means ; likewise ought they to debar their gold to the proud priest of Rome, who doth poison all Christendom with simony and heresy. Further, that it is a great abomination that bishops, monks, and other prelates, be so great lords in this world ; whereas Christ, with his apostles and disciples, never took upon them secular dominion, neither did they appropriate unto them churches, as these men do, but led a poor life, and gave a good testimony of their priesthood. And

therefore, all Christians ought, to the uttermost of their power and strength, to swear that they will reduce such shavelings to the humility and poverty of Christ and his apostles; and whosoever doth not thus, consenteth to their heresy. Also that these two chapters of the immunity of churches are to be condemned, that is, cap. 'Non minus,' and cap. 'Adversus;' because they do decree, that temporal lords may neither require tallages nor tenths of any ecclesiastical persons.

Henry  
IV.A. D  
1401.

Now to the correction of the clergy. By the law of God, and by reason, the king and all other Christians may take revenge of Italy, and of all the false priests and clerks within the same, and reduce them unto the humble ordinance of Jesus Christ. Also that the law of Silvester the pope, which is declared in 2 q. 5. cap. 'Præsul,' and cap. 'Nullam,' is contrary to the law of Christ, and either Testament: and that the proud and ambitious Silvester, by his law, so defended two cardinals who were not to be defended by the law of Christ, that by no means they might be convinced, although they were both vicious and evil: and that although Christ sustained and suffered the judgment of unjust temporal judges, our mitred prelates in these days so magnify themselves beyond Christ and his apostles, that they refuse and will none of such judgments: also that, those decretals of accusations, cap. 'Qualiter et quando,' which do prohibit that any clerks should be brought before a secular judge to receive judgment, do contain both heresy, blasphemy, and error, and bring great gain and commodity to Antichrist's coffers.

Correc-  
tion of  
the  
clergy.

Furthermore, that all christian kings and lords ought to exclaim against the pope and those that be his fautors, and banish them out of their lands, till such time as they will obey God and his gospel, kings, and other ministers of God's justice. Also that bishops and their favourers, that say it appertaineth not to kings and secular lords, but unto them and their officials, to punish adultery and fornication, do fall into manifest treason against the king, and heresy against the Scripture. Also that it appertaineth to the king to have the order both of priests and bishops, as these kings Solomon and Jehoshaphat had.

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Furthermore, that chapter 'Nullus iudicium,' 'de foro competenti,' by which secular judges are forbidden, without the bishop's commandment, to condemn any clerk to death, is manifestly against the holy Scripture, declaring that kings have power over clerks and priests, to punish them for their deserved crimes. Also that the decree of Boniface, 'De pœnis,' in 6. cap. 'Felicis,' made against the prosecutors, strikers, and imprisoners of cardinals, is contrary both to the holy Scripture, and to all reason. Also that by the law of God and reason, a secular lord may lawfully take a cardinal and put him in prison for committing the crime of open simony, adultery, and manifest blasphemy. Also that the chapter 'Si Papa,' dist. 40, which saith that the pope ought to be judged of none, unless he be 'devius a fide,' is contrary to the gospel, which saith, 'If thy brother sin against thee, correct him.' Also whereas St. Gregory and St. Augustine called themselves the servants of God's servants, this proud bishop of Rome, who will not be judged by his subjects (who be in very deed his lords, if they be just and good men), doth destroy the order of God's law, and all humility, and doth extol himself above God and his apostles. Also that christian kings ought not only to judge this proud bishop of Rome, but also to depose him, by the example that Cestrensis, lib. 6. cap. 8. declareth of Otho the emperor, who deposed John XII., and did institute Leo in his place. And further, he maketh an exhortation to the princes to judge the church of Rome, which he calleth the great and cursed strumpet, of whom St. John writeth in the Apocalypse, chap. xvii.

Good  
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popes.

Lastly, touching the laws and determinations of the church, Christians have reasonable excuses and causes to repel the statutes of the pope and of his shavelings, which be not expressly grounded on the holy Scriptures, or else upon reason inevitable. Also he saith, that the law of consecration, which is set forth, distinctione 2. cap. 'Seculares,' and cap. 'Omnis homo,' and cap. 'Et si non frequentius,' and cap. 'In cena Domini:' that such secular men as do not receive the sacrament of the altar at Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, are not to be counted amongst the number of Christians, nor to be esteemed as Christians: whereby it followeth that all clerks and laymen that observe not the same, it seemeth they go straight to hell. But if this law be of no force, for that the custom and use in receiving is contrary to the same, then may we bless such rebellion and disobedience to the pope, and his law; for otherwise we should flee to hell without any stay or

Henry  
IV.

A. D.  
1401.

The  
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The  
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let. Hereby we may conclude, that all Christians ought well to practise this school of disobedience against the pope and all his laws (not founded upon the Scripture), which do let men to climb to heaven by the keeping of charity, and the liberty of the gospel. Also that christian men have great cause to refuse the laws and statutes of these worldly clerks, which the people call the papal laws, and bishoplike statutes, for the covetousness and voluptuousness of them; without which the church and congregation of God might safely run towards heaven by the sweet yoke of the Lord, as it did a thousand years before the said laws were prescribed and sent to the universities, and withdrew men from studying of the holy Scripture, for the desire of benefices and worldly goods. Also, that simple men do reverently receive the sentences of the doctors and other laws, so far forth as they be expressly grounded upon the holy Scripture or good reason. Also that whereas the pope's laws, and laws of his ministers and clerks be both contrary to themselves, and have not their foundation either in the Scripture, or yet in reason, simple men ought to bid them farewell. Also that when all the apostles' faith failed them in the time of the Lord's passion, faith then resting in the blessed virgin, much more might that proud priest of Rome, with all his rabble, easily err in the faith; and yet is the christian faith preserved whole and safe in the faithful members of Christ, who are his true church, but the pope and all his rabblement cannot prove that they be any part of his church. Also that the pope with all his fautors may as well be deceived by a lying spirit, as were Ahab and all his prophets; and that one true phophet, as was Micaiah, may have the verity showed unto him, 'contra Concilium.' Also that all good Christians ought to cast from them the pope's laws, saying, 'Let us break their bands in sunder, and let us cast from our necks those heavy yokes of theirs.' Also that where these prelates do burn one good book for one error, perhaps, contained in the same, they ought to burn all the books of the canon-law, for the manifold heresies contained in them.

See  
Appendix.

And thus much out of a certain old written book in parchment, borrowed once of J. B., which book, containing divers ancient records of the university, seemeth to belong sometime to the library of the university, bearing the year of the compiling thereof, 1396, which computation if it be true, then was it written by Purvey, ere that he recanted before Thomas Arundel, archbishop, at Saltwood, where he was imprisoned. Hereunto I have thought good to annex a certain godly and most fruitful sermon of like antiquity, preached at Paul's Cross much about the same time, which was A. D. 1388, by a certain learned clerk, as I find in an old monument, named R. Wimbeldon. Albeit among the ancient registers and records belonging to the archbishop of Canterbury, I have an old worn copy of the said sermon, written in very old English, and almost half consumed with age, purporting the said author hereof, bearing also the aforesaid name; the true copy of which sermon, in his own speech wherein it was first spoken and preached at the Cross, on the Sunday of Quinquagesima, and afterwards exhibited to the archbishop of Canterbury, being then, as it seemeth, William Courtney, here followeth.

A Sermon no lesse godly than learned, preached at Paules Crosse on the Sunday of Quinquagesima, anno 1388, by R. Wimbeldon.<sup>1</sup>

'Redde rationem villicationis tue.'—Lucæ xvi. 2.

My dere frends, ye shullen vnderstond, that Christ, autor and doctour of trueth, in his booke of the gospels (likening the kingdome of heauen to an housholder) saith on this manner: 'Like is the kingdome of heauen to an housholding man, that went out first on the morow to hire workemen into his vine:

(1) This sermon appears to have produced considerable excitement, both at the period of its delivery, and also at its publication. It is commonly called "a godlie and famous sermon, preached in the yeere of our Lord 1388, at Paule's Crosse, on the Sunday of Quinquagesima, by R. Wimbeldon; and found hyd in a vvall." The text: Luke xvi. "Redde rationem villicationis tue," "Come, give a reckoning of thy Baylywicke." Casley, in his Catalogue of MSS. in the Royal Library, p. 273,

also, about y<sup>e</sup> third, sixt, nienth, and eleuent houres, he went out, and found men standing idel, and said to them, \* Why<sup>1</sup> stande ye here vnoecupied? \* Go ye into mine vineyerde, and that right is I wille geue you. When the day was agoo, he clepid his stward and high to geue eche man a peny.'

The spirituall vnderstanding of this householder, is our Lord Jesu Christ, that is head of the houshold of holy church, and thus clepeth men in diuerce houres of the day, that is, in diuerce agees of the world; as in time of law of kind,<sup>2</sup> he cleped, by inspiring Abel, Ennok, Noe, and Abraham; in time of the old law, Moses, Dauid, Isay, and Jeremy, \* with the prophets; \* and in time of grace, apostles, martyrs, and confessours and virgines. Also he cleped men in diuers agees, some on childehode, as Iohn Baptist; some on state of waxing, as Iohn the Euangelist; some in state of manhood, as Peter and Andrew; and some in old agee, as Gamaliel, and Ioseph of Arimathie; and all these he clepeth to trauaile in his vine, that is, the church, and that on diuers manner. For, right as ye see, that in tilling of the materiall vine there ben diuers labours, for some kутten away the void branches, some maken forkis and railes to beren vp the vine, and some diggen away the old earth fro the rote, and leyn there fatter; and all this offices ben so necessary to the vine, that if any of them faile, it shal harme greatly, other<sup>3</sup> destroy the vine; for but if<sup>4</sup> the vine be kutte, she shall waxe wilde, but if she be rayled, she shall be ouργο with netles<sup>5</sup> and wedis; and but if the rote be fatted with dong, she for febleenes shuld wax baraine. Right so in the church, beth nedefull these three offices, priesthood, knythode, and laborers. To priesthood it falleth to kut away the void braunches of sinnes with the swerd of her tong. To knythode it falleth to letten wrongs and theftes<sup>6</sup> to ben done, and to maintaine Goddis law, and them that ben teachers thereof, and also to kepe the londe from enemies of other londes. And to labourers it falleth to trauail bodelich, and with their sore swete, geten out of the earth bodilech lifelode for hem and other partes. And these states beth also nedefull to the church, that none may well ben without other: for if priesthod lacked, the people, for default of knowing of Goddis law, shoud waxe wilde in viees, and deyen gostely: and if the knithod laked, and men to rulin the puple by law and hardinesse, theenes and enemies shulden so encrese, that no man shuld liue in peace: and if the laborers were nought, both knightes and priestes must become aere men and herdis; and els, they shuld, for default of bodily sustenance, deye. And, therefore, saith clerke Auicenne, that euery vnreasonable best, if he haue that, that kind<sup>7</sup> hath ordeined for him, as kind hath ordeined it, he has suffisance to liue by himselfe without any help of other of the same kind. And if there were but one horse, other one shepe in the world; yet, if he had grasse and corne, as kind hath ordeined for such beasts, he shuld liue well enow. But, if there ne were but o<sup>8</sup> man in the world, though he had all that good that is therein, yet, for default, he shuld deie, or his life shuld be wors than if he were naught: and the cause is this, for that thing that kind ordeineth for a mans sustenance, without other arraiaing than it hath of kind, accordeth nought to him. As though a man haue corne as it cometh from the earth, yet it is no meate according to him, vnto it be, by mans craft, chaunged into bread; and though he haue flesh other fish, yet, while it is rawe as kind ordeined it, till it be by mans trauaile sodden, roasted, or baken, it corded not to mans lifelode. And right so wolle, that the sheepe beareth, mot, by mannis diuers craftis and trauailes, be chaunged or<sup>9</sup> it be able to cloth any man; and certis, o man, by himselfe, shuld neuer doo all these

Henry

IV.

A. D.

1388.

The calling of God is diverse.

See Appendix.

mentions, "Tho. Wimbleton's two sermons at Paul's Cross, on Luke xvi. 2, preached A. D. 1388." In the Catalogue of MSS. at Sidney College, Cambridge, is "A Sermon preached at Paul's Cross, an. 1389, on Quinquagesima Sunday, by Tho. Wimbleton." In the Catalogue of Cains College, Cambridge, is 'R. Wimbleton Concio: extat quoq: Anglice 1593, 8vo.' In the Bodleian Library, is the same document, "by R. Wimbleton, an. 1388." This sermon was first printed by John Kynde, without date, between 1550 and 1561. See Herbert's edition of Ames's Typographical Antiquities, vol. 2, p. 1098. In the first edition of the Acts and Monuments, the title of the sermon is as follows: "A Sermon no lesse frutefull then famous. Made in the yeare of our Lord God M CCC. LXXXVIII. In these our later dayes moste necessary to be knownen. Neyther addinge to, nor diminishing from. Saue the olde and rude English thereof mended here and there." The phraseology and orthography which Foxe adopted in the first, do not occur in the subsequent copies of this sermon. In that edition, p. 175, he says, "neither is there any name expressed thereon," and, "it seemeth to be of Wickliffe's doing;" in the second and following edition he acknowledges it as R. Wimbleton's Sermon.—Ed.

(1) The sentences in asterisks are from the Edition of 1563.—Ed.

(2) "Law of kind," nature.—Ed.

(3) "Other," or.—Ed.

(4) "But if," unless.—Ed.

(5) Ed. 1570, Thistles.—Ed.

(6) "Theftes;" "the hestes." Ed. 1563.—Ed.

(7) "Kind," nature.—Ed.

(8) "O," one.—Ed.

(9) "Or," ere, before.—Ed.

*II nry*  
*IV.*

**A.D.**  
**1388.**

labours. And therefore, saith this clerke, it is neede that some be acre men, some bakers, some makers of cloth;<sup>1</sup> and some marchaunts, to fetch that, that one londe fetteth from an other, as there it is plentie.

And certis, this shuld be a cause, why euery state should loue other; and men of o craft, shuld not despise ne hate men of none other craft, sith they be so needefull euerych to other; and oft theke crafts that ben most vn honest, might worst ben forbore. And o thing I dare well say, that he that is neither trauailing in this world on studieng, on praiers, on preaching for helpe of the people (as it falleth to priests), neither ruling the people, mainteining ne defending fro enemies (as it falleth to knights,) neither traueling on earth, in diuerse craftes (as it falleth to labourers), when the day of reckening commeth, that is, the end of this life, right as he liued here withouten trauaile, so he shall there lack the reward of the 'penie,' that is, the endles ioie of heauen; and, as he was here liuing after none state ne order, so he shall be put than in that place that no order is in, but euerlasting horror and sorrow, that is, in hell. Herfore, euerych man see to what state God hath cleped him, and dwell he therein by traile, according to his degree. Thou that art a laborer or a crafty man, do this truely. If thou art a seruant or a bondman, be suget and lowe, in drede of displeasing of thy Lord. If thou art a marchaunt, disceiue nought thy brother in chaffering. If thou art a knight or a lord, defend the poore man and needy fro hands that will harme them. If thou art a iustice or a iudge, go not on the right hand by fauour, neither on the left hand, to punish any man for hate. If thou art a priest, vndernime,<sup>2</sup> praye, and reprove, in all maner patience and doctrine. Vndernime thilke that ben negligent, pray<sup>3</sup> for thilke that bene obedient, reprove tho that ben vnobedient to God, so euery man trauaile in his degree: for, when the euenhis come, that is, the end of this worlde, than euerye man shall take reward, good or euill, after that he hath trauailed here.

The words that I haue taken to make of my sermon, be thus much to say, 'Yeld reconing of thy bayly.<sup>4</sup> Christ, autour of pity, the loue of the saluation of his people, in the process of this gospell enfourmeth euery man what is his bayly, by maner of a parable of a bayly that he speaketh of, to aray him to answer of the goods that God hath taken him, when the day of straight reconing shall be come, that is, the day of dome. And so I, at this time, thorowe the helpe of God, following Him that is so great a maister of authoritie, because that I know nothing that should more draw away mans vnreasonable loue fro the passing ioy of this world, then the minde of the dreadfull reconing. As much as suffice, I shall shew you how ye shall dispose you to auoide the vengeance of God, when there shal be time of so straight doome, that we shall geue reconing of euery idle word that we haue isproken. For than it shall be said to vs, and we shall not flee it: 'Yelde reconing of thy bayly.'

But, for further process of this first party of this sermon, yee shall wete that there shall be three baylives that shall be cleped to this straight reconing: twaine, to answer for themselfe and for other. That bene, priests, that haue cure of mens soules, and temporall men, that haue gouernayle of people. And the third baylyf shall account onely for himselfe, and that is, euerye christen man, of that he hath receined of God. And euery of these shull aunswer to three questions: to the first question, How hast thou entred? the second, How hast thou ruled? and to the third, How hast thou liued? And if thou canst well assoile these three questions, was there neuer none earthly lord that ener so well rewarded his seruant without comparison, as thy lord God shal reward thee: that is, with blisse, and ioy, and life that ener shall last. But, on that other side, and thou wilt now be recheles of thine owne welfare, and take none heede of this reconing: if that day take thee sodainly, so that thou passe hence in deadly sinne (as thou wotst neuer what shall fall thee), all the toungs that ener were, or ener shall be, mow not tell the sorrow and wo, that thou shalt ener be in, and suffer. Therefore the desire of so great ioy, and the dread of so great paine, though loue ne dread of God were not in thine hart, yet should thou make thee afeard to sinne, for to thinke that thou shalt giue reckoning of thy bayly.

Therefore, as I say to thee, the first question that shall be proposed to the first

(1) "Makers of cloth," "men of occupations." Ed. 1563.—Ed.

(2) "Vndernime," &c., "instruct, praise, and reprove." Ed. 1563.—Ed.

(3) "Pray for," "praise." Ed. 1563.—Ed. (4) "Bayly," villicatio; bailiwick, or stewardship.—Ed

Job x.  
2Cor. xvii.  
1 Pet. ii.  
1 Thes. iv.

Prov. viii.  
2 Tim. iv.

Nota.

Three  
ques-  
tions.

bayly (that is a prelate, other a curat of mens soules) is this: How hast thou entred? [Matt. xxii.] 'friend, how entredst thou hether?' who brought thee into this office? truth or symony? God or the deuill? grace or mony? the flesh or the spirit? Give thou thy reconing if thou canst. If thou canst not, I rede<sup>1</sup> that thou tary for to learne; for, vp hap ere night thou shalt be cleped. And if thou stande dombe for vnkunning, or els for confusion of thy conscience, thou fall into the sentence that anon followeth: 'Binde his hands and his feete, and cast him into the vtterward of darkness; there shall be weeping and grenning<sup>2</sup> of teeth.' Therefore I rede thee, thou aduise thee how thou shalt answer to the question: How hast thou entred? whether by cleping,<sup>3</sup> or by thine owne procuring: for that thou wouldest trauaile in Gods gospell, other for thou wouldest be richly arayed? Answer now to thy owne conscience, as thou shalt answer to God, thou that hast take now the order of prieste (whether thou be curate or none). Who stirred thee to take vpon thee so high an estate? whether for thou wouldest liue as a priest ought to do, studying of Gods law to preach, and most hartely to pray for the people; or for to liue a delicious life vpon other mens trauaile, and thy selfe trauaile nought.

Henry  
IV.A. D.  
1388.Against  
simony.

Why, also, setten men their sonnes either their cousins to schole? whereto? but for to get them great aduancements, or to make them the better to know how they shoulde serue God. This, men may see openly, by the sciences that they set them to. Why, I pray you, put men their sonnes to the law ciuill, or to the kings court to write letter and writs, rather than to philosophy or diuinity, but for the hope that these occupations should be ener means to make them great in the world. I hope that there will no man say, that they ne should better learne the rule of good lining in the booke of God's law, than in any bookes of man's worldly wisdom? But, certes, now it is sothe that Iohn Chrysostom saith: 'Mothers be louing to the bodies of their children, but the soule they despise; they desire them to wel fare in this world, but they take none hede<sup>4</sup> what they shall suffer in the tother. Some ordeinen fees for their children, but none ordeine them to godward. The lust<sup>5</sup> of their bodies they wol decre by, but the health of their soule they reke nought of. If they see them poore or sicke, they sorrow and sigheth; but though they see them sin, they sorrow not. And in this they shew that they brought forth the bodies, but not the soules.'<sup>6</sup>

And, if we take heede truly what abominations be scattered and spread abroad in holy church now adayes among priests, we shul wel wit that they come not all to the folde of Christ, by Christes cleping, for to profit, but by other wayes, to get them worldly welth: and this is the cause of lesing of soules that Christ bought so deare, and of many errors among the people. And, therefore, it is iwrit in the booke of Mourning, where the prophet speaketh thus to God [Lam. i. 10.]: 'The enemy hath put his hand to all things desirable to him; for he hath let lawles folke enter into the sanctuary, of the which thou hadst commanded, that they should not enter into the church.' This enemy is Sathanas, as his name sowneth, that hath put his hand to all that him liketh. What sinne, I pray you, will the fiend hane sow on men, that nis now yvsed? In what plenty is now pride, enuy, wrath, and conetise? Whan were they so great as they be now? and so of all other sinnes. And why, trowest thou? But for there be a lawles people entred into thy sanctuarie, that neither keepe in themselfe the law of God, ne konne teachen other. And to enery such, saith God by the prophet [Ose iv.], 'For that thou hast put away cunning,<sup>7</sup> I shall put thee away, that thou shall vse no priesthoo to me.' Lo that God expresly heere in holy writ forbiddeth men to take the state of prishoo on them, but they hane cunning that needeth them. Thou, than, that canst neither rule thy selfe ne other after the law of God, beware how thou wilt answer to God, at his dreadfull dome, when he shall say to thee, that which I tooke to my theame: 'Yeld the reckening of thy bayly, how thou hast entred.'

The rasd  
making  
of minis-  
ters.

The second question, that enery curate and prelate of holy churche shall

(1) "Rede," counsel.—Ed.

(2) "Grenning," or, as in Ed. 1563, "grenting," i. e. grinding. See Todd's Johnson, "Grint."—Ed.

(3) "Cleping," calling.—Ed.

(4) "Take none heed;" "pass not," Ed. 1563.—Ed.

(5) "The lust," &c.; "the losse of their bodies they will sore bewail," Ed. 1563.—Ed.

(6) Johannes Chrysostomus, Homilia xxvii.

(7) "Cunning," knowledge.—Ed.

Henry

IV.

A. D.

1388.

Bernard.

Sermo

23. in

Cant. § 12.

answer to, is this: How hast thou ruled? that is to say, the soules of thy suggets, and the goods of poore men: geue now thine account. First, how thou hast gouerned God's folke that were take thee to keepe? Whether art thou an lerd, or an hired man, that doost all for loue of bodelich hire; as a father, or as a wolfe that eaten his sheepe and keepeth them nought? Say, whom hast thou turned from his cursed lining, by thy deuout preaching? whom hast thou taught the law of God, that was earst vncunning? There shall ben heard a grieuous accusing of fatherles children, and a hard alledging<sup>1</sup> that priests haue liueden by *their* wages, and not done away their sins. Yelde also rekonng how thou hast ruled, and spended thy goods of poore men. Harke what S. Bernard saith: 'Dread clarks, dread the ministers of the church, the which ben in the place of saints, that they do so wickedly, nought holding them apayd with such wages that were sufficient to them.' That ouerplus that needy men should be sustained by, they be not ashamed to wast in the house of their pride and leachery, and withholden to themselves wickedly and cursedly that which should be the lifeloode of poore men. With double wickednes truly they sinne: first, for they recenen other mens goods, and saith, they misuse holy things in their vanities and in their filthes. Euery such bayly therefore beware, for anone, to the last farthing he shall recken with Christ. Trowest thou not then, that thou ne shalt be disallowed of God, of that thou hast mispended<sup>2</sup> in feeding of fat palfreys, of hounds, of haukes, and if it so be, that is worst of all, on lecherous women? Heare what is said of such: 'They had led their dayes in wealths; and, in a poynt, they bene gone downe into hell.' Thinke, therefore, I rede thee, that thou shalt yelde reckening of thy bayly.

The third question that this bayly shall aunswere to, is this: How hast thou liued? what light of holynes hast thou shewed, in thy lining, to the people, or what mirrour hast thou ben of holynes to them? geue now thy recondng, how thou hast liued, as a priest or as a leude<sup>3</sup> man, as a man or as a beast. That is to wonder truly, how the life of priestes is chaunged! They be clothed as knights; they speaken as vnhonestly as carels, other of winning as marchaunts; they riden as princes: and all that is thus spended, is of the goods of poore men, and of Christ's heretage. Therefore, saith an holy doctor, 'The clay of Egypt was tough and stinking,<sup>4</sup> and medled with bloud.' The slates were hard to be vndoe, for they were baked with fire of conetise, and with the light<sup>5</sup> of lust. In this trauaileth rich men, in this they wake, awaiting poore men. In these trauaileth prelates, that ben too much blent<sup>6</sup> with too much shining of riches, that make them houses like churches in greatnes, that with diuers paintries coloren their chambers, that with diuers clethings of colours make images gay: but the poore man, for default of clothes, beggeth, and, with an empty wombe, cryeth at the doore. And if I shall the sooth say, saith this doctor, 'oft time poore men be robbed for to clothe the trees and stones.' Of such speaketh the prophet, 'How art thou heere, or as who art thou?'<sup>7</sup> Here thou art occupying the place of Peter and of Poule, or of Thomas or of Martine. But how? As Iudas among the apostles, as Symon Magus among the disciples; as a candle new queint,<sup>8</sup> that stincheth al the house in steed of a light lanterne; as a smoke that blindeth mens eien, in place of cleane fire. If thou contrarie thus the forme of lining that Christ and his disciples left to priests, Lo, what saith the prophet Ieremy: 'They haue entred, and they haue had, and nought ben obedient.' They hauen, with false title or with their false and corrupt intention, had poore mens goods to their misusing; and they haue not be obedient to the law of God in their owne lining. Therefore it is writ, that the hardest dome shal fall on such. An hard dome, for they haue mis-entred; an harder dome, for they haue misruled; and the hardest dome, for they haue so cursedlie liued. Thinke, therefore, I rede, how thou wilt giue reckning of thy bayly!

Jer. xxxi.

p. vi.

(1) "Alledging;" "a strait alledging of al the floke that thou hast take of them thy lining, through their labour and sweat, and do nothing therfor; but let them goo astray, wandering for pasture and water, and none geuen them by thee." Ed. 1563, p. 177.—Ed.

(2) "Mispended;" and in bringing vp of yonge idle fellows nourished or taught, as it were, in a schole, to blasphem God in al manner of poyntes of euil liuyng, in feeding," &c. Ed. 1563. p. 177.—Ed.

(3) "Leude man;" a layman, unlearned.—Ed.

(4) "Stinking;" "stykynge." Ed. 1563.—Ed.

(5) "Light," &c.; "layre or earthe of lustes." lb.—Ed. (6) "Blent;" "blinded." lb.—Ed.

(7) Esa. xxii. Quis tu hic, aut quasi quid hic?

(8) "Queint;" quenched.—Ed.



The second bayliff that accounteth at this dome for himselfe, and also for other, is hee that keeping bath of any communitie, as kings, princes, maiers, and shireues, and iustices: and these shull also answer to the same three questions. The first question: How hast thou hentred (that is to say, into thine office)? other for helpe of the people, to destroy falsed and fortheren truth, other for desire of winning, or worldly worship? If thou take such an office more for thine owne worldlie profit than for the helpe of the comunite, thou art a tyrant, as the philosopher seith. For it is to feare least there bene too many that desiren such states, that they may the rather oppresse thilk that they hateth, and take gifts to spare to punish thilke that hauen trespassed; and so maketh them parteners of their sinnes; and for bribes they work all things. And many such, when they ben so high, they reck nought that they beth poore mens brethren; but they weene to passe them in kind, as they passeth in worldlie worshippe, that is but winde \* and <sup>1</sup> vanity: \* of which God saith by the prophet, 'They hauen raigned, but nought of me; they haue bene princes, but I know nought.' So we read of Roboam, that was the son of king Salomon: what time he was first king \* avanced in his heart,\* the people of Israell comen to him and said, 'Thy father, in his last daies, put on vs great charge. Wee pray thee some deale make it lighter, and we willen serue thee. And the king took counsaile of the old wise men, and they counsailden to answer them faire, and that should bee for the best. But he left these old wise mennis counsaile, and did after the counsaile of children that were his playferen, and saide to the people when they came againe, My left finger is greater than my father's riege.<sup>2</sup> My father grieued you somewhat, but I wil echen more thereto.' And the people heard this, and rebelen to him, and tooke them another king; and sith, the kingdome came neuer whole again. And therefore it is good that enerie ruler of cominalties, that they be not lad by follies, ne by none other eare-rowner,<sup>3</sup> that he ne haue an eygh of loue to the comontie that he hath to rule. For wete ye wel, bee he neuer so high, that he shal come afore his higher, to yeld reconing of his bayli.

The second question is, How hast thou ruled the people and the office that thou haddest to gouerne? thou that hast bene a iudge in causes of poore men, how hast thou kept this hest of God? 'Thou shalt not take heed to the person of a poore man, to be to him the harder for his pouertie, ne thou shalt not behold a rich mans semblance, to spare or to fauour him in his wrong for his riches?' O Lord! what abusion is there among officers of both lawes now a daies. If a great man pleadeth with a poore man, to haue ought that he holdeth, enerie officer shall be readie to hie al that he may, that the rich man might haue such an end as he desired. But if a poore man plead with a rich man, than there shal be so many delaies, that though the poor man's right be open to all the country, for pure faut of spending, he shal be glad to cease. Shriues and bailiffes willen retourne poore men's writs, with 'tarde venit,' but gif they feelen meed in their hands: and yet I heare say (men that hauen seyn both lawes), that ilke ceurt that is cleped Christ's court, is much more cursed. Therefore it is writ, 'Giftes they taken out of mens bosoms, to ouerturne the right way of dome;' but it is to dread the word of Christ: 'In what dome ye deeme, ye should be demed, when ye comen to yelde a reconing of your bayli.'

The third question is, How hast thou liued, that thou deemest and punishest other men for their trespas? A great doctor saith: 'Thee behoueth to flee the wickednesse of other men, that thou chastisest them for their trespas. For if thy selfe do vnlawfulllich, in deming other men, thou damnest thy selfe, syth thou doest that thou damnest.' And Poul saith, 'Why teachest thou nought thy selfe, that thou teachest other? why stealest thou, that teachest nought other men to steale?' Saint Gregory saith: 'He shal not take gouernaile of other, that can not goe before them in good liuing. And when any man stand before him in dome, he must take heed to fore what Judge he shal stand him selfe, to take his dome after his deedes.' But it is to dread, that many fareth as twe false priestes, that woulde haue damned to death holie Susan, for she would not assent to their leacherie; of the which it is writ, 'They turned away their eyen, for they would not see heauen, ne haue minde of rightful domes.' So it happeth oft, they that were more worthy to bee hanged, damnest them

Henry  
IV.A. D.  
1388.Kings,  
princes,  
and ma-  
gistrates  
admo-  
nished.  
How hast  
thou en-  
tered?

Ose. viii.

II.Chron.  
x.How hast  
thou  
ruled.  
Deut. ix.Prov. xiii.  
Matt. vii.How hast  
thou  
liued.

Rom. ii.

Susan.

(1) The asterisks denote, that words are introduced from the Edition of 1563.—Ed.

(2) "Riege;" back-bone.—Ed.

(3) "Eare-rowner;" whisperer.—Ed.

*Henry IV.*  
 A. D. 1388.  
 Socrates.

that he lesse worthy; as a clerke telleth of Socrates the philosopher. Saith he, 'Upon a day a man asked of him, why he laughed. And he saide, For I see great theeues leaden a little theefe to hanging.' I pray thee, whether is he a greater theefe that benimeth<sup>1</sup> a man his house and his lande from him and from his heires for euermore, other he that, for making of great need, stealeth a sheepe or a calfe?<sup>2</sup> Whether trowe wee nought, that it happeth such extortioners to bee otherwhile iudges, and demeth men thus: but I rede thee, that thus deemest other, thinke on that dome thou shalt come to, to yelde the rekening of thine bayly.

The third bailey.  
 The third admonition in general to every christian man.

The third baylyfe that shal be cleped to this dredfull acount shal bee euery christian man, that shall geue rekening to his Lord God, for goods that he hath had of hys. And heere I will speake but of the first question, that is this: How entrest thou? And heere, by the waie, ye that haue gotten any worldly good, other take by extortion, by raine, by vsurie, other by deceit, 'Wo shall be to him at this dreadful day,' as Sainct Austen sayth. If he be cast into the fire, that hath nought giuen of his owne good, where, trowest thou, shal he be castin, that hath reued other mens from them? And if he shulle brenne with the fend that hath nought clothed the naked, where trowest shal he brenne that hath made him naked that was earst clothed? But, as Sainct Gregorie saith, 'Two things maketh men to line thus by ranaine of other neighbors; that they desire heyne, and dread ponerty.'<sup>3</sup>

Zach. v.

And what vengeance falleth of this sinne of couetise, I may see by figure in holy writ, when the angel sayd to prophet Zacharie, 'Rere vp thine eien, and see what is, that goeth out. And the prophet said, What is it? Then the angell saide, This is the potte going out; this is the eize<sup>4</sup> of hem on all the earth. And there was a weight of lead I bore, and there was a woman sitting in the middle of this pot: and the angell saide, This is impietie. And he tooke her, and cast her into the middle of this pot; and he tooke the gobbette of lead, and cast it into the pots mouth. And the prophet lift vp his eie, and he saw two women comming out, and spirits in her wings, like two kytes other gledes;<sup>5</sup> and they carerid vp this pot betweene heauen and the earth. And than the prophet spake to the angell, Whider wol these beare this pot? And he saide, Into the lond of Sennaar.' This pot is couetise; for right as a pot hath a wide open mouth, so couetise gapeth after worldlie good. And right as the licour in the pot profiteth nought to the pot, but to men that draweth and drinketh therof; so worldly good, oft, profiteth not to churles, but to other that commeth after; as it is written, 'He that hath money, shall haue no fruite of it.'

Expositio.  
 Eccles. v.

And this couetise is the eie of couetous men, for they ben blinde to see how they should see to goe to heauen, but to winning of worldly thinges they see many waies, like to owles and nightcrows, that seene better by night than by day. The gobbet of lead, is the sinne of obstination. The woman that sat in the pot, is vnpietie, as the angell saide, that followeth vnrighteousnesse and auarice. For, through auarice, a man leeseth the pity that he should haue of the mischief of his soule. For, oft time, men leese the life of their soule, by deadlie sin that they doo to haue worldlie winning; and also they leese the pitie that they shoulde haue of their body, putting themselves to many great bodelic traunays and perils both by sea and land; and all maketh couetise. This pot is stopped with the gobbet of lead, when vnpietie is thus, by sinne of obstination, closed in couetise, that he may not goe out of the chinch<sup>6</sup> harte by penance. For, as Iob saith, 'When he is fulfilled, he shal be stopped.'

Job xxii.

The twee women that bare vp this pot, are pride, and lust of flesh, that be cleped, in holic writ, 'the twey daughtren of the water-leche, crying, bring, bring.' And they had wings: the first wing is grace spiritual, as cunning, wisdom, and counsell, with such other many; for which gifts many men wexe proud. The second wing is bodily grace, as strength, fairehood, gentrie, and many other such, whereof men wexe proud. The winges of the second woman, that is, fleshlie desire, beth gluttonie and sloth. Of gluttony speaketh Saint Gregory: 'When the wombe is fulfilled, the prickes of lecherie beth meued.' And of slouth Saint Austine saith: 'Lot, the while he dwelled in businesse among shrewes in Sodome, hee was a good man: but, when he was in the

(1) "Benimeth," depriveth.—ED.

(2) Valerius Maximus, lib. vii.

(3) Morali. Greg. viii.

(4) "Eize," resemblance.—ED.

(5) "Gledes," hawks.—ED.

(6) "The chinch," the keeper. Ed. 1563.—ED.

hil, slowe,<sup>1</sup> for sykkernes,<sup>2</sup> he, in his drunkennes, lay by his daughtren.<sup>3</sup> And these women had winges like kytes, that, with a crying voice, seecheth their meate, as Bartholomeus saith.<sup>4</sup> And thus fareth couetise of men, witnessing Saint Austine, what is the greedines of fleshlie desire: 'In asmuch as the rauenous fysches haue sometime measure, yet when they hunger they rapin, and when they fulfil they spare; but only couetise of men may not bee fulfilled. For euer he taketh, and neuer hath inough: neither hee dreadeth God, neither shame of men: he ne spareth his father, ne knoweth his mother, ne accordeth with his brethren, neyther keepeth truth with his friend: he ouerpresseth widowes and fatherlesse children. Freemen he maketh bond, and bringeth forth false witnes, and occupieth dead mens things, as he shulden neuer die.' 'What madness<sup>5</sup> is this,' saith this doctour, 'thus to leese life and grace, and get death of soule? win gold, and leese heauen?' And herefore saith the prophet: 'Haue trauaile in the midst, and leaue vnrighteousnesse.' Also Innocent, speaking of the harmes that come of couetoise, saith thus; 'O howe manie men hath couetise deceiued and spilt? When couetise Balaam would, for giftes that the king profered him, haue cursed Gods people, his owne asse reproveth him, and hurt his foote against a wall: and yet was ouercome and led away with couetousnesse, which enforced him what he might.<sup>6</sup> Achor was stoned to death, for couetise made him steal gold and clothes, against the commandement of God. Giesy was smit with mesilrie, for he sold Naamans heal, that came of Gods grace. Iudas, for couetise, sold Christ, and after hoong himselfe. Anany, and Zaphira, his wife, were dead sodainlie, for they forsoken to giue Peter their money that they had.

And couetise maketh, also, that rich men eat the poore, as beastes done their losous<sup>7</sup> holding them lowe. This may we see all day in deed, I dread: for if a ritch man haue a field, and a poore man haue in the midst, or in the side thereof, one acre; and a rich man haue all a streete, saueth o house that some poore brother of his oweth; he ceaseth neuer till hee get it out of the poore mans hand, either by praier, or by bying, or by pursuing of disceit. Thus fared it by king Achab, that, through his false queenes ginne,<sup>8</sup> slow the poor man Naboth, for that he woulde not sell him his vineyarde that was nye to the kinges palace. Vppon which proces, thus saith Saint Ambrose:<sup>9</sup> 'How farre will ye ritch men stretch your couetise? will ye dwell alone vpon the earth, and haue no poore man with you?' Why put ye out your fellowe by kind, and challenge to your selfe the possession comen by kinde? In commune to all, rich and poore, the earth was made. Why will ye ritch, chalenge proper right herein? Kinde knoweth no riches, that bringeth forth al men poore: for we be not got with rich clothes, ne borne with gold ne with siluer. Naked hee bringeth them to this world, needie of meat, and of drink, and clothing. Naked the earth taketh vs, as she, naked, brought vs hither. Shee cannot close with vs our possession in the sepulchre; for kind maketh no difference betweene poore and rich, in comming hither, ne in going hence. All in o maner he bringeth foorth; all in o maner he closeth in graue. Who so will make difference of poore and ritch, abyde till they haue a little while leyne in the graue. Than open, and looke among dead bones, who was ritch, and who was poore; but if it be thus: that no clothes rotteth with the ritch then with the poore, and that harmeth to them that beth on liue, and profite not to them that beue dead. Thus saith the doctour, of such extortion, as it is writ: 'Other mens fields they repeth, and fro the vine of him that the harme oppressed, they plucke away the grapes.' They leueth men naked, and taketh away her clothis that hath nought wherewith to helle them in cold, and liften vp this pot bytwene heauen and earth. For couetous men nother haueth charitie to their brethren vpon earth, neyther to God in heauen; and they bare this pot into the lond of Sennaar, that is to say, into the lond of Stenche, that is hell: 'for there shall be stench, in steed of sweet smelling,' as Isay sayth.

Beware, I rede, that ye nought haue to doe with this pot, ne with the woman therein; and, on all maner, that ye be nought weddid to hir, for than ye must

Henry  
II.A.D.  
1388.Against  
covetous-  
ness.

Ps. liv.

Numb.  
xxii.  
Josh. vii.  
2 Kings  
v.

Acts v.

Job xxiv

(1) "Slowe," idle.—Ed.

(2) "Sykkernes," security.—Ed.

(3) August. 'de conflictu virtutis et vitiorum.' (4) Bartholomeus 'de proprietatibus rerum.'

(5) Ed. 1563. Later Edits. corruptly, "manhood;" see Appendix.—Ed. (6) Edition 1563.—Ed.

(7) "Lesous," &amp;c., "even so as beastes eate grasse, keping it under," Ed. 1563.—Ed.

(8) "Ginne," snare.—Ed.

(9) Ambrosius 'de suo libello de Naboth.'

Henry  
IV.A.D.  
1388.See  
Appendix.

be both one. This is thilke foule lecherous woman the kinges and marchauntis of the earth haue done lecherie with, and of her vertue they haueth be made rich; whose damnation is written in the booke of Priuities<sup>1</sup> in these words: 'In o day shall come all this vengeance of her death; weping, and hunger; and fire shal brenne her; for strong is God that shall venge him on her. And than shulleth weepe and howle vppon her the kinges of the earth, that haueth done lechery with her, and haueth lined in delices, when they shulle see the smoke of her brenning, stonding aferre, weping and weyling, and saying: 'Alas! alas! thilke great city that was clothed with bis,<sup>2</sup> and purple, and brasile,<sup>3</sup> and ouergilte with gold, and pretious stones, and pearle; for in one houre all these great riches shal be destroyed.' Then shall they sey, that shal be damned with her: 'We haue erred fro the waie of trouthe and rightwisnes, light haue not shined to vs, and the sonne of vnderstanding haue not resen to vs: we haue be made weery in euerich way of wickednes and of lust, and haue gone hard waies; but the waies of God we knew nought. What hath pride profited to vs, or the boast of riches what hath it brought to vs? All this is a shadow of death, and we mow now shew no token of holinesse; in our wickednes we be wasted awaie.' Thinke therefore, I rede, that thou shalt yelde rekening of thy bayly.

Here endeth the first part of this sermon, and beginneth the second part.

### The Second Part of this Sermon.

\* Here<sup>4</sup> should be asked, 'How haste thou gouerned thy wife, thy children, and seruants? haste thou brought them vp after the lanes of God, and continued them there in, as much as lyeth in thy pouer? But if thou haste brought them vp after an other waye, or suffered them to goo at there owne will, thynke not but thou muste gene accomptes therefore, when shal be said, 'Redde rationem villicationis tue.' But and if thou wilt anoyd al the straight and harde accomptes, I counsell thee, whatsoeuer thou be, to fal and cleaue vnto the mercy and goodnesse of God through Christs demerits, with aliueye faith, and repentyng hart of thine iniquities. And now, therefore, be ware of thy life in time past, and amend. And if thou doo not, and that in time, who shal gramt thee pardon and release of this thy accompte.'\*

In which second part, with the helpe of God, I wil shew first, who shall clepe vs to this reckening: afterward, to fore what iudge we shall reckyn: and last, what punishing shall be do, to them that ben found false seruantes and wicked, and what reward shall be giue, to them that be found good and true.

For the first, ye shall weteen that there shall bee twey domes. The first doome anone after the departing of body and of soule, an this shall bee special: and of this reckening or doome speaketh the gospell of Luke. The second reckening or doome shal be anone after the generall resurrection, and shal bee vniuersal: and of this is to speken in the gospell. To the firste euery man shal be cleped after other, as the worlde passeth. To the secunde shall come o togedre, in the stroke of an eye, al mankinde. To the first, men shall be cleped with three sumners other sergeauntes: the first is sicknesse, the second is age,<sup>5</sup> and the third is death: the first warneth, the second threateneth, and the third taketh. This is a kindlie order, but otherwise it faileth; for sume we seeth dyeth, that neuer wist what was sicknesse ne age, as children that ben suddenlie slaine; and sume, ye the most part that deyeth now a daies, deyeth byfore her kind agee of death. Therefore I say, that the first that clepeth to this special reckning is sicknesse that foloweth all mankind, so that euery man hath it; and sum is sicknesse that sume men haueth, but nought all. Yet the first sicknesse is double, for sume is withinne, in the mightes of the soule, and sume is without, in feblenesse of the body that needis mo bee stroyed, whan time by hem selfe is cause of corruption, as philosophie saith, that, thereby, feeblesse and sicknes. And so may we see hereby, though that a man shut out of the house of his hart all manner of worlddie and fleshlie thoughts, yet

(1) "Priuities," the Apocalypse.—Ed.

(2) "Bis," fine linen.—Ed.

(3) "Brasile," red colour.—Ed.

(4) This addition to the sermon of R. Wimbeldon is found only in the first edition of the Acts and Monuments, p. 179.—Ed.

(5) "Age;" 'Elde,' is used for age in edition 1570.—Ed.

Matt.  
xxvii.Three  
summers  
Sickness,  
age,  
death.

vnneth shall a man, for ought that he can doo, thinke on God onlie, the space of o Pater noster, but that some other thing that is passing, entreth into the soule, and draweth her from contemplation. But O Lorde God! what seekenes is this, an heanie burden on the sonnes of Adam, that on foule moock and fen of the world, we may thinke long ynow: but on that the soule shoulde most delectation haue, by kinde, mow wee nought thinke so little a space, but if the cokle enter among the whete. Of this seekenes speaketh Poule, where he saith: 'I see a law in my limmes fighting agenes the law of my sprite, and taking me into the law of sinne.' So that it fares by vs, as by a man that would looke ageyns the sunne, and may nought do it long for nothing. And forsooth that is for no default that is in the sunne, for she is most cleere in her selfe, and so, by reason, best should bee seyn; but it is for feeblenes of maus eye. Ryght so, syth Adam our first fader was put out of paradise, all his offspring haue ben thus sicke, as the prophet seyth: 'Our faders haue eate a bytter grape, and the teeth of the children be wexe an edge.'

Henry  
IV.A. D.  
1388.

The second sicknesse, that is commune to all mankind, commith of feeblenes of the body, as hunger and thorst, colde and heate, sorrowe and werines, and many other, as Iob saith: 'A man that is ybore of a woman, lyuing a little while, is fulfilled with many miseseases.' Yet there is other sicknesse that commeth to some men, but not to all, as lepyr, palsey, feuer, dropsie, blindnesse, and many other, as it was seyden to the people of Israell, in holie writ: 'But thou keepe the commaundements that be writ in this booke, God shal eehen the sicknesse of thee and of thy seede, great sicknesse, and long abiding.' Yet ye shall vnderstond, that God sendeth otherwhile such sicknesse to good menne, and other while to shrewes. To good men God doth it for two causes, and that is sooth.

Job xiv.

Deut. vii.

Of sicknesse I wol to be vnderstond also of al maner of tribulations. The first cause, for they shoulde alway euer know, that they haue none perfection of themselfe, but of God onely, and to echen their meeknes. And thus saith Poule; 'Least the greatnesse of reuelations rere me vppe into pride, is giuen a pricke of my fleshe, the angell of Sathanas to smite me on the necke. Wherefore I haue thrise prayed God, that he should go from me. And he answered me: My grace is sulsuant to thee, for vertue is fulfilled in sicknes.' Where on thus sayn the glose: The fend, axing Iob to be tempted, was heard of God, and nought the apostle, axing his temptation to bee remoued. God heard him, that should be damned, and he heard nought him, that he should saue. For oft the sicke manne axit many thinges of the leche,<sup>1</sup> that he wol not geue him; and that is for to make him whole of sicknes.

Cor. xii.

Also God sendeth saincts, oft, sicknesse and persecution, to giue vs sinneful wretches example of patience: for if he suffer his saincts, to haue such tribulation in this world, and they thankin him thereof, much more wretchis, that God sendeth not the hundred aparty of their sorrowe, shulden beare it meekelie, sith we haue deserued a thousand so much as they haueth. Whereof Tobie,<sup>2</sup> that one day when he was verry of burying of poore men the which shulden haue ley vnburied, and haue be etene of houndis and foules, as caraynes<sup>2</sup> of other vnreasonable bestes, when, for werinesse, he had leyde him to rest, through Goddis sufferance the swallowes that bredden aboue on his hous, maden ordure into his eyen, and he wexet blind. Thus it is writ of this temptation for soth: 'Therefore God suffered to come to him, that to them that comen after should be giuen ensample of patyence, as by the temptation of holy Iob. For sith, from his childhod, euermore hee drede God, and euer kept his hestes, hee was not agreed ayenst God that the mischiefe of blindnesse fell to him, but vnmoueable dwelled in the dread of God, thanking him all the daies of his life.' Lo that Holy Writ sayth expresselie, that God suffered this holie man to haue that sicknesse, to giue them that shoulde come after him ensample of patience.

Tobit ii.

Also otherwhile, God sendeth sicknesse and tribulation to wicked men, and for two causes: first, for that they shoulde the rather dread God, and leaue their sinne; as it is writ: 'Their sicknesse hath bene multiplied, and after, they haue hyed to Godward.' For we see, oft, men in sicknes know theyr God, that neuer would haue turned to him while they hadde beene whole. Also God sendeth them sicknes oft to agast other men, least they followe theyr sinne; as

(1) "Leche," physician.—ED.

(2) "Caraynes," carrion.—ED.

Henry  
IVA. D.  
1388.Anti-  
ochus.

the sicknesse of king Antioche,<sup>1</sup> whom God smote with such a sicknes that wormes fel out of hys body while he liued, in so far forth that he stanke so fowle, that his friendes were so weary of it, that they might not suffer it. And at the last, when he himselfe might not suffer his owne stinche, then he began to know himselfe, and said: 'It is rightfull to be subiect to God, and a deadly manne not to hold himselfe only euen with God.' And the story saith, hee asked mercie of God, and made a vow to God, that he would make the cite of Ierusalem free, and the Iewes to make them as free as the men of Athens; and that he would honour God's temple with \*pretious stones,<sup>2</sup> and also \* ary and multiply the holy vessels, and finde of his owne rent and spenses perteyning to the sacrifice; and he would become a Iewe, and goe ouer all the londe to preach Goddes might; and yet God gafe him not such merce as he desired. And I trow certain that it was for good, in as much as God knew he would not afterward hold his couenant, or els for he axket it too late. What mede was it for him to forsake his wickednes, when he was vnmightie to do good or euill? \*Neuerthelesse,<sup>3</sup> I trow he was not damned, in as much as he had such repentance; for repentance, in this life, come neuer too late if it be true: \* but, by this vengeance that God tooke on this king, should men see, what it is to be vnebedient to God. And also it is to take heed, that when euer sicknesse commeth, euer it sheweth that he that suffereth this deadlie, shall nedes die: for though he may scape of his sicknes, yet he may not scape death. And so thou must needes come giue reckening of thy bayly.

The  
second  
somner.  
Prop-  
ties of  
death.

The second sommour that shal clepe thee to this particular dome, is elde or age. And the condition of him is this; though that he tarie with thee, he wil not leue thee, till he bring thee to the third, that is death. But there be many that though they haue this sommour with them, they take none hede, though they see ther heare hore, ther backe crooke, ther breth stynke, ther teeth faile, ther yen derk, ther visage riuely, ther erene wexit heny to her. What meaneth all this, but that age sunneth to the dome?

But what more madhead may be than a man to bee cleped, and drawe to so dreadfull a reckening there, where, but he answer well, he forfeiteth both body and soule to damnation for euer. If, seing a litle worldly mirth on the way, he thinketh so mekill thereupon, that he forgetteth who draweth him,<sup>4</sup> or whether he draweth; so doth he that is smitten with age aliketh so on the false worldis wealth, that he forgetteth whether hee is away. Herefore, saith an holy doctour, that, among all abusions of the world, most is of an old man that is obstinate: for he thinketh not on his out going of this world, ne of passing into the lyfe that is to come; he heareth messengers of death, and he leneth hem not; and the cause is this: for the threefolde cord that such an old man is bounden with, is hard to breke. This cord is custome; that is of three plighes, that is, of ydle thought, vn honest speach, and wicked deed; the which if they groweth in a man from the childhoode into mans age, they maketh a treble cord to binde the old man on custome of sin.' Herefore sayth Esay, 'Breake the bondes of sin.' Thinke herfore, whosoeuer that thou be that art thus sumned, that thou might not scape, that thou ne shalt yeld the reckening of thy bayly.

The third  
somner.  
'Disting-  
no mor-  
tis.'  
Augus-  
tinus.

The third somner to this reckening, is death. And the condition of him is, that whan euer he come, first, other the second, other the last houre, he ne spareth neyther power ne yough,<sup>5</sup> ne he dreadeth no thretning; ne he ne taketh hede of no prayer, ne of no gift; ne he graunteth no respite; but withouten delay he bringeth forth to the dome. Herefore seyth Sainet Austen: 'Well ought euery man drede the day of his death: for in what state a mans last day findeth him, when he dyeth out of this wold, in the same state he bringeth him to his dome.' Herefore seyth the Wiseman: 'Somme! thinke on thy last daye and thou shalt neuer sinne.' Therefore I rede, that thou thinke that thou shalt geue reconding of thy bayly.

The day  
of judg-  
ment.

I said also, that there shal be another doome, to the which all men shal come together \* in <sup>6</sup>the twinkling of an eye,\* and this shall be vniuersall. And right as

(1) Antiochus Epiphanes. See Josephus in the Lives of the Herods, p. 883.—Ed.

(2) Ed. 1563 p. 180.—Ed.

(3) These words between asterisks, which seem inconsistent with the sentiment expressed in the preceding sentence, are not inserted in the edition of 1563, but they appear in the subsequent editions.—Ed.

(4) "Draweth him," hath him by the sleeve. Ed. 1563.—Ed.

(5) "Neyther poure nor ryche, aged nor yonge." Ed. 1563.—Ed. (6) Ed. 1563.—Ed.

to the other dome, every man shall be cleped with these three sumnours; so to this dome, all this world shall be cleped with three general clepers. And right as the other three messengers tell a mans ende, so these tell the end of the world. The first cleper is the worldlie sicknesse; the second cleper is \*age and \* feblennesse; and the thirde is the end. The sicknesse of the world thou shalt know by charity a cooling: his elde and feblenes thou shalt knowe by tokens fulfilling: and his end thou shalt know by Antichristes pursuing. First, I said, thou shalt know the worldes sicknes by charitie a cooling. Clerkes, that treat of kinde,<sup>1</sup> sayne, that a bodie is sicke, when his bodilie heate is to lite, or when his vnkindle heate is too much. Sythe then all mankind is one bodie, whose kindly heate is charity (that is loue to God and to our neighbors), vnkindly heate is lustfull loue to other creatures. When therefore thou seest that the loue of men, to Godwarde and to their neighbour, is little and faint, and the loue of worldlie things and lustes of the flesh is great and feruent, then wit thou well, that vnkindly heate is too great, and kindly heate is too little.

That this be acknowlich of this sicknesse, I may prooue by autoritie of Christ; for he himselfe gaue them, as a signe of the drawing to the ende of the worlde. For that wickednesse shall be in plente, charitie shall acoole. Therefore, when thou seest charitie thus little in the worlde, and wickednes encrease, know well, that this worlde passeth and his wealth, and that this summer is come. And thus seyth Seynt Poule; 'Wit ye wel, that in the last daies shall come perilous times. And there shal be men louing them selfe, that is to say, their bodies, \*and<sup>2</sup> all things belonging thereto,\* couetous by pride, vnobedient to father and mother, vnkynde fellowes, withouten affection, withouten peace, blamers, incontinent, vnmilde, withouten beniginitie, traytors, rebels, swelling, louers of lustes more than of God, hauing a likenesse of pietie, and denying the vertue thereof. And these flee thou. If thou seest the people busied with such conditions, wit thou wel that the first sumnour warneth al the world, that the day of reconing draweth toward.

The second sumnour that warneth all the world, is elde or age of the world and his feblennesse, and sheweth tokens fulfilling. But I know wel, that we be nought suffisaunt to know the times other the whiles that the Fader in Trinitie hath put on his owne power, to shew certeinlie the day, yeare, other houre, of this dome, sith this knowleche was hid fro the priuy apostles of Christ, and from Christes manhoode, as to shewe it to vs. Nathlesse, we inough, by autoritie of holy writ, with reasons and expositions of saintes, well and openly shewe, that this day of wrath is nigh. But yet, least any man sey in his hart, as it is written<sup>3</sup> of folie baylies, that they shall seien, 'My lord that is, tarryeth to come to the dome; and, vpon hope heereof, hee taketh to smite seruauntes and hynen of God, eate and drinke, and make him dronke;' I shall shewe that this day is at the honde, howe ny, neuerthelesse, can I not seie ne wole. For, if Poule sayde nowe for a thousande and three hundred yeere and passed moe, 'Wee ben thilke, into whome the endis of the worlde bencome,' much rather may wee seie the same, that been so much neere the ende than he was. Also Sainct Chrysostom sayth: 'Thou seest ouer al darknes, and thou doubttest that the day is go; first on the valeys is darknes, when the day draweth downward. Whan, therefore, thou seest the valeys yderked, why doubttest thou whether it be nigh euen,<sup>4</sup> but if thou see the sun so low that derknes is vpon the hils, thou wolt seie, doubtles, that it is night.'

'Right so, if thou see first in the seculers and the lewd christen men beginneth darknes of sinnes, and to haue the maistrie, it is token that this worlde endeth. But when thou seest priestes, that ben put on the high toppe of spirituall dignities, that shudden be as hilles abouen the commune people in perfect liuing, that derknesse of sinnes hath taken them, who douteth that the world nis at the end?' And also abbot Ioachim, in exposition of Ieremye, seyeth: 'Fro the yeare of our Lord 1200, all times beth suspect to me; and wee ben passed on this suspect time nigh 200 yeare.' Also mayden Hyldegare

Henry  
IV.A. D.  
1388.To know  
the  
world's  
sickness.

Mat. xvi.

Tim. iii.

Luke xii.

1 Cor. x.

Chrysos-  
tome.A proper  
simili-  
tude.Joachim.  
Maid Hil-  
degard.

(1) "Treate of kinde," wryte on natural thyngs. Ed. 1563.—Ed.

(2) Words inclosed with asterisks are from the Edition 1563.—Ed.

(3) The following parable from Luke xii. 16, is retained in the Edition 1563, p. 181, instead of the above. "As it is written," &c. "of a sick man, a fowl belly-seruer, that said, I will gather al my frutes and my goods; and I will say to my soul, Soul, thou hast much goods laid up in store for many yeres; take thine ease; eat and drink and be merry."—Ed.

(4) "Nigh euen;" nere night or no. Ed. 1563.—Ed.

Henry  
IV.  
A.D.  
1388.

in the booke of her Prophetie, \*if' it be leful to give them credyt,\* the thirde partie, the xi. vision, the seuenth chapter, meuneth this reason: 'Right as on seauen daies God made the world, so, in 7000 yeare, the worlde shall passe. And right as in the sixt day man was made and fourmed; so in 6000 yeares he was brought againe and reformed. And as in the seuenth daye the worlde was full made, and God lefte off his working; right so in the 7000 yeare, the number of them that shullen be saued shall be fulfilled, and rest shall bee to scyntes full in bodie and soule.' If that it be so as it seemeth to followe of this maydens wordes, that 7000 in passing of the world, accordeth to seauen daies in his making it, see what lacketh that these 7000 yeares ne beth fulfilled. For, if wee reken the number of yeares fro the natiuite of Christ, to the yeares fro the beginning of the world to Christ, and thou wolt folowe Austine, Bede, and Orosie, and most probable doctors, treating of this matter: are passed now almost sixe thousande and sixe hundred, as it is open in a booke that is cleped 'Speculum Iudiciale.' So it suweth that this laste day is more than a halfe ago, if we shulden giue credence to this maydens reasun. But if we shull lene to the gospel, than wee shall finde, in the Gospell of Matthew, that the disciples axiden of Christ three questions: first, what time the citie of Ierusalem should be destroyed: the second, what token of his comming to the dome: and the third, what signe of the ending of the worlde. And Christ gaue them no certaine time of these things when they shoulde fall; but hee gaue them tokens, by which they might know when they drew nighe; and, so, as to the first question of the destruction of Ierusalem, he saide, 'When the Romaines come to besiege that citie, then, soone after, shee shall be destroyed.'

Augustine.

Mat.  
xxiv.

Note.

And as to the second and the third, he gaue manie tokens, that is to say, that realme shall rise against realme, and people against people, and pestilences, and earthquakinges; the which we haue scene in our daies. But the last token that he gaue, was this; 'When ye seene the abhominacion of elengenesse,<sup>2</sup> sayd of Danyel the prophet, standing on the sanctuarie, then who so readeth, vnderstonde.' Vpon which text, thus argueth a doctour, in a booke that hee maketh of the End of the World: 'If the wordes of Danyel hauen authoritie (as God sayth that they hauen), it sufficeth of the number of the yeares of the ende of the worlde, that Daniell hath written. Now Danyell, in the twelfth chapter, speaking of this abhominacion, putteth betweene the ceasing of the busie sacrifice of the Iewes, the which fell, when, by Titus and Vespasianus, Ierusalem was destroyed, and the people of Iewes were sparkled into all the world.' And this abhominacion, that doctour sayne, shall be in the great Antichristes daies, 1290. Nowe proueth this doctour, that a day must be taken for a yeare, both by autoritie of holy writ in the same place and in other, and also by reason. So it seemeth to this clerke, that the great Antichrist should come in the 1400 yeare fro the birth of Christ, \*then any time els before\* the which number of yeares is now fulfilled, not fully twelue yeares and a halfe lacking.<sup>3</sup> And this reason put not I as to shew any certaine time of his coming, sith I haue not that knowledge; but to shew that he is nye, but how nye I wot nener. But take wee heede to the fourth part of the second vision of Saint Iohn, put in the booke of Reuelacions; in the which, vnder the opening of the seauen seales, is declared the state of the church from the time of Christ, into the ende of the worlde. The opening of the foure first seales, shewe the state of the church, fro the time of Christ, to the time of Antichrist and his foregoers, the which is shewed in the opening of the other three seales.

See  
Appendix.

Apoc. 6.

The opening of the first scale, telleth the state of the church in the time of the preaching of Christ and of his apostles: for the first beast, that is, the Lyon, gaue his voice, that betokeneth the preachers of Christes resurrection and his ascension. For then yede out a white horse, and he that sate vpon him had a bowe in his hande; and hee yede out ouercoming to ouercome. By this white horse, we vnderstande the cleane life and conuersation that these preachers haden; and by the bowe, their true teaching, pricking sorrowe in mennes hearts for their sinnes, withouten flattering. And they wenten out of Iewry, that they comen of \*winninge, and\* ouercomming some of the Iewes, and

(1) For these, with other words similarly distinguished, see Edition 1563.—Ed.

(2) "Elenegesse," from Elengez, strange, foreigne; alluding to the Roman Eagle. In the Edition 1563, the phrase "Abhominacion of holiness" is used.—Ed.

(3) Antichrist to come an. 1400. This sermon ergo was made an. 1388.

(1) In edition 1563, the words "and a halfe," are omitted.—Ed.



maken hem to leaue the trust that they haddén in the olde lawe, and to beleue in Iesus Christ, and shewen his teaching. And they wenten out to ouercome the Paynemes, shewing to them that their images were no gods, but mens workes, vnmightie to saue themselfe or any other; drawing them to the beliefe of Iesus Christ, God and man.

Henry  
IVA. D.  
1388.

In the opening of the second seale, there cried the second beast, that is, a calfe: that was a beast wouted to be slaine, and offered to God in the olde lawe. This sheweth the state of the church in the time of martyrs that, for their stedfast preaching of Gods true lawe, shed their bloud, that is signified by the redde hors that went out at this seale opening; and this estate began at Nero, the cursed emperour, and dured vnto the time of Constantine the Great, that endowed the church; for in this time many of Christes seruantes, and namely the leaders of Gods flocke, were slaine. For, of two and twenty bishops of Rome that were betweene Peter and Siluester the First, I read but of foure, but that they weren martyrs for the lawe of Christ. And also in the time of Dioclesian the emperour, the persecution of the christen men was so great, that in thirtie daies weren slaine twentye two thousande men and women in diuers countreyes, for the lawe of God.

Exposi-  
tio.  
Nero.  
Constan-  
tine the  
Great.  
Siluester.

The opening of the third seale, telleth the state of the church in time of heretikes; that beth figured by the blacke hors, for false vnderstanding of holy write; for than cryed the thirde beast, that is a man. For at that time was it need to preache the mysterie of Christes incarnation and his passion, ayenst these erretikis that feliden mis of these pointis: howe Christ tooke verreyly mans kinde of our lady, him being God as hee was before, and his moder beeing mayden byfore and after.

The third  
seal.Exposi-  
tio.

The opening of the fourth seale, telleth the state of the church in the time of ypocritis: that beth signified by the pale hors, that beth signes of penance with outfoorth<sup>1</sup> to blinde the people. And he that sate vpon this horse, his name was Death; for they shulle slee gostly them that they leden<sup>2</sup> and teacheth to trust vpon other thing than God: and helle followeth him; for helle receiuet thilke that these disteineth. At that time shall it need, that the fourth beast, that is, the egle, make his cry, that flyeth highest of foules, to reare vp Gods gospell, and to preise that lawe aboue other; least mens witte, and their traditions, ouergone and treden downe the lawe of God, by enforming of these ypocritis: and this is the last state that is, other shal be in the church, before the comming \*and<sup>3</sup> clear appearing\* of the great \*member of\* Antichrist.

The  
fourth  
seal.  
Exposi-  
tio.

The opening of the fift seale, telleth the state of the church that than shall followe, and the desire that louers of Goddis law shulleth haue, after the ende of this worlde, to be deliuered of this woe.

The fifth  
seal.

The opening of the sixt seale telleth the state of the church in time of Antichristis times, the which state yee may know to be in the church, whan ye seth fulfilled that Saint Iohn prophesieth to fall on the opening of this, where he saith thus: 'After this I sawe four angelles standing vpon four corners of the earth, holding the foure windes of the earth, that they blowen nought vpon the earth, ne vpon the sea, ne vpon eny trec.' These four angels beth the number of all the deuils ministers, that on that time shulleth, in the pleasance of their lorde Antichrist, stoppe the foure windis, that beth the foure gosselles to bee preached, and so let<sup>4</sup> the breath of the grace of the Holy Ghost to fall vpon men morning for sinne, and calling them to amendment; and to other that wolden increase in vertues; other vpon perfit men.

The sixth  
seal.

What is there after this to fall, but that the mysterie of the seauenth seale bee shewed, that he come in his owne person: that Iesu Christ shall slee with the spirite of his mouthe, when the fiend shall shew the vtmost persecution that he and his seruautis may doo to Christis limmes. And that shall be the third warning that the world shal haue to come to this dreadfull dome.

The  
seventh  
seal.

In all this matter haue I nought seid of my selfe, but of other doctors that beth prooued. I seyed also, in my second principall part, that it were to wete, tofore what Iudge wee shull reken. Wherefore we shulleth wite, that God himselfe shall heere this rekening; he, that seeth all our dedis, and all our thoughtes, fro the beggining of our life to the ende; and he shall shewe there the hid thingis

(1) "With outfoorth," outwardly.—Ed.

(2) "Leden," &amp;c.; "lead and teach to God by other wayes than by Christe." Edition 1563. So we read in John xiv. 6. "No man cometh unto the Father but by me."—Ed.

(3) For the words in asterisks, see Ed. 1563.—Ed.

(4) "Let," hinder.—Ed.

Henry  
IV.

A.D.  
1388.

Apocal.

of our hert, opening to al the world the rightfulness of his dome: so that, with the might of God, euery mans dedis to all the world shall be shewed. And so it seemeth by the wordes of Seint Iohn, in the boke of Preuities, there he seith thus: 'I sawe dede men, litel and great, stonde in the sight of the throne, and bookes weren opened; and an other booke was opened that was of life, and dede men weren iudged after the thinges that weren written in the bokes, after their worchings.'

These bokes beth mens consciences, that now beth closed: but than, they shulleth bee opened to all the world, to reden therein both dedis and thoughtes. But the booke of life, is Christs liuing and doctrine, that is now hid to men that shulleth be damned through their owne malice, that deneth men to serue the world, rather than God. In the first booke shall be writ all that we haue doe; in that other booke, shall bee write that wee shulden haue doo: and, than, shulle dede men bee demyd of tilke thingis that ben written in the bokis. For if the dedis that wee haue doe, the which ben written in the bookis of our conscience, bee according to the booke of Christes teaching and his liuing, the which is the booke of life, we shulle be saued: and, else, wee shulle bee damned; for the dome shall be giuen after our workis. Looke, therefore, now what thing is written in the booke of thy conscience, while thou art here; and if thou findest ought contrarie to Christis life, other to his teaching, with the knife of penance and repentance scrape it away, and write it better; euermore hertly thinking that thou shalt yelde rekening of thy bayly.

Also I saide principallie that it were to witen, what reward shall be geue on that doome, to wise seruantes and good, and what to false seruantes and wicked. For the which it is to wite, that our Lorde Iesu Christ shall come to the dome here into this world, in the same body that hee tooke of our ladye, hauing thereon the woundis that he suffred for our againe bieng. And all that euer shullen bee saued, taking againe their bodies clyuing to their head Christ, 'shall be rauished, metyng him in the ayre,' as Paule saith: they that 'shall be damned, lyen vpon the earth: as, in a tonne of wine, the dreggis dwellen byneth, and the clere wine honeth aboue. Than shall Christ axe rekening of the deedes of mercy, reproving false christen men for the leuyng of them, rehearsing the deedes of the same, and other truthis, by the which his true seruantes than folowed hym. Than shulle tilke false seruantes goe with the deuill, whom they haue serued in the earth, them swallowing into the endless fire: and rightfull men shullen goe into euerlasting life. Then shall be fulfilled that is written in the booke of Priuities: 'Woe! woe! woe! to hem that dwellen in the earth.' Woe to the paynym, that gafe that worship to dead images wrought of mans handes, and to other creatures, that hee shoulde haue gone to God that him wrought! Woe to the Iewe that trusteth so muchil in the oulde lawe: than shall he see Maries son deeming the world, whom he despised and set on the crosse. Woe to the false christen man that knew the will of his Lorde, and fulfilled it nought.

Also woe for sinne of thinking to thee, that thou hast shutte out the meine<sup>1</sup> of God; that is, minde of his passion, holy contemplation of his goodnesse, and memorie of his benefites,\* and<sup>2</sup> thanks therefore; and hast also excluded mekenes, petye, gentelnes, &c.,\* fro the chambrer of thine hert, and hast made it an house of swyn, and a denne of theenes, by vnclene thoughtes and delightes; as thou here hast sperd God out of thine hert, so he shal spere thee out of heanen. Thou hast herberwid<sup>3</sup> the meine of the fiend, and with them in hell thou shalt euer abide. Woe also for sinne of speach, for thou might nought open thy foule and stinking mouth, with the which thou hast spoken vnholly, cursing, fraud, deceit, leasinges, forswearing, scorning, and backbiting, to praise God in the fellowship of saints: for louing<sup>4</sup> is nought comynlych in mouthes of sinners. For, in the which, gif thou haddest kept thy mouth cleane, thou shouldest haue songen, in fellowship of angelles, this blessed song: 'Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, Dominus Deus Omnipotens!' 'Holie, holy, holy, Lorde God Almightye!' Then yelling and weeping thou shalt cry in company of deuils; 'Ve, ve, ve, quante sunt tenebre!' 'Woe, woe, woe, how great beth these darknes!'

Woe also forsinne of deede. Thou hast bene proud: 'thy pride shall be

(1) "Meine," company, or a family.—ED.

(3) "Herberwid," harboured.—ED.

(2) See Edition 1563.—ED.

(4) "Louing," praising. Ed. 1563.—ED.

drawne to hell,' as Esay sayth, or thou hast bene brent with enuie of the deuill. 'Enny entred into the world, and they shoulde folowen him that ben on his side,' as Salomon sayth. Or thou hast be stirred with wrath: and euerich man that beareth wrath to his brethren, is guilty in dome, as Christ, in the Gospell of Matthew, saith. Or thou hast be slow to good deedes: 'myssawe shall come to thee as a wayfaring man, and thy pouerti as a man armed;' as the booke of Prouerbes sayth. Or thou hast haunted lecherie, glotonie, or couetise: that, forsooth, wete ye, that 'euerych auouterer, or vncleane man, that is a glutton other chynch,<sup>1</sup> shall neuer haue heritage in the realme of Christ and of God,' as Poule saith; but 'fire, brimstone, and the spirit of tempestes;' that is, the fiende of hell, 'shulen bee a partie of their paine,' as it is written in the Psauler. When these damned men bee in this woe, they shullen sing this reuful song, *Note.* that is ywriten in the looke of Mourning:<sup>2</sup>

Henry  
IV.A. D.  
1410.

The ioy of our hart is a go,  
Our quiet is turned into woe,  
The crowne of our heade is fallen vs fro!  
Alas for sinne that we haue doe !

But ioye, and ioye, and ioye, to them that be saued. Ioy in God, ioy in them selfe, ioy in other that ben saued. Also ioy, for they trauaile is brought to so gracious an end. Ioy, for they scaped the paine of hell; ioy for their blisse that they han in the sight of God. Cui sit honor et gloria, in secula seculorum, Amen.

And thus much concerning this worthy and fruitful sermon, which as by the ancientness of the phrase it seemeth to be preached much about the time of John Wickliff, so I thought here, by occasion of William Thorpe's examination, best to place the same, for the apt coherence both of the spirit, and of the matter. Especially having before our eyes the public utility of the reader, to whom, by the studious reading thereof, might rise plentiful matter of true christian information, both of the wholesome fearing of God, and of the right guiding of every christian man's life.

\*Which thus being finished, now to continue and to proceed<sup>3</sup> \* further in our story, after the examination of William Thorpe, and the martyrdom of William Sautre, and of John Badby thus described, as ye have heard; which last was in the year 1410.<sup>4</sup> By the way, here is to be considered, at least to be admonished, that all this while the schism in the church of Rome did yet continue, and so endured till the council of Constance, which was, in whole, the space of thirty-nine years; the origin whereof, as was said p. 17, first began at Urban VI., which Urban being dead A.D. 1389, next followed pope Boniface IX., who sat fourteen years.<sup>5</sup> He in selling his pardons was so impudent and so past shame, that he brought the keys of Peter, as saith Platina, into contempt. After him succeeded Innocent VII., and sat two years; who being dead, the cardinals consulted together, and seeing the foul enormity and inconvenience growing upon this contentious schism in their church of Rome (minding to provide some remedy for the same, after the best device they could), in their conclave where they were assembled for a new election of the pope, took this order, promising among themselves, with solemn vow made to God, to Mary the blessed virgin, to Peter and Paul, and to all the blessed company of saints: That if any of them, within the college or without the college, should be called to the high place of apostolical pre-eminence, he should effec-

See  
Appendix

The cardinals' device to cease the schism.

(1) "Chynch," a covetous person.—ED.

(3) Edition 1570, p. 658.—ED.

(5) And eleven months. *L'Art de Vér. des Dates.*—ED.

(2) Lament. v. 16.—ED.

(4) See p. 234, note (1).—ED.

*Henry IV.**A. D. 1408.**See Appendix.*

Oath and vow of pope Gregory XII.

The pope falsely perjured. Cardinals leave the perjured pope.

Two hundred thousand slain by schism of Rome. Thirty thousand, slain in camp, fighting for the bishopric of Liege.

tuously renounce the jurisdiction and title of his popedom, if or whensoever the contrary pope, for the time being, would in like manner renounce his place and title, and his cardinals in like manner condescend to the other cardinals of Rome; so that both these two colleges of cardinals agreeing together, one chief bishop might be chosen and taken out of them both, to be made the true pope: provided, moreover, that none should seek any releasement or absolution from the said promise, vow, and bond, once passed among them. Unto all which things furthermore, every one subscribed with his hand. These things thus prefixed and ratified upon the same, they proceeded to the election, in which was chosen Gregory XII., who, the same day of his election, in the presence of all the cardinals, confirmed the vow, sacrament, and promise made, subscribing the same with his hand in form as followeth: "And I, Gregory, this day, being the last of November, in the year of our Lord 1406, chosen and elected for bishop of Rome, do swear, vow, and promise, and confirm, all the premises above contained." This being done, shortly after, he was crowned, being of the age of eighty years. As the time thus passed, the people and cardinals were in great expectation, waiting when the pope, according to his oath, would give over, with the other pope also. And not long after, the matter began indeed between the two popes to be attempted by letters from one to another, assigning both day and place, where and when they should meet together; but yet no effect did follow.<sup>1</sup>

This so passing on, great murmuring was among the cardinals, to see their holy perjured father so to neglect his oath and vow aforementioned; insomuch that at length, divers of them did forsake the pope, as being perjured, as no less he was, sending, moreover, to kings and princes of other lands, for their counsel and assistance therein, to appease the schism. Amongst the rest, the cardinal of Bourdeaux was sent to the king of England; who, publishing divers propositions and conclusions (remaining in the registers of Thomas Arundel), disputeth, that the pope ought to be subject to laws and councils. Then king Henry, moved to write to Gregory the pope, directeth his letter hercunder ensuing, which was the year of our Lord 1408. The contents of the letter be these: <sup>2</sup>—

### The Letter of King Henry IV. to Pope Gregory XII.

Most blessed father! if the discreet providence of the apostolical see would call to mind with what great perils the universal world hath been damnified, hitherto, under pretence of this present schism; and especially would consider, what slaughter of christian people, to the number of two hundred thousand, as they say, hath been, through the occasion of war raised up in divers quarters of the world; and now of late, to the number of thirty thousand soldiers, who have been slain through the dissension moved about the bishopric of Liege between two set up, one by the authority of one pope, the other by the authority of the other pope, fighting in camp for the title of that bishopric: certes, ye would lament in spirit and be sore grieved in mind for the same, so that with good conscience ye would relinquish rather the honour of the see apostolic, than suffer such horrible bloodshed hereafter to ensue, under the cloak of dissimulation; following herein the example of the true mother in the book of Kings, who, pleading before Solomon for the right of her child, rather would depart from the child, than the child should be parted by the sword. And although it may be vehemently suspected, by the new creation of nine cardinals, by you last

(1) Ex Chron. D. Albani.

(2) Walsingham.—ED.

made, contrary to your oath, as other men do say, that you do but little heed or care for ceasing the schism, yet far be it from the hearing and noting of the world, that your circumspect seat should ever be noted and distained with such an inconstancy of mind, whereby the last error may be worse than the first.<sup>1</sup>

Henry  
IV.

A. D.  
1409.

### King Henry IV. to the Cardinals.

And to the cardinals likewise, the said king directeth another letter with these contents here following: 'We desiring to show what zeal we have had and have, to the reformation of peace of the church, by the consent of the states of the realm, have directed to the bishop of Rome our letters after the tenor of the copy herewith in these presents enclosed, to be executed effectually: wherefore we seriously beseech your reverend college, that if it chance the said Gregory to be present at the council of Pisa, and to render up his popedom, according to your desire, and his own oath, you then so ordain for his state totally, that chiefly God may be pleased thereby, and that both the said Gregory, and also we, who entirely love his honour and commodity, may have cause to give you worthily condign thanks for the same.'<sup>2</sup>

This being done in the year of our Lord 1408, afterwards in the year following the cardinals of both the popes, to wit, of Gregory A.D. 1409. and Benedict, by common advice assembled together at the city of Pisa,<sup>3</sup> for the reformation of unity and peace in the church. To that assembly a great multitude of prelates and bishops being convened, a new pope was chosen, named Alexander V.; but to this election, neither Gregory nor Benedict did fully agree, whereby there were three popes together in the Roman church; that is to understand, not three crowns upon one pope's head, but three heads in one popish church together. This Alexander, being newly made pope, scarcely had well warmed his triple-crown, but straight he giveth out full remission, not of a few, but of all manner of sins whatsoever, to all them that conferred any thing on the monastery of St. Bartholomew, by Smithfield, resorting to the said church any of these days following, to wit, on Maundy-Thursday, Good-Friday, Easter-even, the feast of the Annunciation, from the first even-song to the latter. But this pope, who was so liberal in giving remission of many years to other, was not able to give one year of life to himself, for within the twelvemonth he died: in whose stead stepped up pope John XXIII.

Council  
of Pisa.  
See  
Appendix.

Three  
popes to-  
gether.

Vain  
remission  
by the  
pope's in-  
dulgence.

In the time<sup>4</sup> of this Alexander great stir began in the country of Bohemia, by the occasion of the books of John Wickliff, which, then coming to the hands of John Huss, and of others, both men and women, especially of the lay sort, and artificers, began there to do much good; insomuch that divers of them, not only men, but women also, partly by the reading of their books translated into their tongue, partly by the setting forward of John Huss, a notable learned man, and a singular preacher at that time in the university of Prague, were in short time so ripe in judgment, and prompt in the Scriptures, that they began to move questions, yea and to reason with the priests, touching matters of the holy Scriptures.

The gos-  
pel begin-  
ning to  
take root  
in Bohe-  
mia.

By reason whereof complaint was brought to the said pope Alexander V., who caused oftsoons the afore-named John Huss to be cited up to Rome: but when he came not at the pope's citation, then the

(1) Ex Chron. D. Albani, part ii. [Walsingham.]

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid. [March 25th to August 7th, A.D. 1409. L'Art de Vér des Dates.—ED.]

(4) Ex Cochleae de Historia Hussitarum, lib. i. [Ed. 1549, p. 17.—ED.]

*Henry IV.***A.D. 1410.**

Letter of  
pope  
Alexander V. to  
Shinco, arch-  
bishop of  
Prague.

said pope Alexander addressed his letters to the archbishop of Prague, wherein he straitly charged him to prohibit and forbid, by the authority apostolical, all manner of preachings or sermons to be made to the people, except only in cathedral churches, or colleges, or parish churches, or in monasteries, or else in their churchyards; and that the articles of Wickliff should in no case, by any person, of what state, condition, or degree soever, be suffered to be holden, taught, or defended, either privily or apertly; commanding, moreover, and charging the said archbishop, that he, with four bachelors of divinity, and two doctors of the canon law joined unto him, would proceed upon the same, and so provide, that no person in churches, schools, or any other place, should teach, defend, or approve any of the aforesaid articles, so that whosoever should attempt the contrary, should be accounted a heretic, and, unless he shall revoke solemnly and publicly the said articles, and shall for ever abjure the books wherein the aforesaid articles be contained (so that they may be utterly abolished out from the eyes of the faithful), the same should be apprehended and imprisoned, all appellation set apart, the help also of the secular arm being called thereunto, if need shall require.—These were the contents of this mighty and fierce bull of pope Alexander.

The  
pope's  
cruel bull  
against  
John  
Huss.

John  
Huss  
objecteth  
against it.

Against this bull, on the other side, John Huss, justly complaining, excepteth again and objecteth many things, as appeareth in his book, entituled ‘De Ecclesia,’ cap. 18; where he declareth this mandate of the pope to stand directly against the doings and sayings both of Christ and of his apostles; considering how Christ himself preached to the people, both in the sea, in the desert, in fields, in houses, in synagogues, in villages; and the apostles also, in all places, did the same, the Lord mightily working with them. He declared, moreover, the said mandate or bull of the pope to redound unto the great detriment of the church, in binding the word of God, that it might not have its free passage; also, the same to be prejudicial unto chapels newly erected for the word to be preached in them: “Wherefore,” said he, “from this commandment or mandate of pope Alexander, I did appeal unto the said Alexander being better informed and advised; and, as I was prosecuting my appeal, the lord pope,” saith John Huss, “immediately died.”

The  
pope's  
bull con-  
trary to  
Christ.

Notable  
judgment  
of God in  
striking  
the adver-  
saries of  
the gos-  
pel.

Then Shinco, the archbishop aforesaid, to whom this present bull was directed, when he saw the process, bulls, and mandates of the bishop of Rome to be thus contemned of John Huss and his fellows, neither having any hope of redress in Wenceslaus the king, who seemed to neglect the matter, went out of his country into Hungary, to complain unto Sigismund, king of Hungary, and brother to the said Wenceslaus. But this quarrelling archbishop, whether before, as the Bohemians say, or after, as Silvius saith, that he had spoken with Sigismund, immediately there, by the just judgment of God, died in Hungary, as the story saith, for sorrow; whereby a little more liberty and quiet was given by the Lord unto his gospel, newly beginning to take root among the Bohemians. Albeit, this tranquillity, there, did not long continue without trouble and persecution, neither could it in those furious days and reign of Antichrist; for after this Alexander succeeded pope John XXIII., who, likewise playing his part in this tragedy bent all his might and main to dis-

The gos-  
pel sel-  
dom long  
quiet.

Pope  
John  
XXIII.

turb the Bohemians, as more hereafter, Christ willing, shall be declared in further process of our history, coming to the year of our Lord, 1413.<sup>1</sup>

*Henry  
IV.*

*A. D.  
1410.*

Thus the poor Christians, as ye see, like to the silly Israelites under the tyranny of Pharaoh, were infested and oppressed in every place, but especially here in England; and that, so much the more here, because the king, not like to Wenceslaus, went full and whole with the pope and his prelates against the gospellers; by reason whereof the kingdom of the pope and his members here in this realm began to be so strong, that none durst stir, or once mute<sup>2</sup> against them. The bishops, having the king so full on their side, armed, moreover, with laws, statutes, punishments, imprisonments, sword, fire, and faggot, reigned and ruled as they listed, as kings and princes within themselves. So strong were they of power, that no human force was able to stand against them; so exalted in pride, and puffed up in glory, that they thought all things to be subject to their reverend majesties. Whatsoever they set forth or decreed, it must of all men be received and obeyed. And such was their superstitious blindness and curious vanity, that whatsoever toy came once in their fantasy, it was straightways determined and established for a law by all men to be observed, were it ever so frivolous or superstitious; as well appeareth by Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, and others, who, having now a little leisure from slaying and killing the innocent people, martyrs, and confessors of the Lord, and having now brought their enemies, as they thought, under their feet, began to set up themselves, and to invent new customs, as the guises of the pope's church is, ever to intrude into the church of God some ceremony or custom of their own making, whereby the church of Christ hath been hitherto exceedingly pestered. So likewise this Thomas Arundel, thinking the church yet not sufficiently stuffed with ceremonies and vain traditions of men, bringeth in a new-found gaud,<sup>3</sup> commonly called 'The tolling of Aves,' in honour of our Lady, with certain 'Aves' to be said, and days of pardon to be given for the same; for the ratification whereof, under the pretence of the king's request, he directed his mandate to the bishop of London, well stuffed with words of idolatry, as by the reading thereof may appear, in form of terms as followeth.

*Pride and  
glory of  
the clergy  
of Eng-  
land in  
those  
days.*

*Forty  
days of  
pardon  
given by  
Arundel.*

A Mandate of Thomas Arundel, directed to the Bishop of London, to warn Men to worship the holy mother of God at the ringing of the morning bell, as at the ringing of Curfew.

*See  
Appendix.*

Thomas, &c. To the right reverend brother, the lord Robert, by the grace of God, bishop of London, greeting, &c. While we lift our eyes round about us, and behold attentively, with circumspect consideration, how the most high Word that was in the beginning with God, chose to him a holy and immaculate virgin of the kingly stock, in whose womb he took true flesh by mysterious inspiration, that the merciful goodness of the Son of God, that was uncreate, might abolish the sentence of condemnation, which all the posterity of mankind, that was created, had by sin incurred: amongst other labourers in the vineyard of the Lord of Sabbath, we sing to God our Saviour with great joy in him; carefully thinking, that though all the people of the christian religion did extol with voices of praises so worthy a virgin, by whom we received the beginnings of

*Ring-  
ing  
of curfew*

(1) See *infra*, p. 465.—ED.

(2) "Mute," mutter.—ED.

(3) "Gaud," a bauble.—ED

*Henry  
IV.*

**A. D.  
1410.**

These  
men  
make a  
Bellona  
of our  
Lady.

False  
help  
sought  
and set  
up of  
idolaters.

Papists'  
blasphemy,  
fighting  
against  
the grace  
of Christ.  
Ringing  
of curfew.

Forty  
days' pardon  
for  
five Aves.

*See  
Appendix.*

Heaping  
up ceremonies  
in the  
church.

our redemption, by whom the holy day first shined to us, which gave us hope of salvation; and although all the same people were drawn to reverence her, who being a happy virgin, conceived the Son of God, the King of heaven, the Redeemer and Saviour of all nations, ministering light to the people that were miserably drowned in the darkness of death: we truly, as the servants of her own inheritance, and as such as are written of, to be of her peculiar dower, as we are, by every man's confession, acknowledged to be, we, I say, ought more watchfully than others to show the endeavours of our devotion in praising her, who being hitherto merciful to us, yea, being even cowards, would that our power, being, as it were, spread abroad every where through all the coasts of the world, should, with a victorious arm, fear<sup>2</sup> all foreign nations; that our power, being on all sides so defended with the buckler of her protection, did subdue unto our victorious standards, and made subject unto us, nations both near at hand and far off.

Likewise our happy estate, all the time that we have passed since the beginning of our lives, may be well attributed only to the help of her medicine; to whom also we may worthily ascribe now of late in these our times, under the mighty government of our most christian king, our deliverance from the ravening wolves, and the mouths of cruel beasts, which had prepared against our banquets a mess of meat mingled full of gall, and hated us unjustly, secretly lying in wait for us, in recompense of the good will that we showed to them. Wherefore, that she being on high, sitting before the throne of the heavenly Majesty, the defendress and patroness of us all, being magnified with all men's praises, may more plentifully exhibit to us, the sons of adoption, the teats<sup>3</sup> of her grace, in all those things that we shall have to do; at the special request of our lord the king himself, we command your brotherhood, straitly enjoining you, that you command the subjects of your city and diocese, and of all other suffragans, to worship our Lady Mary, the mother of God, and our patroness and protectress<sup>4</sup> evermore in all adversity, with such like kind of prayer and accustomed manner of ringing, as the devotion of Christ's faithful people is wont to worship her with, at the ringing of 'cor le feu;' and when before day in the morning ye shall cause them to ring, that with like manner of prayer and ringing she be every where honoured devoutly by the aforesaid our and your suffragans and their subjects as well religious as secular, in your and their monasteries and collegiate churches: that we so humbly calling upon the mercy of the heavenly Father, the right hand of the heavenly Piety may mercifully come to the help, the protection, and the defence of the same our lord the king, who, for the happy remedy of quietness, and for our succour from tempestuous floods, is ready to apply his hands to work, and his eyes, with all his whole desire, to watching. We, therefore, coveting more earnestly to stir up the minds of all faithful people to so devout an exercise of God, &c., we grant by these presents, to all and every man, &c. that shall say the Lord's Prayer and the Salutation of the Angel five times at the morning peal with a devout mind, 'toties quoties' (how oft soever) forty days' pardon by these presents.

Given under our seal, in our manor of Lambeth, the tenth day of February, anno nostræ transl. 4, A.D. 1399.<sup>5</sup>

By this frivolous and barbarous constitution, with many others of like sort heaped into the church by the papists, appear the proper nature and condition of this catholic generation; who, being themselves not greatly exercised nor experienced in any serious cogitation of spiritual matter, as it seemeth, take upon them to govern the spiritual church of Christ, whereof indeed they have no skill or very little: and, therefore, according to their unskilful handling, they lead and rule the church after such outward sights and ceremonies, seemly perhaps to their own gross affection, but not agreeing, nay rather clean contrary, to the right nature and condition of the spiritual house and kingdom of the Lord: and like as in their inventions they swerve

(1) If this be not blasphemous and derogatory to Christ, let the reader judge.

(2) "Intimidate,"—Ed.

(3) The papists would suck our Lady's paps.

(4) Will ye stand to this doctrine, ye catholics? (5) Ex Regist. Thom. Arundel. [See App.]



utterly from the right handling of all spiritual government, so, in their manners and form of life likewise, they do resemble little or no part almost of such as are, and ought to be, true pastors and ministers of the mystical body of Christ.

*Henry IV.*

A. D. 1410.

Pomp of the pope's church noted.

Examples hereof are plenty and plain in these Roman prelates to be noted, whoso, well considering the humble state and lowly spirit which ought to be in pastoral leaders of the church, will compare the same with the usual pomp of these glorious potestates.

As for example : What can be more convenient for a true pastor ecclesiastical, than humility of heart and spirit, according to the example of the head Bishop himself? so what greater show of arrogancy and pride could there be, than in this, whom I have oft named before, Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury? who, passing by the high street of London, did not only look and wait for the ringing of the bells, for a triumph of his coming, but took great snuff; and did suspend all such churches in London (not only with the steeple and bells, but also with the organs), so many as did not receive his coming with the noise of bells, according as out of his own registers may appear, the words whereof written to his own somner,<sup>1</sup> I have hereto annexed in his own form, as followeth.

A Commission directed to the Somner, to suspend certain Churches of London, because they rung not their Bells at the presence of my Lord the Archbishop of Canterbury.

*See Appendix.*

Thomas, by the permission of God, &c. To our well-beloved Thomas Wilton, our somner sworn, health, grace, and blessing. The comeliness of our holy church of Canterbury, over which we bear rule, deserveth and requireth, that while we pass through the province of the same our church, having our cross carried before us, every parish church in their turns ought, and are bounden, in token of special reverence that they bear to us, to ring their bells: which notwithstanding, yea on Tuesday last past, when we, betwixt eight and nine of the clock before dinner, passed openly on foot as it were, through the midst of the city of London, with our cross carried before us, divers churches, whose names are here beneath noted, showed towards us willingly, though they certainly knew of our coming, unreverence rather than reverence, and the duty that they owe to our church of Canterbury, ringing not at all at our coming. Wherefore we, being willing to revenge this injury, for the honour of our spouse,<sup>2</sup> as we are bounden, command you, that by our authority you put all those churches under our indictment, suspending God's holy organs and instruments in the same: which we also suspend by the tenor of these presents, till the ministers of the aforesaid churches be able hereafter to attain of us the benefit of more plentiful grace.—Given, &c.

Churches of London suspended, for not ringing at the coming of the archbishop.

What great reason was in this, why this archbishop either should thus look for the ringing of the bells, or why he should be so displeased with not ringing, I do not see. Belike, his mind, in the mean time, was greatly occupied with some great muse, as feeling of God's fear, with repentance and remembrance of his sins, with zealous care and solicitude for his flock, with the earnest meditation of the passion and life of our Saviour, who in this world was so despised; or else was set upon some grave study, while he so waited for the ringing of the bells, which were wont to be so noisome to all students. And why were not the trumpeters also silent as well, because

(1) "Somner," sunner, or sunmoner; a petty officer who calls a man to a court of justice; an apparitor.—Ed.

(2) Oh injurious enemies to Christ's humility!

*Henry  
IV.*

A. D.  
1410.

Organs  
suspend-  
ed in the  
church,  
because  
the bells  
did not  
ring.

they not did sound before his person? But and though the bells did not clatter in the steeples (and therefore his thunderbolt should have fallen upon the steeples which had deserved), why should the body of the church therefore be suspended? At least, the poor organs, me thinketh, had some part of wrong to be put to silence in the quire, because the bells rang not in the tower.

Of the like matter, also, we read in the said registers, falling between the bishop of Worcester and the priory of the same town, for not ringing at the bishop's coming into the church: whereupon much suit and contention was between them, till at length the archbishop of Canterbury took up the matter, moderating it, as in the said registers, fol. 441, appeareth to be seen as followeth:<sup>1</sup>

### Variance between the Bishop and Prior of Worcester, for not ringing at the Bishop's coming.

Universis, &c. Thomas, &c. Whereas there happened variance lately between our reverend brother the lord bishop of Worcester on the one part, and the religious and discreet men the prior and covent of the same church on the other part, for not ringing of bells at the coming of our said brother to his aforesaid church, at length the parties, considering the great inconvenience that might come thereof, at our instance and request did agree on this manner; that as often as it shall happen our reverend brother to go to his aforesaid church, either to celebrate orders, or to visit his church in the head or in the inferiors, or to make cream and oil in the same church, also in the feast of the Assumption of the blessed Virgin Mary, which is the chiefest feast in the abbey aforesaid; then the prior and the covent, and their successors for the time being, shall ring solemnly against his coming, or shall cause to be rung solemnly, without all contradiction, or any reclaiming hereafter to be made against the same: which agreement that it may be more firmly kept, we let you all understand by these presents, sealed with our seal.

Given at our palace of Canterbury, July 12, the tenth year of our government.

The like stir for bell-ringing and for processions had almost happened between the archbishop of Canterbury, successor to this Thomas Arundel, named Henry Chichesley, on the one part, and the abbey of St. Alban's on the other part, had not the abbot, in time submitting himself to the archbishop, so provided, that the ringing of their bells at his coming might not redound to any derogation of their liberties. Whereunto the archbishop granted by these his letters as followeth.

### Letter of Henry Chichesley, Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Abbot of St. Alban's, respecting the ringing of Bells and Processions.

Ring-  
ing-  
in the  
arch-  
bishop,  
at St.  
Alban's.

Henry, &c., to the religious men, the abbot and covent of the monastery of St. Alban's, in the diocese of Lincoln, health, &c. When as of late there happened a matter of variance between us, and you the abbot and covent, by reason of not giving reverence to us, being due to our province of Canterbury;<sup>2</sup> that is, for not ringing the bells, and meeting us with processions when we passed by divers places of our province, as well due of common custom, as of old use, and for the prerogative of the church of Canterbury, as also being due of every one being within the compass of this our said province, when and as often as we shall pass by their places; at length your lord abbot, coming personally to us, did grant both for you and the covent aforesaid, to do and to give of your

(1) Ex Registro Tho. Arundeli.

(2) Ex Regist. Hen. Chichesley, fol. 365.

gentleness all reverence and honour, with such reverence both to us and our church of Canterbury, as often as we pass by your monastery or the places nigh or adjoining thereto, or shall hereafter go by; so that it might not be prejudicial to your exemption, and nothing be attempted to the violating of your privilege; and that it might not be challenged for duty hereafter. Wherefore we, desiring to keep you from damage, let you understand by these presents, that it is not our intent to derogate your exemptions or privilege whatsoever herein; nor by any means to be prejudicial to you by these your reverences or other duties, whatsoever you have or shall grant to us, of your devotion and liberality, both by you, and in places under your dominion. In witness whereof, &c.

Henry  
IV.

A.D.  
1410.

Dated the 28th day of January, 1425, at St. Alban's, the twelfth year of our government.

See  
Appendix.

To express, moreover, and describe, the glorious pomp of these prince-like prelates, in these blind days of popish religion reigning then in the church, I thought to adjoin hereunto another example not much unlike, neither differing much in time, concerning certain poor men cited up, and enjoined strait penance by William Courtney, predecessor of the said Thomas Arundel, for bringing litter to his horse, not in wains, as they should do, but in privy sacks, in a secret manner under their cloaks or coats: for which so heinous and horrible trespass, the said archbishop, sitting in his tribunal seat, did call and cite before him the said persons (*pro litera, i. e.* for litter, after his own Latin), and, after their submission, enjoined them penance; which penance what it was, and what were the names of the aforesaid parties, here followeth out of the said archbishop's registers,<sup>1</sup> both by his own words, and by picture of the persons in the same registers annexed and painted, in all resemblance, as there standeth, and here is also to be seen.

William  
Courtney  
arch-  
bishop  
of Can-  
terbury.

### An Injunction of Penance, from the Register of William Courtney, Archbishop of Canterbury.

Ignorance, the mother of error, so much hath blinded and deceived certain persons, to wit, Hugh Pennie, John Forstall, John Boy, John Wanderton, William Hayward, and John White, tenants of the lord of Wengham, that against the coming of the aforesaid archbishop to his palace of Canterbury on Palm-Sunday-even, the year of our Lord 1390, where they, being warned by the bayliff to convey and carry hay, straw, and other litter, to the aforesaid palace, as they were bound by the tenor of their lands, which they hold of the see of Canterbury; refusing and disdaining to do their due service, as they were accustomed, brought their straw and other litter, not in carts and wains openly and sufficiently, but by piece-meal, and closely in bags or sacks, in contempt of their lord, and derogation of the right and title of the see of Canterbury. Whereupon they being cited and presented before the archbishop, sitting in judgment at his manor of Saltewood, yielded and submitted themselves to his lordship's

Penance  
enjoined  
for not  
bringing  
straw to  
my lord's  
horse.

(1) The registers of the archbishops of Canterbury, of which Foxe so wisely availed himself in compiling his Acts and Monuments of the Church, remain to this day indisputable proofs of his own veracity, and most instructive memorials of the pride and oppression of the church of Rome. The illustration on the opposite page differs slightly from that which is given by our author; it is, nevertheless, an exact copy from archbishop Courtney's Register, which, by the obliging permission of his grace the archbishop of Canterbury, the editor was enabled to take, from the original document at Lambeth. Foxe adjoins to his illustration, the following verses, which must not be understood as forming an extract from the Register, but were probably the production of his own pen:—

"This bag full of straw, I bear on my back,  
Because my lord's horse his litter did lack;  
If ye be not good to my lord grace's horse,  
Ye are like to go bare-foot before the cross."

The superscription in the archbishop's register is as follows: "Injunctio penitentia tenentibus domini nostri non curando sufficientem quantitatem feni et straminis."—ED.

Henry  
IV.A. D.  
1410.Excom-  
muni-  
cation and  
absolu-  
tion  
abused.

pleasure, humbly craving pardon of their trespass. Then the aforesaid archbishop absolved the above-named Hugh Pennie, &c., they swearing to obey the laws and ordinances of holy church, and to do the punishment that should be appointed them for their deserts: that is, that they going leisurely before the procession, every one of them should carry openly on his shoulder his bag stuffed with hay and straw, so that the said hay and straw should appear hanging out, the mouths of the sacks being open.<sup>1</sup>

NOTES OF CERTAIN PARLIAMENT MATTERS PASSED IN THE  
DAYS OF KING HENRY IV.

To proceed now further in the reign of this king, and to intreat also something of his parliaments as we have done of other before; first, we will begin with the parliament holden in the first year of his coming in.

1399  
to  
1413.

Moreover, forsomuch as our catholic papists will not believe yet the contrary, but that the jurisdiction of their father the pope hath ever extended throughout all the world, as well here in England, as in other places, here, therefore, speaking of the parliaments holden in this king's days concerning this matter, I refer them to the parliament of the said king Henry in his first year holden, and to the twenty-seventh article of the same, where they may read, in the tenth objection laid against king Richard, in plain words:

The  
pope's  
jurisdic-  
tion ex-  
cluded  
out of  
this  
realm.

Whereas the crown of the realm of England, and the rights belonging to the same crown, as also the realm itself, have in all past time enjoyed such liberty, that neither the pope, nor any other out of the same kingdom, ought to intermeddle therein: it was objected unto the fore-named king Richard II., for procuring letters apostolical from the pope, to the corroborating and confirming of certain evil statutes of his, in the which letters heavy censures are denounced against whoever should presume in any respect to contravene the said statutes; all which seemed then to the parliament to tend against the crown and regal dignity, as also against the statutes and liberties of the said realm of England.<sup>2</sup>

In the eighth year, moreover, of this king's reign, it was likewise propounded in the parliament, that all such persons as should procure, or sue, in the court of Rome any process touching any benefice, collation, or presentation of the same, should incur the pain of the statute of provisors, made in the thirteenth year of Richard II.: whereunto the king granted, that the statutes here-for provided should be observed.<sup>3</sup>

Item, In the said parliament there, it was put up by petition, that the king might enjoy half the profits of every parson's benefice, who is not resident

(1) Erroris mater ignorantia, quosdam Hugonem Pennie, Johannem Forstall, Johannem Boy, Johannem Wanderton, Gulielmum Hayward, et Johannem White, tenentes domini de Wengham taliter obsecavit, quod ante adventum dicti domini archiepiscopi ad palatium suum Cantuariæ in vigilia dominicæ in ramis palmarum, Anno Dom. 1390, de curando et ducendo ad dictum palatium, fenum, stramen, sive literam, ('mark ye grammarians, litera for litter.') prout ex tenura terrarum, et tenementorum suorum, quas et quæ teneant de domino et ecclesia sua Cantuariæ astringerentur, per ballivum domini ibidem jussi et legitime præmoniti debita servitia more solito impendere dedignantes, stramen hujusmodi non in carrucis et vehiculis publice in sufficienti quantitate, sed modice in saccis sub latibulo, portantes ad palatium prædictum perduxerunt, in vilipendium domini ac subtractionem juris ecclesiæ suæ Cantuar. Unde super hoc coram domino evocati, die Jovis in hebdomada Paschæ in castro suo de Saltwode pro tribunali sedente personaliter comparentes, ipsius judicio in hac parte se humiliter submiserunt, veniam et misericordiam pro commissis devote petendo. Et deinde dominus præfatus, præfatos Hugonem Pennie, Johannem Forstall, Johannem Boy, Johannem Wanderton, Gulielmum Hayward, et Johannem White, de stando mandatis ecclesiæ, et fideliter peragendo penitentiam eis pro eorum demeritis injungendam, juratos absolvit in forma juris, injuncta eis et eorum cuilibet, pro modo culpæ penitentia salutari; videlicet, quod die dominica tunc proxime sequente, prædicti penitentes nudi capita et pedes, processionem apud ecclesiam collegiatam de Wengham faciendam cum singulis saccis super humeris suis palam portantes (plenis videlicet feno et stramine) ita quod stramen et fenum hujusmodi ad ora saccorum patentium intuituibus prominere, lentis incessibus procederent humiliter et devote.—Ex regist. W. Courtney. [See the Appendix.]

(2) Act. Parl. An. 1. reg. Henry IV. § 27. [See the Appendix.]

(3) An. 8. reg. Hen. IV. § 116.

thereon. Thereunto the king answered, that the ordinaries should do their duties therein, or else he would provide further remedy to stay their pluralities.<sup>1</sup>

Item, In the said parliament it was required, that none do sue to the court of Rome for any benefice, but only in the king's courts.<sup>2</sup>

*Henry  
IV.*

A.D.  
1399  
to  
1413.

In the next year following, which was the ninth of this king, another petition of the commons was put up in parliament against the court of Rome, which I thought good here to express, as followeth:—

### Petition to Parliament for Protection against the Court of Rome.

The commons do beseech, that—forasmuch as divers provisors of benefices of holy church, dwelling in the court of Rome, through their singular covetousness now newly imagining to destroy those that have been long time incumbents in divers their benefices of holy church peaceably, some of them by the title of the king, some by title ordinary, and some by title of other true patrons thereof, by colour of provisions, collations, and other grants made to the said provisors by the apostoil of the said benefices, have pursued processes in the said court by citation made beyond the sea, without any citations made within the realm in fact against the same incumbents, whereby many of the said incumbents, through such privy and crafty processes and sentences of privation and inhabilitation, have lost their benefices, and others have been put in the places of the said incumbents before the publication of the same sentences, they not knowing any thing; and many are in great hazard to lose their benefices through such processes, to their perpetual destruction and mischief: and forasmuch as this mischief cannot be holpen without especial remedy be had by parliament:—the king would be pleased to consider the great mischief and danger that may so come unto divers his subjects without their knowledge, through such citations out of the realm, and thereupon to ordain, by the advice of the lords of this present parliament, that no presentée be received by any ordinary unto any benefice of any such incumbent for any cause of privation or inhabilitation, whereof the process is not founded upon citation made within the realm, and also that such incumbents may remain in all their benefices, until it be proved by due inquest in the court of the king, that the citations, whereupon such privations and inhabilitations are granted, were made within the realm; and that if such ordinaries, or such presentées, or others, do pursue the contrary, that then they, and their proctors, fautors, and counsellors, do incur the pains contained in the statute made against provisors in the thirteenth year of the reign of Richard II., the late king of England, by processes to be made, as is declared in the statute made against such provisors in the twenty-seventh year of the reign of king Edward, grandfather to our lord the king that now is, any royal licenses granted or to be granted to the contrary notwithstanding; and that all other statutes made against provisors, and not repealed before this present parliament, be in their full force, and be firmly kept in all points. Whereunto it was answered, that the king's council should have power by authority of parliament, in case that any man find himself grieved in particular, to pursue the matter; and that the said council, by the advice of the justices, do right unto the parties. This is to endure until the next parliament, reserving always unto the king his prerogative and liberty.<sup>3</sup>

The wickedness of pope's provisors inciting and depriving beneficed men in England, their citation being not known in the realm.

Item, In the said parliament it was required, that no pope's collector thenceforth should levy any money within the realm for first-fruits of any ecclesiastical dignity, under pain of incurring the statute of provisions, A.D. 1408.<sup>4</sup>

Furthermore, in the eleventh year of the said king, this was in the parliament required, that all such persons as should be arrested by force of the statute made against the Lollards, in the second year of Henry IV., might be bailed, and freely make their purgation; that they be arrested by none other than by the sheriffs, or such like officers; neither that any havoc be made of their goods. The king granted to take advice therein.<sup>5</sup>

(1) An. 8. reg. Hen. IV. § 114.

(3) Ex Rotulo Parliamenti, an. 9 Hen. IV. § 37.

(5) Anno 11 reg. Hen. IV. § 29.

(2) Ibid.

(4) Ibid. § 43.

*Henry  
IV.*A. D.  
1399  
to  
1413.

Besides, in the said parliament holden the eleventh year of this king is to be noted, how the commons of the land put up a bill unto the king, to take the temporal lands out from spiritual men's hands or possession; the effect of which bill was this:

Relief of  
the poor.

That the temporalities disordinately wasted by men of the church, might suffice to find to the king fifteen earls, one thousand five hundred knights, six thousand two hundred esquires, and a hundred houses of almose, to the relief of poor people, more than in those days were within England. And over all these aforesaid charges, the king might put yearly in his coffers twenty thousand pounds.

Provided, that every earl should have of yearly rent three thousand marks; and every knight a hundred marks, and four plough lands; every esquire forty marks by the year, with two plough lands; and every house of almose a hundred marks, with oversight of two true seculars unto every house; and also with provision, that every township should keep all poor people of their own dwellers, which might not labour for their living: with condition, that if more fell in a town than the town might maintain, then the said alms-houses to relieve such townships.

A com-  
putation  
of church  
goods, to  
what they  
amount.

And to bear these charges, they alleged by their said bill, that the temporalities, being in possession of spiritual men, amounted to three hundred and twenty-two thousand marks by year, whereof they affirmed to be in the see of Canterbury, with the abbeyes of Christ's-church, of St. Augustine's, Shrewsbury, Coggeshal, and St. Osisi, twenty thousand marks by year; in the see of Durham, and other abbeyes there, twenty thousand marks; in the see of York, and abbeyes there, twenty thousand marks; in the see of Winchester, and abbeyes there, twenty thousand marks; in the see of London, with abbeyes and other houses there, twenty thousand marks; in the see of Lincoln, with the abbeyes of Peterborough, Ramsey, and others, twenty thousand marks; in the see of Norwich, with the abbeyes of Bury, and others, twenty thousand marks; in the see of Ely, with the abbeyes of Ely, Spalding, and others, twenty thousand marks; in the see of Bath, with the abbey of Okinborne, and others, twenty thousand marks; in the see of Worcester, with the abbeyes of Evesham, Abingdon, and others, twenty thousand marks; in the see of Chester, with the precinct of the same, with the sees of St. David, Salisbury, and Exeter, with their precincts, twenty thousand marks; the abbeyes of Ravens or Revens, of Fountains, of Gernons, and divers others, to the number of five more, twenty thousand marks; the abbeyes of Leicester, Waltham, Gisborne, Merton, Ticeter, Osney, and others, unto the number of six more, twenty thousand marks; the abbeyes of Dover, Battle, Lewes, Coventry, Daventry, and Tourney, twenty thousand marks; the abbeyes of Northampton, Thornton, Bristol, Killingworth, Winchcomb, Hailes, Parchissor, Frideswide, Notly, and Grimsby, twenty thousand marks.

The aforesaid sums amount to the full of three hundred thousand marks. And for the odd twenty-two thousand marks, they appointed Hardford, Rochester, Huntingdon, Swinshed, Crowland, Malmesbury, Burton, Tewkesbury, Dunstable, Sherborne, Taunton, and Biland.

And besides this, they alleged by the said bill, that over and above the said sum of three hundred and twenty-two thousand marks, divers houses of religion in England possessed as many temporalities as might suffice to find yearly fifteen thousand priests and clerks, every priest to be allowed for his stipend seven marks by the year.

To this bill no answer was made, but that the king of this matter would take deliberation and advisement, and with that answer ended, so that no further labour was made.<sup>1</sup>

A. D. 1412.

These things thus hitherto discoursed, touching such acts and matters as have been incident in the lifetime of this king, followeth next the fourteenth year of his reign. In the which year the said king Henry IV. (after that he had sent a little before a certain company of captains

(1) Ex Chron. D. Alban. [Walsingham.] Fabiano, et aliis. [See the Appendix.—En.]

and soldiers to aid the duke of Burgundy in France, among whom was the lord Cobham) keeping his Christmas at Eltham, fell grievously sick. From thence he was conveyed to London, where he began to call a parliament, but tarried not the end. In the mean time, the infirmity of the king more and more increasing, he was taken and brought into a bed in a fair chamber at Westminster; and as he lay in his bed, he asked how they called the same chamber; and they answered and said, Jerusalem. And then he said it was his prophecy, That he should make his end in Jerusalem. And so, disposing himself towards his end in the aforesaid chamber, he died; upon what sickness, whether of leprosy, or of some other sharp disease, I have not to affirm.<sup>1</sup> The like prophecy we read of pope Silvester II.; to whom being inquisitive for the time and place where he should die, it was answered, That he should die in Jerusalem.<sup>2</sup> Who then saying mass in a chapel, called likewise Jerusalem, perceived his end there to be near, and died. And thus king Henry IV., successor to the lawful king Richard II., finished his life at Westminster, and was buried at Canterbury by the tomb of Thomas Becket, A. D. 1413.

Henry IV.

A. D. 1413.

The king had a prophecy, that he should die in Jerusalem. The prophecy of pope Silvester II.

[March 20th.]

HENRY THE FIFTH.<sup>3</sup>

After this Henry IV. reigned Henry V., his son, who was born at Monmouth in Wales, of whose other virtues, and great victories gotten in France, I have not greatly to intermeddle; especially seeing the memory of his worthy prowess, being sufficiently described in other writers in this our time, may both content the reader, and unburden my labour herein; especially seeing these latter troubles and perturbations of the church offer me so much, that unneth<sup>4</sup> any vacant leisure shall be left to intermeddle with matters profane.

After the coronation then of this new king, which was the ninth day of April, called then Passion Sunday, which was an exceeding stormy day, and so tempestuous, that many did wonder at the portent thereof, not long after the same, a parliament began to be called, and to be holden after the feast of Easter, at Westminster, A. D. 1413. At that time Thomas Arundel, the archbishop of Canterbury, collected in Paul's church at London a universal synod of all the bishops and clergy of England. In that synod, among other weighty matters and ponderous, it was determined, that the day of St. George, and also of St. Dunstan, should be a double feast, called Duplex Festum, in holy kitchen—in holy church, I would say.

And because the order and manner of those pope-holy feasts either yet is not sufficiently known to some rude and gross capacities, or may, peradventure, grow out of use and to be strange and unknown to our posterity hereafter, therefore, to give a little memorandum thereof by the way, for erudition of times hereafter to come, touching this mystical science of the pope's deep and secret divinity, here is to be noted, that the feasts of the pope's holy mother catholic church be divided in

Great tempest at the coronation.

A synod called at London.

See Appendix.

The feasts of the pope's church described and divided.

(1) Ex vetust. Chron. Anglico, cujus initium est: "That all men called."

(2) See vol. ii. p. 95.—ED.

(5) Edition 1563, p. 173. Ed. 1570, p. 663. Ed. 1576, p. 535. Ed. 1583, p. 557. Ed. 1596, p. 513. Ed. 1684, vol. i. p. 635.—ED.

(4) "Unneth," scarcely.—ED.

*Henry  
V.**A.D.  
1413.**Festum  
Duplex.**Constitu-  
tion  
against  
custom.**Festum  
Simplex.*

sundry members. Like as a plentiful root in a fruitful field riseth up and burgeneth into manifold arms, and the arms again do multiply into divers and sundry branches, out of which, moreover, although no fruit do come, yet both leaves and flowers do bud and blossom in most copious wise, right beautiful to behold: even so this 'festum,' containing a large matter of great variety of days and feasts, groweth in itself and multiplieth, being thus divided; first, into 'festum duplex,' and into 'festum simplex;' that is, into 'feast-double,' and into 'feast-simple.' Again, this 'festum duplex' brancheth four-fold-wise, to wit, into 'festum principale duplex,' into 'majus duplex,' into 'minus duplex,' and 'inferius duplex;' that is, into 'principal double,' into 'greater double,' into 'lesser double,' and into 'inferior' or 'lower double.' Unto these several sorts of feasts what days were peculiarly assigned, it were too long to recite. For this present purpose it shall suffice to understand, that as unto the principal double feast only belonged eight days in the year, so the 'majus duplex festum' had given unto it by this convocation the day of St. George and of St. Dunstan, as is afore remembered: albeit by constitution it was so decreed, yet by custom it was not so used.<sup>1</sup> Item, it is to be noted, that these two feasts, to wit, 'principale duplex' and 'majus duplex,' did differ and were known from all others by four notes: by service in the kitchen, and by service in the church, which were both double; by ringing in the steeple, which was with a double peal; by copes in the quire; and by thurifying or censuring the altars: for in these two principal and greater double feasts, the seventh, eighth, and ninth lesson must be read with silken copes. Also at the said feasts, in the time of the lessons, the altars in the church must be thurified, that is, smoked with incense, &c. And likewise the 'minus duplex' and 'inferius duplex' had also their peculiar service to them belonging. Secondly, the 'simplex festum,' which is the second arm springing of this division, is thus divided: either having a triple inventory, or a double or else a single inventory; of which, moreover, some have three lessons, some have nine, &c. And thus much, by occasion, for popish feasts; not that I do so much deride them, as I lament, that so much and manifest idolatry in them is committed, to the great dishonour of our Lord God, who is only to be honoured.

But to let this by-matter pass, again to return to the foresaid universal synod assembled by Thomas Arundel at St. Paul's church in London, as is before remembered.

*See  
Arundel.*

**The Trouble and Persecution of the most valiant and worthy Martyr of Christ, Sir John Oldcastle, Knight, Lord Cobham.**

\*After<sup>2</sup> that the true servant of Jesus Christ, John Wickliff, a man of very excellent life and learning, had, for the space of more than twenty-six years, most valiantly battled with the great Antichrist of Europe, or pope of Rome, and his diversely disguised host of anointed hypocrites, to restore the church again to the pure estate that Christ left her in at his ascension, he departed hence most christianly in the hands of God, the year of our Lord 1384, as is aforesaid, and was buried in his own parish church at Lutterworth, in Leicestershire.<sup>3</sup> No small number of godly disciples left that

(1) Ex tab. Festorum.

(2) See the Latin Edition 1559, p. 98; Ed 1563, p. 261; from which latter the passage in asterisks is an extract.—Ed.

(3) Ex opibus et scriptis Thomæ Walden.



good man behind him, to defend the lowliness of the gospel against the exceeding pride, ambition, simony, avarice, hypocrisy, whoredom, sacrilege, tyranny, idolatrous worshippings, and other filthy fruits, of those stiff-necked pharisees; against whom Thomas Arundel, the archbishop of Canterbury (as fierce as ever was Pharaoh, Antiochus, Herod, or Caiaphas) collected, in Paul's church at London, a universal synod of all the papistical clergy of England, in the year of our Lord 1413 (as he had done divers others before), to withstand their most godly enterprise. And this was the first year of king Henry V., whom they had then made fit for their hand.\*

*Henry  
V.*  

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*A. D.  
1413.*

*Thomas  
Arundel  
'in mag-  
no pro-  
cessu.'*

The chief and principal cause then of the assembling thereof, as recordeth the Chronicle of St. Alban's, was to repress the growing and spreading of the gospel, and especially to withstand the noble and worthy lord Cobham, who was then noted to be a principal favourer, receiver, and maintainer of those whom the bishop misnamed to be Lollards; especially in the dioceses of London, Rochester, and Hereford, setting them up to preach whom the bishops had not licensed, and sending them about to preach, which was against the constitution provincial, before remembered:<sup>1</sup> holding also and teaching opinions of the sacraments, of images, of pilgrimage, of the keys and church of Rome, contrary and repugnant to the received determination of the Romish church, &c.

In the mean time, as these \*high<sup>2</sup> prelates, with their pharisees and scribes, were thus gathered in this pestilent council against the Lord and his word, and\* were in talk amongst themselves concerning the good lord Cobham, there resorted unto them the twelve inquisitors of heresies; whom they had appointed at Oxford the year before, to search out heretics, with all Wickliff's books; who brought two hundred and sixty-six<sup>3</sup> faithful conclusions, which they had collected as heresies out of the said books. The names of the said inquisitors were these:

John Whitnam, a master in the New College; John Langedon, monk of Christ's Church in Canterbury; William Ufford, regent of the Carmelites; Thomas Claxton, regent of the Dominics; Robert Gilbert, Richard Carthisdale, John Lucke, Richard Snedisham, Richard Fleming, Thomas Rotborne, Robert Rowdbery, Richard Grasdale.<sup>4</sup>

\*In<sup>2</sup> the mean season, caused they their hired servants to blow it forth abroad over all the whole realm, that they were there congregated for a wholesome unity and reformation of the church of England, to stop, so, the mouths of the common people. Such is always the common practice of these subtle sorcerers, whilst they are in doing mischief, to blear the eyes of the unlearned multitude with one false craft or other.\*

These things thus done, and the articles being brought in, further they proceeded in their communication, concluding among themselves, that it was not possible for them to make whole Christ's coat without seam (meaning thereby their patched popish synagogue), unless certain great men were brought out of the way, who seemed to be the chief maintainers of the said disciples of Wickliff. Among whom this noble knight, sir John Oldcastle, the lord Cobham, was

(1) See *suprà*, p. 243.—Ed.

(3) See Appendix.

(2) Edition 1563, p. 261.—Ed.

(4) Walden, in *fc. ciculo zizaniorum Wicklevi*.

*Henry V.*A.D.  
1413.

Lord Cobham accused, for maintaining the gospel of Christ. Accused for his christian belief. Process against him.

A spiritual practice.

*See Appendix.*

The king speaketh for him.

His gentle promise.

The king's admonishment to lord Cobham.

His answer to the king.

Lord Cobham forsaken by the king.

complained of by the proctors of the clergy to be the chief principal. Him they accused, first, for a mighty maintainer of suspected preachers in the dioceses of London, Rochester, and Hereford, contrary to the minds of their ordinaries. Not only they affirmed him to have sent thither the said preachers, but also to have assisted them there by force of arms, notwithstanding their synodal constitution made before to the contrary. Last of all, they accused him that he was far otherwise in belief of the sacrament of the altar, of penance, of pilgrimage, of image-worshipping, and of the ecclesiastical power, than the holy church of Rome had taught many years before.

In the end it was concluded among them, that, without any further delay, process should be awarded out against him, as against a most pernicious heretic.

Some of that fellowship who were of more crafty experience than the others, thought it not best to have the matter so rashly handled, but by some preparation made thereunto beforehand: considering the said lord Cobham was a man of great birth, and in favour at that time with the king, their counsel was to know first the king's mind, to save all things upright. This counsel was well accepted, and thereupon the archbishop Thomas Arundel, with his other bishops, and a great part of the clergy, went straitways unto the king then remaining at Kennington, and there laid forth most grievous complaints against the said lord Cobham, to his great infamy and blemish: being a man right godly. The king gently heard those blood-thirsty prelates, and far otherwise than became his princely dignity: notwithstanding requiring, and instantly desiring them, that in respect of his noble stock and knighthood, they should yet favourably deal with him; and that they would, if it were possible, without all rigour or extreme handling, reduce him again to the church's unity. He promised them also, that in case they were contented to take some deliberation, he himself would seriously commune the matter with him.

Anon after, the king sent for the said lord Cobham, and as soon as he was come, he called him secretly, admonishing him betwixt him and him, to submit himself to his mother the holy church, and, as an obedient child, to acknowledge himself culpable. Unto whom the christian knight made this answer: "You, most worthy prince," saith he, "I am always prompt and willing to obey, forasmuch as I know you a christian king, and the appointed minister of God, bearing the sword to the punishment of evil doers, and for safeguard of them that be virtuous. Unto you, next my eternal God, owe I my whole obedience, and submit thereunto, as I have done ever, all that I have, either of fortune or nature, ready at all times to fulfil whatsoever ye shall in the Lord command me. But, as touching the pope and his spirituality, I owe them neither suit nor service, forasmuch as I know him, by the Scriptures, to be the great Antichrist, the son of perdition, the open adversary of God, and the abomination standing in the holy place." When the king had heard this, with such like sentences more, he would talk no longer with him, but left him so utterly.

And as the archbishop resorted again unto him for an answer, he gave him his full authority to cite him, examine him, and punish

him, according to their devilish decrees, which they called ‘The Laws of holy Church.’ Then the said archbishop, by the counsel of his other bishops and clergy, appointed to call before him sir John Oldecastle, the lord Cobham, and to cause him personally to appear, to answer to such suspect articles, as they should lay against him : so he sent forth his chief summoner, with a very sharp citation unto the castle of Cowling, where he at that time dwelt for his solace ; and as the said summoner was come thither, he durst in no case enter the gates of so noble a man without his license, and therefore he returned home again, his message not done.

Then called the archbishop one John Butler unto him, who was then the doorkeeper of the king’s privy chamber, and with him he covenanted, through promises and rewards, to have this matter craftily brought to pass under the king’s name. Whereupon the said John Butler took the archbishop’s summoner with him, and went unto the said lord Cobham, showing him, that it was the king’s pleasure, that he should obey that citation ; and so cited him fraudulently. Then said he to them in few words, that he in no case would consent to those most devilish practices of the priests. As they had informed the archbishop of that answer, and that it was for no man privately to cite him after that, without peril of life, he decreed by and by to have him cited by public process or open commandment ; and, in all the haste possible, upon the Wednesday before the nativity of our Lady, in September, he commanded letters citatory to be set upon the great gates of the cathedral-church of Rochester, which was but three English miles from thence, charging him to appear personally before him at Ledis, the eleventh day of the same month and year, all excuses to the contrary set apart. Those letters were taken down anon after, by such as bore favour unto the lord Cobham, and so conveyed aside. After that the archbishop caused new letters to be set up on the nativity-day of our Lady, which also were rent down, and utterly consumed.

Then, forasmuch as he did not appear at the day appointed at Ledis (where he sat in consistory, as cruel as ever was Caiaphas, with his court of hypoerites about him), he judged him, denounced him, and condemned him, of most deep contumacy. After that, when he had been falsely informed by his hired spies, and other glozing glaverers, that the said lord Cobham had laughed him to scorn, disdained all his doings, maintained his old opinions, contemned the church’s power, the dignity of a bishop, and the order of priesthood (for of all these was he then accused), in his moody madness, without just proof, did he openly excommunicate him. Yet was not with all this his fierce tyranny satisfied, but he commanded him to be cited afresh, to appear before him on the Saturday after the feast of St. Matthew the apostle, with these cruel threatenings added thereunto, that if he did not obey at the day, he would more extremely handle him. And to make himself more strong towards the performance thereof, he compelled the lay-power, by most terrible menacings of curses and interdictions, to assist him against that seditious apostate, schismatic, and heretic, the troubler of the public peace, that enemy of the realm, and great adversary of all holy church ; for all these hateful names did he give him.

*Henry  
V  
A. D.  
1413*

Summon-  
ed by the  
arch-  
bishop.  
*See  
Appendix.*

John  
Butler  
playeth  
Judas’  
part.

[Sep. 6th.]

Citations  
set up  
against  
the lord  
Cobham.

The cita-  
tions  
taken  
down.

False ac-  
cusations  
against  
him.

Excom-  
munica-  
ted, and  
again  
cited.

Henry  
V.  
A. D.  
1413

Confess-  
eth his  
faith in  
God be-  
fore men.

The apo-  
stles'  
faith.

This most constant servant of the Lord, and worthy knight, sir John Oldcastle, the lord Cobham, beholding the unpeaceable fury of Antichrist thus kindled against him, perceiving himself also compassed on every side with deadly dangers, he took paper and pen in hand, and so wrote a christian confession or reckoning of his faith (which followeth hereafter), both signing and sealing it with his own hand; wherein he also answered to the four chief articles that the archbishop laid against him. That done, he took the copy with him, and went therewith to the king, trusting to find mercy and favour at his hand. None other was that confession of his, than the common belief or sum of the church's faith, called 'The Apostles' Creed,' by all christian men then used, with a brief declaration upon the same, as hereunder ensueth.

### The Christian Belief of the Lord Cobham.

The  
common  
Creed of  
Chris-  
tians.

I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth: And in Jesu Christ his only Son our Lord, which was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, crucified, dead, and buried, went down to hell, the third day rose again from death, ascended up to heaven, sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty; and from thence shall come again to judge the quick and the dead. I believe in the Holy Ghost, the universal holy church, the communion of saints, the forgiveness of sins, the uprising of the flesh, and everlasting life. Amen.

Declara-  
tion of his  
belief.

And for a more large declaration (saith he) of this my faith in the catholic church, I steadfastly believe, That there is but one God Almighty, in and of whose godhead are these three persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and that those three persons are the selfsame God Almighty. I believe also, That the second person in this most blessed Trinity, in most convenient time appointed thereunto before, took flesh and blood of the most blessed Virgin Mary, for the safeguard and redemption of the universal kind of man, which was before lost in Adam's offence.<sup>1</sup>

Christ,  
the only  
head  
of his  
church.  
The  
church  
divided  
into three  
parts.

Moreover I believe, That the same Jesus Christ our Lord, thus being both God and man, is the only head of the whole christian church, and that all those that have been, or shall be, saved, be members of this most holy church. And this holy church I think to be divided into three sorts or companies. Whereof the first sort be now in heaven, and they are the saints from hence departed. These, as they were here conversant, conformed always their lives to the most holy laws and pure examples of Christ, renouncing Satan, the world, and the flesh, with all their concupiscences and evils. The second sort are in purgatory (if any such place be in the Scriptures), abiding the mercy of God, and a full deliverance from pain.<sup>2</sup> The third sort are here upon the earth, and be called the church militant: for day and night they contend against the crafty assaults of the devil, the flattering prosperities of this world, and the rebellious filthiness of the flesh.

See  
Appendix.  
The  
church  
militant  
divided  
into three  
estates.  
What  
priests  
should  
do.

This latter congregation, by the just ordinance of God, is also severed into three divers estates, that is to say, into priesthood, knighthood, and the commons; among whom the will of God is, that the one should aid the other, but not destroy the other. The priests, first of all, secluded from all worldliness, should conform their lives utterly to the examples of Christ and his apostles. Evermore should they be occupied in preaching and teaching the Scriptures purely, and in giving wholesome examples of good living to the other two degrees of men. More modest also, more loving, gentle, and lowly in spirit, should they be, than any other sort of people.

What  
knight-  
hood  
should  
do.

In knighthood are all they who bear sword by law of office: these should defend God's laws, and see that the gospel were purely taught, conforming their lives to the same, and secluding all false preachers; yea these ought rather to hazard their lives, than to suffer such wicked decrees as either blemish the

(1) 1 John v. Gal. iv. John i. Luke ii.

(2) Contrary wrote he, 'ad Parliamentum.' Ex Waldeno.

eternal testament of God, or yet let the free passage thereof, whereby hereses and schisms might spring up in the church. For of none other arise they, as I suppose, than of erroneous constitutions, craftily first creeping in under hypocritical lies, for advantage. They ought also to preserve God's people from oppressors, tyrants and thieves, and to see the clergy supported so long as they teach purely, pray rightly, and minister the sacraments freely. And if they see them do otherwise, they are bound by law of office to compel tilthe to change their doings; and to see all things performed according to God's pre-script ordinance.

The latter fellowship of this church, are the common people; whose duty is to bear their good minds and true obedience to the aforesaid ministers of God, their kings, civil governors, and priests. The right office of these, is justly to occupy every man his faculty, be it merchandise, handicraft, or the tilthe of the ground. And so one of them to be as an helper to another, following always, in their sorts, the just commandments of the Lord God.

Over and besides all this, I most faithfully believe, That the sacraments of Christ's church are necessary to all christian believers; this always seen to, that they be truly ministered according to Christ's first institution and ordinance. And, forasmuch as I am maliciously and most falsely accused of a mis-belief in the sacrament of the altar, to the hurtful slander of many, I signify here unto all men, that this is my faith concerning that: I believe in that sacrament to be contained Christ's very body and blood under the similitude of bread and wine, yea the same body that was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, done on the cross, died and was buried, arose the third day from the death; and is now glorified in heaven. I also believe the universal law of God to be most true and perfect, and they who do not so follow it in their faith and works (at one time or another) can never be saved: whereas he that seeketh it in faith, accepteth it, learneth it, delighteth therein, and performeth it in love, shall taste for it the felicity of everlasting innocency.

Finally, this is my faith also, That God will ask no more of a Christian believer in this life, but only to obey the precepts of that most blessed law. If any prelate of the church require more, or else any other kind of obedience, than this to be used, he condemneth Christ, exalting himself above God, and so becometh an open antichrist. All the premises I believe particularly, and, generally, all that God hath left in his holy Scripture, that I should believe; instantly desiring you, my liege lord and most worthy king, that this confession of mine may be justly examined by the most godly-wise and learned men of your realm;' and, if it be found in all points agreeing to the verity, then let it be so allowed, and I, thereupon, holden for none other than a true Christian. If it be proved otherwise, then let it be utterly condemned: provided always, that I be taught a better belief by the word of God; and I shall most reverently at all times obey thereunto.

This brief confession of his faith the lord Cobham wrote, as is mentioned before, and so took it with him to the court, offering it with all meekness unto the king, to read it over. The king would in no case receive it, but commanded it to be delivered unto them that should be his judges. Then desired he, in the king's presence, that a hundred knights and esquires might be suffered to come in upon his purgation, who he knew would clear him of all heresies. Moreover he offered himself, after the law of arms, to fight for life or death with any man living, christian or heathen, in the quarrel of his faith; the king and the lords of his council excepted. Finally, with all gentleness, he protested before all that were present, that he would refuse no manner of correction that should, after the laws of God, be ministered unto him; but that he would at all times, with all meekness, obey it. Notwithstanding all this the king suffered him to be summoned personally in his own privy chamber. Then said the

Henry  
V.

A. D.  
1413.

Mark  
here a  
most  
christian  
heart.

What the  
common  
people  
ought to  
do.

Belief of  
Cobham  
concern  
ing the  
sacra-  
ments.

The sacra-  
ment  
of the  
altar.

God's law  
to be pre-  
ferred  
before  
man's.

A chris-  
tian de-  
sire of  
the lord  
Cobham.

See  
Appendix.

His chris-  
tian sto-  
mach and  
manhood.

No rea-  
sonable  
offer  
would  
serve.

*Henry  
V.**A.D.  
1413.**Cobham  
appealeth  
to the  
pope.**Cobham  
would not  
obey the  
beast.**The con-  
fession  
and an-  
swer  
newly  
copied.*

lord Cobham to the king, that he had appealed from the archbishop to the pope of Rome, and therefore he ought, he said, in no case to be his judge. And having his appeal there at hand ready written, he showed it with all reverence to the king; wherewith the king was then much more displeased than afore, and said angrily to him, that he should not pursue his appeal; but rather he should tarry in hold, till such time as it were of the pope allowed. And then, would he or mild he, the archbishop should be his judge. Thus was there nothing allowed that the good lord Cobham had lawfully afore required: but, forasmuch as he would not be sworn in all things to submit himself to the church, and so take what penance the archbishop would enjoin him, he was arrested again at the king's commandment, and so led forth to the Tower of London, to keep his day (so was it then spoken), that the archbishop had appointed him afore in the king's chamber.

Then caused he the aforesaid confession of his faith to be copied again, and the answer, also, which he had made to the four articles propounded against him, to be written in the manner of an indenture, on two sheets of paper; that when he should come to his answer, he might give the one copy unto the archbishop, and reserve the other to himself.

## THE FIRST EXAMINATION OF THE LORD COBHAM.

*See  
Appendix.**Caiaphas  
sitteth in  
consis-  
tory.**Anti-  
christ  
here,  
in full  
power.**A sign of  
God's  
true ser-  
vant.*

As the day of examination was come, which was the 23rd day of September, the Saturday after the feast of St. Matthew, Thomas Arundel, the archbishop, sitting in Caiaphas' room, in the chapter-house of Paul's, with Richard Clifford, bishop of London, and Henry Bolingbrook, bishop of Winchester; Sir Robert Morley, knight, and lieutenant of the Tower, brought personally before him the said lord Cobham, and there left him for the time; unto whom the archbishop said these words: "Sir John, in the last general convocation of the clergy of this our province, ye were detected of certain heresies, and, by sufficient witnesses, found culpable: whereupon ye were, by form of spiritual law, cited, and would in no case appear. In conclusion, upon your rebellious contumacy, ye were both privately and openly excommunicated. Notwithstanding we neither yet showed ourselves unready to have given you absolution (nor yet do to this hour), would ye have meekly asked it."—Unto this the lord Cobham showed as though he had given no ear, having his mind otherwise occupied, and so desired no absolution; but said, he would gladly, before him and his brethren, make rehearsal of that faith which he held and intended always to stand to, if it would please them to license him thereunto. And then he took out of his bosom a certain writing, indented, concerning the articles whereof he was accused, and so openly read it before them, giving it unto the archbishop, as he had made thereof an end; whereof this is the copy.

## Lord Cobham's further Confession of his Belief.

*Sacra-  
ment of  
the Lord's  
body.*

I, John Oldecastle, knight, lord of Cobham, will that all christian men know and understand, that I call Almighty God to witness, that it hath been, now is, and ever, with the help of God, shall be, mine intent and my will, to believe,

faithfully and fully, all the sacraments that ever God ordained to be done in holy church. And moreover to declare me in these four points: I believe that the most worshipful sacrament of the altar is Christ's body in form of bread, the same body that was born of the blessed virgin our lady Saint Mary, done on the cross, dead and buried, the third day rose from death to life, the which body is now glorified in heaven.

*Henry  
V.*

*A. D.  
1413.*

Also, as for the sacrament of penance, I believe, That it is needful to every man that shall be saved, to forsake sin, and to do due penance for sin before done, with true confession, very contrition, and due satisfaction as God's law limiteth and teacheth, and else may he not be saved; which penance I desire all men to do.

*Penance*

And as for images, I understand that they be not of belief, but that they were ordained since the belief of Christ was given by sufferance of the church, to be calendars to lewd men, to represent and bring to mind the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, and martyrdom and good living of other saints: and that whoso it be, that doth the worship to dead images that is due to God, or putteth such hope or trust in help of them, as he should do to God, or hath affection in one more than in another, he doth in that, the greatest sin of Mammetry.<sup>1</sup>

*Images.*

*See  
Appendix.*

Also I suppose this fully, That every man in this earth is a pilgrim toward bliss, or toward pain; and that he that knoweth not, ne will not know, ne keep the holy commandments of God in his living here (albeit that he go on pilgrimages to all the world, and he die so), he shall be damned: he that knoweth the holy commandments of God, and keepeth them to his end, he shall be saved, though he never in his life go on pilgrimage, as men now use, to Canterbury, or to Rome, or to any other place.

*Pilgrim-  
age.*

This answer to his articles thus ended and read, he delivered it to the bishops as is said before. Then counselled the archbishop with the other two bishops and with divers of the doctors, what was to be done in this matter; commanding him, for the time, to stand aside. In conclusion, by their assent and information, he said thus unto him: "Come hither, sir John: in this your writing are many good things contained, and right catholic also, we deny it not; but ye must consider that this day was appointed you to answer to other points concerning those articles, whereof, as yet, no mention is made in this your bill: and, therefore, ye must yet declare us your mind more plainly.<sup>2</sup> As thus, whether ye hold, affirm, and believe, that in the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration rightly done by a priest, remaineth material bread, or not? Moreover, whether ye do hold, affirm, and believe, that, as concerning the sacrament of penance (where a competent number of priests are), every christian man is necessarily bound to be confessed of his sins to a priest ordained by the church, or not?"

*The an-  
swers ex-  
amined.*

*Quarrels  
picked  
where  
none was  
given.*

After certain other communication, this was the answer of the good lord Cobham: That none otherwise would he declare his mind, nor yet answer unto his articles, than was expressly in his writing there contained. Then said the Archbishop again unto him: "Sir John, beware what ye do; for if ye answer not clearly to those things that are here objected against you, especially at the time appointed you only for that purpose, the law of holy church<sup>3</sup> is, That, compelled once by a judge, we may openly proclaim you a heretic." Unto whom he gave this answer: "Do as ye shall think best, for I am at a point." Whatsoever he or the other bishops did ask him after that, he bade them resort to his bill; for thereby would he

*The  
christian  
answer of  
the lord  
Cobham.*

(1) "Mammetry," Puppet, or idol-worship.—ED.

(2) The wolf was hungry, he must needs be fed with blood.

(3) A tyrannous whore is that mother.

*Henry V.*A. D.  
1413.

His answer not to their minds. Anti-christ setteth men above God.

The lord Cobham resorteth to Christ.

A doctrine of devils to blind the simple

stand to the very death. Other answer would he not give that day; wherewith the bishops and prelates were in a manner amazed and wonderfully disquieted.

At last the archbishop counselled again with his other bishops and doctors, and in the end thereof declared unto him, what the holy church of Rome, following the saying of St. Augustine, St. Jerome, St. Ambrose, and of the holy doctors, had determined in these matters: no manner of mention once made of Christ! "which determination," saith he, "ought all christian men both to believe and to follow."

Then said the lord Cobham unto him, that he would gladly both believe and observe whatsoever holy church of Christ's institution had determined, or yet whatsoever God had willed him either to believe or to do: but that the pope of Rome, with his cardinals, archbishops, bishops, and other prelates of that church, had lawful power to determine such matter as stood not with His word thoroughly; that, would he not (he said) at that time affirm.<sup>1</sup> With this the archbishop bade him to take good advisement till the Monday next following (which was the twenty-fifth day of September), and then justly to answer, specially unto this point: Whether there remained material bread in the sacrament of the altar after the words of consecration, or not? He promised him also, to send unto him in writing those matters clearly determined, that he might then be the more perfect in his answer-making. And all this was nought else, but to blind the multitude with somewhat. The next day, according to his promise, the archbishop sent unto him, into the Tower, this foolish and blasphemous writing, made by him and by his unlearned clergy.

### The Determination of the Archbishop and Clergy.<sup>2</sup>

First Article.

The faith and determination of the holy church touching the blissful sacrament of the altar, is this: That after the sacramental words be once spoken by a priest in his mass, the material bread, that was before bread, is turned into Christ's very body; and the material wine, that was before wine, is turned into Christ's very blood: and so there remaineth in the sacrament of the altar, from thenceforth, no material bread, nor material wine, which were there before the sacramental words were spoken:—How believe ye this article?

Second Article.

Holy church hath determined that every christian man, living here bodily upon the earth, ought to be shaven to a priest ordained by the church, if he may come to him.—How feel ye this article?

Third Article.

Christ ordained St. Peter the apostle to be his vicar here in earth, whose see is the holy church of Rome; and he granted, that the same power which he gave unto Peter should succeed to all Peter's successors, whom we now call popes of Rome; by whose power, in churches particular, be ordained prelates, as archbishops, bishops, parsons, curates, and other degrees besides; unto whom christian men ought to obey after the laws of the church of Rome. This is the determination of holy church.—How feel ye this article?

The seed of the serpent.

Fourth Article.

Holy church hath determined, that it is meritorious to a christian man, to go on pilgrimage to holy places, and there specially to worship holy relics and images of saints, apostles, and martyrs, confessors, and all other saints besides, approved by the church of Rome.—How feel ye this article?

He seeth their ignorance.

And as the Lord Cobham had read over this most wretched writing, he marvelled greatly of their mad ignorance; but that he

(1) What could be more reasonably said, if they had reason to receive it?

(2) Ex magno processu Thomae Arundel.



considered again, that God had given them over, for their unbelief's sake, into most deep errors and blindness of soul. Again, he perceived hereby, that their uttermost malice was purposed against him, howsoever he should answer; and therefore he put his life into the hands of God, desiring his only Spirit to assist him in his next answer. When the said twenty-fifth day of September was come (which was also the Monday before Michaelmas), in the said year of our Lord 1413, Thomas Arundel, the archbishop of Canterbury, commanded his judicial seat to be removed from the chapter-house of Paul's, to the Dominic friars within Ludgate at London. And as he was there set, with Richard the bishop of London, Henry the bishop of Winchester, and Bennet the bishop of Bangor, he called in unto him his council and his officers, with divers other docters and friars, of whom these are the names here following: Master Henry Ware, the official of Canterbury; Philip Morgan, doctor of both laws; Howel Kiffin, doctor of the canon law; John Kempe, doctor of the canon law; William Carleton, doctor of the canon law; John Whitnam, of the New College in Oxford; John Whitehead, doctor in Oxford also; Robert Wombewel, vicar of St. Lawrence in the Jewry; Thomas Palmer, the warden of Minors; Robert Chamberlain, prior of the Dominics; Richard Dodington, prior of the Augustines; Thomas Walden, prior of the Carmelites: all docters of divinity. John Stephens also, and James Cole, both notaries, were appointed there purposely to write all that should be either said or done. All these, with a great sort more of priests, monks, canons, friars, parish-clerks, bell-ringers, pardoners, disdained him with innumerable mocks and scorns, reckoning him to be a horrible heretic, and a man accursed afore God.

*Henry V.*

*A.D. 1413.*

*Putteth his life in God's hand.*

*The Council of Caiaphas.*

*The Pharisees and Scribes.*

*A rabble of Antichrists.*

Anon the archbishop called for a mass-book, and caused all these prelates and docters to swear thereupon, that every man should faithfully do his office and duty that day; and that neither for favour nor fear, love nor hate of the one party or the other, any thing should there be witnessed, spoken, or done, but according to the truth, as they would answer before God and all the world, at the day of doom. Then were the two aforesaid notaries sworn also to write and to witness the process that there should be uttered on both parties, and to say their minds, if they otherwise knew, before they should register it. And all this dissimulation was but to colour their mischiefs before the ignorant multitude.

*Concilium malignantium.*

*For a false colour swear they. All done to deceive the ignorant.*

Consider herein, gentle reader, what this wicked generation is, and how far wide from the just fear of God; for as they were then, so are they yet to this day.

After that, came forth before them sir Robert Morley, knight, and lieutenant of the Tower; and he brought with him the good lord Cobham, there leaving him among them as a lamb among wolves, to his examination and answer.

### Another Examination of the Lord Cobham.<sup>1</sup>

Then said the archbishop unto him: 'Lord Cobham, ye be advised, I am sure, of the words and process which we had unto you upon Saturday last past, in

(1) Ex vetusto exemplari Londinensium.

Henry  
V.

A. D.  
1413.

The curse  
of Anti-  
christ.

A wolfish  
offer of  
gentle-  
ness.

Lord Cob-  
ham con-  
fesseth  
himself  
unto God.

Man's  
law be-  
fore God's  
law pre-  
ferred.

The true  
christian  
belief of  
lord Cob-  
ham.

Sacra-  
ment of  
the altar.  
John  
White-  
head gone  
from his  
opinions;  
all this  
would not  
help.  
A blas-  
phemous  
brood.  
Quarrel-  
pickers

the chapter-house of Paul's, which process is too long to be rehearsed again now. I said unto you then, that you were accursed for your contumacy and disobedience to the holy church, thinking that ye should with meekness have desired your absolution.'

Then spake the lord Cobham with a cheerful countenance, and said: 'God said by his holy prophet Malachai [chap. ii.], *Maledicam benedictionibus vestris*; which is as much as to say, I shall curse where you bless.'

The archbishop made then as though he had continued forth his tale and not heard him, saying: 'Sir, at that time I gently proffered to have assailed you, if you would have asked it; and yet I do the same, if ye will humbly desire it, in due form and manner, as holy church hath ordained.' Then said the lord Cobham: 'Nay forsooth will I not, for I never yet trespassed against you, and, therefore, I will not do it.'

And with that he kneeled down on the pavement, holding up his hands towards heaven, and said: 'I shrive me here unto thee, my eternal living God, that in my frail youth I offended thee, O Lord! most grievously in pride, wrath, and gluttony, in covetousness, and in lechery. Many men have I hurt in mine anger, and done many other horrible sins; good Lord, I ask thee mercy.' And therewith weepingly he stood up again, and said with a mighty voice: 'Lo, good people! lo; for the breaking of God's law and his great commandments, they never yet cursed me, but, for their own laws and traditions, most cruelly do they handle both me and other men; and therefore, both they and their laws, by the promise of God, shall be utterly destroyed.' [Jer. li.]

At this the archbishop and his company were not a little blemished. Notwithstanding, he took stomach unto him again after certain words had, in excuse of their tyranny, and examined the lord Cobham of his christian belief.—Whereunto the lord Cobham made this godly answer: 'I believe,' saith he, 'fully and faithfully in the universal laws of God; I believe that all is true which is contained in the holy sacred scriptures of the Bible; finally, I believe all that my Lord God would I should believe.'

Then demanded the archbishop an answer of that bill which he and the clergy had sent him into the Tower the day before, in manner of a determination of the church concerning the four articles whereof he was accused; especially for the sacrament of the altar, how he believed therein. Whereunto the lord Cobham said: That with that bill he had nothing to do; but this was his belief, he said, concerning the sacrament: that his Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, sitting at his last supper, with his most dear disciples, the night before he should suffer, took bread in his hand; and giving thanks to his eternal Father, blessed it, brake it, and so gave it unto them, saying, 'Take it unto you, and eat thereof all: this is my body which shall be betrayed for you: do this hereafter in my remembrance.' 'This do I thoroughly believe,' saith he, 'for this faith am I taught in the Gospel of Matthew, xxvi., in Mark xiv., and in Luke xxii.; and also in the first epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, chap. xi.<sup>1</sup>

Then asked the archbishop, If he believed that it were bread *after* the consecration or sacramental words spoken over it? The lord Cobham said: 'I believe that in the sacrament of the altar is Christ's very body in form of bread, the same that was born of the Virgin Mary, done on the cross, dead, and buried, and that the third day arose from death to life, which now is glorified in heaven.'

Then said one of the doctors of the law: 'After the sacramental words be uttered, there remaineth no bread, but only the body of Christ.'

The lord Cobham said then to one Master John Whitehead: 'You said once unto me, in the castle of Cowling, that the sacred Host was not Christ's body; but I held then against you, and proved that therein was his body, though the seculars and friars could not therein agree, but held, each one against the other, that opinion. These were my words then, if ye remember it.' Then shouted a sort of them together, and cried with great noise: 'We say all, that it is God's body.'

And divers of them asked him in great anger, Whether it were material bread after the consecration, or not?

Then looked the lord Cobham earnestly upon the archbishop, and said: 'I believe surely that it is Christ's body, in form of bread. Sir, believe not you thus?' And the archbishop said: 'Yes, marry, do I.'

(1) Antichrist alloweth not this faith.

Then asked him the doctors, whether it were only Christ's body, after the consecration of a priest, and no bread, or not?—And he said unto them : ' It is both Christ's body and bread ; I shall prove it thus : for like as Christ dwelling here upon the earth had in him both Godhead and manhood, and had the invisible Godhead covered under that manhood, which was only visible and seen in him ; so, in the sacrament of the altar, is Christ's very body and bread also, as I believe. The bread is the thing that we see with our eyes, the body of Christ, which is his flesh and his blood, is thereunder hid, and not seen but in faith.'

Henry F.

A. D. 1413.

The sacrament of Christ's body, is both the body and bread.

' And moreover, to prove, that it is both Christ's body and also bread after the consecration, it is by plain words expressed by Gelasius, one of your own doctors, writing against Eutyches, who saith : Like as the selfsame sacraments do pass by the operation of the Holy Ghost into a divine nature, and yet, notwithstanding, keep the property still of their former nature, so that principal mystery declareth to remain one true and perfect Christ,' &c.

Then smiled they each one upon one another, that the people should judge him taken in a great heresy : and, with a great brag, divers of them said : ' It is a foul heresy.'

The pope's divinity.

Then asked the archbishop what bread it was ? And the doctors also inquired of him whether it were material or not?—The lord Cobham said unto them : ' The Scriptures make no mention of this word *material* and therefore my faith hath nothing to do therewith : but this I say and believe, that it is Christ's body and bread ; for Christ said in the sixth of John's gospel : Ego sum panis vivus, qui de cœlo descendi : I which came down from heaven am the living and not the dead bread. Therefore I say now again, as I said before, as our Lord Jesus Christ is very God and very man, so in the most blessed sacrament of the altar is Christ's very body and bread.'

Material bread.

Then said they all with one voice : ' It is a heresy !'

One of the bishops stood up, by and by, and said, ' What ? it is a heresy manifest, to say that it is bread after the sacramental words be once spoken, but Christ's body only.'—The lord Cobham said : ' St. Paul the apostle was, I am sure, as wise as you be now, and more godly learned, and he called it bread, writing to the Corinthians : The bread that we break, saith he, is it not the partaking of the body of Christ ? [1 Cor. x.] Lo ! he called it bread ! and not Christ's body, but a mean whereby we receive Christ's body.'

The sacrament is called bread.

Then said they again : ' Paul must be otherwise understood ; for it is surely a heresy to say that it is bread after the consecration, but only Christ's body.'

The lord Cobham asked : How they could make good that sentence of theirs ?—They answered him thus : ' For it is against the determination of holy church.'

Then said the archbishop unto him : Sir John, we sent you a writing concerning the faith of this blessed sacrament, clearly determined by the church of Rome<sup>2</sup> our mother, and by the holy doctors.'—Then he said again unto him : ' I know none holier than is Christ and his apostles. And as for that determination, I wot it is none of theirs ; for it standeth not with the Scriptures, but manifestly against them. If it be the church's as ye say it is, it hath been hers only since she received the great poison of worldly possessions, and not before.'

A most christian answer.

Then asked they him to stop his mouth therewith, if he believed not in the determination of the church?—And he said unto them : ' No forsooth, for it is no God. In all our creed, this word *in* is but thrice mentioned concerning belief : In God the Father, in God the Son, in God the Holy Ghost, three persons and one God. The birth, the death, the burial, the resurrection and ascension of Christ, hath no *in* for belief, but *in him* ; neither yet hath the church, the sacraments, the forgiveness of sin, the latter resurrection, nor yet the life everlasting, nor any other *in* than in the Holy Ghost.'

See Appendix.

The doctors confounded in their own question.

Then said one of the lawyers : ' Tush, that was but a word of office : but what is your belief concerning holy church ?'—The lord Cobham answered : ' My belief is, as I said before, that all the Scriptures of the sacred Bible are true. All that is grounded upon them I believe thoroughly, for I know it is God's pleasure that I should so do ; but in your lordly laws and idle determinations have I no belief. For ye be no part of Christ's holy church, as your

The lord Cobham believeth not in the pope.

(1) Neither will Scripture nor reason serve. This opinion hath St. Augustine.

(2) A heresy after the papists' making.

(3) The determination of the church must stand, whatsoever Paul saith

Henry  
V.

open deeds do show; but ye are very Antichrists, obstinately set against his holy law and will. The laws that ye have made are nothing to his glory, but only for your vain glory and abominable covetousness.'

A. D.  
1413.

This, they said, was an exceeding heresy<sup>1</sup> (and that in a great fume), not to believe the determination of holy church.

Holy  
church  
defined.

Then the archbishop asked him, What he thought of holy church?—He said unto him: 'My belief is, that the holy church is the number of them who shall be saved, of whom Christ is the head. Of this church one part is in heaven with Christ, another in purgatory you say,<sup>2</sup> and the third is here in earth. This latter part standeth in three degrees, in knighthood, priesthood, and the commonalty, as I said before plainly in the confession of my belief.'

Then said the archbishop unto him: 'Can you tell me who is of this church?'—The lord Cobham answered: 'Yea, truly can I.'

Then said doctor Walden,<sup>3</sup> the prior of the Carmelites: 'It is no doubt unto you, who is thereof. For Christ saith in Matthew vii.: Nolite judicare, Presume to judge no man. If ye be here forbidden the judgment of your neighbour or brother, much more the judgment of your superior.'

The lord Cobham made him this answer, 'Christ saith also in the selfsame chapter of Matthew, That like as the evil tree is known by his fruit, so is a false prophet by his works, appear they ever so glorious. But that, ye left behind ye. And in John i.: he hath this text: Operibus credite; Believe ye the outward doings. And in another place of John vii.: Justum judicium judicate; When we know the thing to be true, we may so judge it, and not offend. For David said also, Psalm lvi.: Recte judicate filii hominum; Judge rightly always, ye children of men. And as for your superiority, were ye of Christ, ye should be meek ministers, and no proud superiors.'<sup>4</sup>

Diversity  
of judg-  
ments.

Then said doctor Walden unto him: 'Ye make here no difference of judgments; ye put no diversity between the evil judgments which Christ hath forbidden, and the good judgments, which he hath commanded us to have. Rash judgment and right judgment, all is one with you. So swift judges always are the learned scholars of Wickliff.'—Unto him the lord Cobham thus answered: 'It is well sophistered of you forsooth. Preposterous are your judgments evermore. For as the prophet Isaiah [ch. v.] saith: Ye judge evil good and good evil: and therefore the same prophet Isaiah [chap. lv. ver. 8] concludeth, that your ways are not God's ways, nor God's ways your ways. And as for that virtuous man Wickliff, whose judgments ye so highly disdain, I shall say here, of my part, both before God and man, that before I knew that despised doctrine of his, I never abstained from sin.<sup>5</sup> But since I learned therein to fear my Lord God, it hath otherwise, I trust, been with me: so much grace could I never find in all your glorious instructions.'

A great  
adver-  
sary.

Then said doctor Walden yet again unto him: 'It were not well with me (so many virtuous men living, and so many learned men teaching the Scripture, being also so open, and the examples of fathers so plenteous), if I then had no grace to amend my life, till I heard the devil preach. St. Jerome saith: That he who seeketh such suspected masters shall not find the mid-day light, but the mid-day devil.'<sup>6</sup>

Doctors  
when the  
Scriptures  
fail,  
they be-  
gin to  
rail.The clergy  
to sit  
on life or  
death,  
hath no  
ground in  
Scripture.  
Followers  
of Caiaphas.

The lord Cobham said: 'Your fathers, the old Pharisees, ascribed Christ's miracles to Beelzebub, and his doctrine to the devil; and you, as their natural children, have still the selfsame judgment concerning his faithful followers.<sup>7</sup> They that rebuke your vicious living must needs be heretics, and that must your doctors prove, when you have no Scripture to do it.' Then said he to them all: 'To judge you as you be, we need go no further than to your own proper acts. Where do you find in all God's law, that ye should thus sit in judgment on any christian man, or yet give sentence upon any other man unto death, as ye do here daily? No ground have ye in all the Scripture so lordly to take it upon you, but in Annas and Caiaphas, who sat thus upon Christ, and upon his apostles after his ascension. Of them only have ye taken it to judge Christ's members as ye do; and neither of Peter nor John.'

Then said some of the lawyers: 'Yes, forsooth, Sir, for Christ judged Judas.'

(1) A heresy after the papists.

(2) Consider him to be then in shrewd handling.

(3) Walden, contra Wicklevistas, lib. 2. ar. 3. cap. 67.

(4) How we may judge, or not judge, by the Scriptures.

(5) Walden, in præfatione Doctrin. vii.

(6) Luke xi. John x.

(7) Hieron. in breviario minori.

—The lord Cobham said, 'No! Christ judged him not, but he judged himself, and thereupon went forth and so did hang himself: but indeed Christ said: Wo unto him, for that covetous act of his, as he doth yet still unto many of you. For since the venom of him was shed into the church, ye never followed Christ, neither yet have ye stood in the perfection of God's law.

Henry  
V.A. D.  
1413.

Then the archbishop asked him, What he meant by that venom?—The lord Cobham said: 'Your possessions and lordships. For then cried an angel in the air, as your own chronicles mention, Wo, wo, wo, this day is venom shed into the church of God. Before that time all the bishops of Rome were martyrs, in a manner: and since that time we read of very few. But indeed since that same time, one hath put down another, one hath poisoned another, one hath cursed another, and one hath slain another, and done much more mischief besides, as all the chronicles tell. And let all men consider well this, that Christ was meek and merciful; the pope is proud and a tyrant: Christ was poor and forgave; the pope is rich and a malicious manslayer, as his daily acts do prove him: Rome is the very nest of Antichrist; and out of that nest come all the disciples of him; of whom prelates, priests, and monks, are the body, these pillaged friars are the tail behind.'

Twenty-six bishops of Rome together martyrs, save only four. Comparison between the martyrs' and the popes' time. Also between Christ and the pope.

Rome is Antichrist's nest.

Then said the prior of the friars Augustine: 'Alack, Sir, why do you say so? that is uncharitably spoken.'—And the lord Cobham said: 'Not only is it my saying, but also the prophet Isaiah, [chap. ix.] long before my time. The prophet, saith he, which preacheth lies, is the tail-behind. For as you friars and monks, be, like Pharisees, divided in your outward apparel and visages, so make ye division among the people. And thus you, with such others, are the very natural members of Antichrist.

Friars proved seditious, and yet found no traitors. The religion of bishops.

Then said he unto them all: 'Christ saith in his gospel, Matt. xxiii. Wo unto you Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites; for ye close up the kingdom of heaven before men, neither enter ye in yourselves, nor yet suffer any others that would enter into it, but ye stop up the ways thereunto with your own traditions, and therefore are ye the household of Antichrist: ye will not permit God's verity to have passage, nor yet to be taught by his true ministers, fearing to have your wickedness reprov'd. But by such flatterers as uphold you in your mischiefs, ye suffer the common people most miserably to be seduced.'

See  
Appendix.

Then said the archbishop: 'By our lady, Sir, there shall none such preach within my diocese, and God will, nor yet in my jurisdiction, if I may know it, as either make division,<sup>1</sup> or yet dissension among the poor commons.'—The lord Cobham said: 'Both Christ and his apostles were accused of sedition-making, yet were they most peaceable men;<sup>2</sup> both Daniel and Christ prophesied, that such a troublous time should come, as hath not been yet since the world's beginning. And this prophecy is partly fulfilled in your days and doings; for many have ye slain already, and more will ye slay hereafter, if God fulfil not his promise. Christ saith also [Matt. xxiv.]: If those days of yours were not shortened, scarcely should any flesh be saved; therefore look for it justly, for God will shorten your days. Moreover, though priests and deacons for preaching of God's word and for ministering the sacraments, with provision for the poor, be grounded on God's law, yet have these other sects no manner of ground hereof, so far as I have read.'

Then a doctor of law, called Master John Kemp, plucked out of his bosom a copy of the bill which they had before sent him into the Tower by the archbishop's council, thinking thereby to make shorter work with him; for they were so amazed with his answers (not all unlike to them who disputed with Stephen), that they knew not well how to occupy the time; their wits and sophistry, as God would, so failed them that day.

Mark this working of Satan.

'My lord Cobham,' saith this doctor, 'we must briefly know your mind concerning these four points here following. The first of them is this:—and then he read upon the bill; 'The faith and determination of holy church touching the blessed sacrament of the altar is this; That after the sacramental words be once spoken by a priest in his mass, the material bread, that was before bread, is turned into Christ's very body, and the material wine, is turned into Christ's blood. And so there remaineth, in the sacrament of the altar, from thence-

First Article.

Transubstantiation of bread into the body.

(1) Note, I pray you, how those are counted traitors and seditious, who teach, or cause God's truth to be taught.

(2) Luke xxiii. John xix.

Henry  
V.A. D.  
1413.Lord  
Cobham's  
belief in  
the sacra-  
ment.  
Second  
Article.Confes-  
sion of  
sins to  
God only.Third  
Article.Who is  
next to  
Peter.  
Succes-  
sion not  
of place  
but of  
condi-  
tion,  
maketh  
Peter's  
heir.  
Anti-  
christ's  
head,  
body, and  
tail.Fourth  
Article.  
Pilgri-  
mage.What is  
to be  
done  
with  
images.Saints  
are be-  
come  
covetous  
beggars.See  
Appendix.A whelp  
of the  
same  
bear.

forth no material bread, nor material wine, which were there before the sacramental words were spoken: Sir, believe you not this?—The lord Cobham said: 'This is not my belief; but my faith is, as I said to you before, that in the worshipful sacrament of the altar is Christ's very body in form of bread.'

Then said the archbishop: 'Sir John! ye must say otherwise.'—The lord Cobham said: 'Nay, that I will not, if God be upon my side, as I trust he is; but that there is Christ's body in form of bread, as the common belief is.'

Then read the doctor again:—'The second point is this: Holy church hath determined, that every christian man, living here bodily upon earth, ought to be shaven of a priest ordained by the church, if he may come to him. Sir, what say you to this?'

The lord Cobham answered and said: 'A diseased or sore wounded man hath need to have a sure wise chirurgeon and a true, knowing both the ground and the danger of the same. Most necessary were it, therefore, to be first shaven unto God, who only knoweth our diseases, and can help us. I deny not in this the going to a priest, if he be a man of good life and learning; for the laws of God are to be required of the priest, who is godly learned. [Mal. ii.] But if he be an idiot, or a man of vicious living that is my curate, I ought rather to flee from him than to seek unto him; for sooner might I catch evil of him that is naught, than any goodness towards my soul-health.'

Then read the doctor again:—'The third point is this: Christ ordained St. Peter the apostle to be his vicar here in earth, whose see is the church of Rome, and he granted that the same power which he gave unto Peter should succeed unto all Peter's successors, whom we now call popes of Rome: by whose special power, in churches particular, be ordained prelates and archbishops, parsons, curates, and other degrees besides, to whom christian men ought to obey after the laws of the church of Rome. This is the determination of holy church. Sir, believe ye not this?'

To this he answered and said: 'He that followeth Peter most nigh in pure living, is next unto him in succession; but your lordly order esteemeth not greatly the lowly behaviour of poor Peter, whatsoever ye prate of him, neither care ye greatly for the humble manners of them that succeeded him till the time of Sylvester, who, for the more part, were martyrs, as I told you before. Ye can let all their good conditions go by you, and not hurt yourselves with them at all. All the world knoweth this well enough by you, and yet ye can make boast of Peter.'

With that, one of the other doctors asked him: 'Then what do ye say of the pope?—The lord Cobham answered: 'As I said before, he and you together make whole the great Antichrist, of whom he is the great head; you bishops, priests, prelates, and monks, are the body; and the begging friars are the tail, for they cover the filthiness of you both, with their subtle sophistry; neither will I in conscience obey any of you all, till I see you, with Peter, follow Christ in conversation.'

Then read the doctor again:—'The fourth point is this: Holy church hath determined, that it is meritorious to a christian man, to go on pilgrimage to holy places, and there specially to worship the holy relics and images of saints, apostles, martyrs, confessors, and all other saints besides, approved by the church of Rome. Sir, what say you to this?'

Whereunto he answered: 'I owe them no service by any commandment of God, and therefore I mind not to seek them for your covetousness. It were best ye swept them fair from cobwebs and dust, and so laid them up for catching of scathe, or else to bury them fair in the ground, as ye do other aged people, who are God's images. It is a wonderful thing, that saints now being dead should become so covetous and needy, and thereupon so bitterly beg, who all their life time hated all covetousness and begging. But this I say unto you, and I would all the world should mark it, that with your shrines and idols, your feigned absolutions and pardons, ye draw unto you the substance, wealth, and chief pleasures of all christian realms.'

'Why Sir,' said one of the clerks, 'will ye not worship good images?—'What worship should I give unto them?' said the lord Cobham.

Then said friar Palmer unto him: 'Sir, will ye worship the cross of Christ, that he died upon?—'Where is it?' said the lord Cobham.

The friar said: 'I put you the case, Sir, that it were here, even now before

you.'—The lord Cobham answered; 'This is a great wise man, to put me an earnest question of a thing, and yet he himself knoweth not where the thing itself is. Yet once again I ask you, What worship I should do unto it?'

A clerk said unto him: 'Such worship as Paul speaketh of, and that is this; God forbid that I should joy, but only in the cross of Jesus Christ.'—Then said the lord Cobham, and spread his arms abroad: 'This is a very cross, yea, and so much better than your cross of wood, in that it was created of God; yet will not I seek to have it worshipped.'

Then said the bishop of London: 'Sir, ye wot well that he died on a material cross.'—The lord Cobham said: 'Yea, and I wot also, that our salvation came not in by that material cross, but alone by him who died thereupon. And well I wot, that holy St. Paul rejoiced in none other cross, but in Christ's passion and death only, and in his own sufferings of like persecution with him, for the selfsame verity that he hath suffered for before.'

Another clerk yet asked him, 'Will ye then do no honour to the holy cross?'—He answered him: 'Yes, if he were mine own, I would lay him up honestly, and see unto him that he should take no more scathe abroad, nor be robbed of his goods, as he is now adays.'

Then said the archbishop unto him: 'Sir John, ye have spoken here many wonderful words to the slanderous rebuke of the whole spirituality, giving a great evil example unto the common sort here,<sup>2</sup> to have us in the more disdain. Much time have we spent here about you, and all in vain, so far as I can see. Well, we must now be at this short point with you, for the day passeth away: ye must either submit yourself to the ordinance of holy church, or else throw yourself (no remedy) into most deep danger. See to it in time, for else anon it will be too late.'

The lord Cobham said: 'I know not to what purpose I should otherwise submit me. Much more have you offended me, than ever I offended you, in thus troubling me before this multitude.'

Then said the archbishop again unto him: 'We once again require you to remember yourself well, and to have no other manner of opinion in these matters, than the universal faith and belief of the holy church of Rome is. And so, like an obedient child, return again to the unity of your mother. See to it I say in time, for yet ye may have remedy, whereas, anon, it will be too late.'

The lord Cobham said expressly before them all: 'I will no otherwise believe in these points than what I have told you here before. Do with me what you will.'

Finally, then the archbishop said: 'Well, then I see none other but that we must needs do the law; we must proceed forth to the sentence definitive, and both judge you and condemn you for a heretic.'

And with that the archbishop stood up and read there a bill of his condemnation, all the clergy and laity vailing their bonnets. And this was the tenor thereof.

### A Bill of the Lord Cobham's Condemnation.

In the name of God; Amen. We Thomas, by the sufferance of God, archbishop of Canterbury, metropolitan and primate of all England, and legate from the apostolic see of Rome, will this be known unto all men. In a certain cause of heresy, and upon divers articles, whereupon sir John Oldecastle, knight, and lord Cobham, after a diligent inquisition made for the same, was detected, accused, and presented before us, in our last convocation of all our province of Canterbury, holden in the cathedral church of Paul's at London, at the lawful denouncement and request of our universal clergy in the said convocation, we proceeded against him according to the law (God to witness) with all the favour possible: and, following Christ's example in all that we might

Henry  
V.

A. D.  
1413.

The cross,  
whether  
it is to be  
worship-  
ped.

What it is  
to rejoice  
in the  
cross of  
Christ.

See  
Appendix.

Slandered  
with the  
truth.

A wolfish  
offer of  
gentle-  
ness.

Bloody  
murder-  
ers.

Suffered  
of God as  
a plague.  
A heretic  
for con-  
fessing of  
Christ.

(1) The material cross is not 'material' to our faith.

(2) These men seem to stand only upon their estimation amongst the people.

*Henry**V.*A.D.  
1413.

The wolf  
would ap-  
pear cha-  
ritable.  
See if  
they show  
not them-  
selves.

Who willett not the death of a sinner, but rather that he be converted and live;<sup>1</sup> we took upon us to correct him, and sought all other ways possible to bring him again to the church's unity, declaring unto him what the holy and universal church of Rome hath said, holden, determined, and taught, in that behalf. And though we found him in the catholic faith far wide, and so stiff-necked, that he would not confess his error, nor purge himself, nor yet repent him thereof, we yet, pitying him of fatherly compassion, and entirely desiring the health of his soul, appointed him a competent time of deliberation, to see if he would repent and seek to be reformed; but since that time we have found him worse and worse. Considering, therefore, that he is not corrigible, we are driven to the very extremity of the law, and with great heaviness of heart we now proceed to the publication of the sentence definitive against him.

Then brought he forth another bill,<sup>2</sup> containing the said sentence, and that he read also, in his beggarly Latin. "Christi nomine invocato, ipsumque solum præ oculis habentes. Quia per acta inactivata," and so forth. Which I have also translated into English, that men may understand it.

### The definitive Sentence of Lord Cobham's Condemnation.

Christ we take unto witness, that nothing else we seek in this our whole enterprise, but his only glory. Forasmuch as we have found, by divers acts done, brought forth, and exhibited, by sundry evidences, signs, and tokens, and also by many most manifest proofs, the said sir John Oldecastle, knight, and lord Cobham, not only to be an evident heretic in his own person, but also a mighty maintainer of other heretics against the faith and religion of the holy and universal church of Rome; namely about the two sacraments (of the altar and of penance), besides the pope's power and pilgrimages; and that he, as the child of iniquity and darkness, hath so hardened his heart, that he will in no case attend unto the voice of his pastor;<sup>3</sup> neither will he be allured by straight admonishments, nor yet be brought in by favourable words: the worthiness of the cause first weighed on the one side, and his unworthiness again considered on the other side, his faults also aggravated or made double through his damnable obstinacy (we being loth that he who is naught should be worse, and so with his contagiousness infect the multitude), by the sage counsel and assent of the very discreet fathers, our honourable brethren, and lords bishops here present, Richard of London, Henry of Winchester, and Bennet of Bangor, and of other great, learned, and wise men here, both doctors of divinity, and of the laws canon and civil, seculars and religious, with divers other expert men assisting us: we sententially and definitively, by this present writing, judge, declare, and condemn<sup>4</sup> the said sir John Oldecastle, knight, and lord Cobham, for a most pernicious, detestable heretic, convicted upon the same, and refusing utterly to obey the church again, committing him here from henceforth as a condemned heretic, to the secular jurisdiction, power, and judgment, [to do him thereupon to death].<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, we excommunicate and denounce

A colour  
of deceit.

Christ is  
condemn-  
ed in his  
faithful  
members.  
*See  
Appendix.*

(1) Ezek. xviii. and xxxv.

(2) Ex magno processu Thomæ Arundeli.

(3) A true sheep heareth the voice of a true pastor.

(4) As Caiaphas did Christ.

(5) "Do him thereupon to death." This was at his first trial, and before his escape from the Tower. This, then, is all we require to refute the calumnies which have been heaped upon the lord Cobham by Romish writers, and to prove that the religious tyranny of the papists, and not his own misconduct, was the origin of those proceedings which were instituted against him. Mr. Charles Butler, in his book of the Roman Catholic Church, confidently inquires, (Letter xi. p. 145), "Had not his practices with the Lollards, in their most revolutionary designs, and his encouragement of them been discovered?" It might be asked, however, If "rebellion," and "revolutionary designs," were the causes which made lord Cobham odious to the king and the ecclesiastics, why were not these charges brought forward at his first trial: and why did the whole of the above examination turn upon the vain doctrine of transubstantiation? He was not condemned on this occasion for conspiring against king Henry, but, as the records of the notaries, and his sentence definitive expressly state, "for refusing to obey the church;" the question of his imputed rebellion is not even agitated, and yet he is condemned to death, and all his favourers formally accursed. Let the lord Cobham have been, subsequently, one of the most revolutionary spirits of his age, let him eventually have taken arms against his king, still the truth cannot be evaded, that, primarily, he was condemned to death for refusing to submit to the church of Rome.



accursed, not only this heretic here present, but so many else besides as shall hereafter, in favour of his error, either receive him or defend him, counsel him or help him, or any other way maintain him, as very fautors, receivers, defenders, counsellors, aiders, and maintainers of condemned heretics.

And that these premises may be the better known by all faithful christian men,<sup>1</sup> we commit it here unto your charges, and give you straight commandment thereupon by this writing also, that ye cause this condemnation and definitive sentence of excommunication concerning both this heretic and his fautors, to be published throughout all dioceses, in cities, towns, and villages, by your curates and parish priests, at such times as they shall have most recourse of people. And see that it be done after this sort: As the people are thus gathered devoutly together, let the curate every where go into the pulpit, and there open, declare, and expound this process, in the mother-tongue, in an audible and intelligible voice, that it may be perceived of all men: and that upon the fear of this declaration also the people may fall from their evil opinions conceived now, of late, by seditious preachers. Moreover we will, that after we have delivered unto each one of you bishops, who are here present, a copy hereof, that ye cause the same to be written out again into divers copies, and to be sent unto the other bishops and prelates of our whole province, that they may also see the contents thereof solemnly published within their dioceses and cures. Finally, we will that both you and they signify again unto us, seriously and distinctly, by your writings, as the matter is, without feigned colour, in every point performed, the day whereon ye received this process, the time when it was of you executed, and after what sort it was done in every condition, according to the tenor hereof, that we may know it to be justly the same.<sup>2</sup>

Henry  
V.A. D.  
1413See  
AppendixKeep the  
sepulchre  
never so  
much, yet  
Christ  
will rise.  
None  
office left  
undone  
pertaining  
to  
Anti-  
christ.

A copy of this writing Thomas Arundel the archbishop of Canterbury sent afterwards from Maidstone, the tenth day of October, within the same year of our Lord, 1413, unto Richard Clifford the bishop of London, which thus beginneth: "Thomas, permissione divina," &c.<sup>3</sup>

The said Richard Clifford sent another copy thereof enclosed within his own letters, unto Robert Maschal, a Carmelite friar, who was then bishop of Hereford in Wales, written from Haddam, the twenty-third of October in the same year, the beginning whereof is this: "Reverende in Christo Pater," &c.

Richard  
Clifford.

This Robert Maschal directed another copy thereof from London the twenty-seventh day of November in the same year, enclosed in his own commission also, unto his archdeacon and deans in Hereford and Shrewsbury; and this is thereof the beginning, "Venerabilibus et discretis viris," &c. In like manner did the other bishops within their dioceses.

Robert  
MaschalEx utro-  
que ex-  
emplari

After the archbishop had thus read the bill of his condemnation, with most extremity, before the whole multitude, the lord Cobham said with a most cheerful countenance: "Though ye judge my body, which is but a wretched thing, yet am I certain and sure, that ye can do no harm to my soul, no more than could Satan unto the soul of Job. He that created that, will of his infinite mercy and promise save it. I have, therein, no manner of doubt. And as concerning these articles before-rehearsed I will stand to them even to the very death, by the grace of my eternal God."

And therewith he turned him unto the people, casting his hands

This point being established, the cause of the lord Cobham may be left with perfect confidence in the hands of our author.—Ed.

(1) How spiritual these fathers are.

(2) What care is here to hold up their popery.

(3) Tho. Walden. in fasciculo Zizaniorum Wielevi

*Henry V.*  
*A.D.*  
*1413.*

abroad, and saying with a very loud voice: "Good christian people, for God's love be well ware of these men, for they will else beguile you, and lead you blindling into hell with themselves. For Christ saith plainly unto you, [Matt. x.] 'If one blind man leadeth another, they are like both to fall into the ditch.'" *He prayeth for his enemies.*

After this, he fell down there upon his knees, and thus before them all prayed for his enemies, holding up both his hands and his eyes towards heaven, and saying, "Lord God Eternal! I beseech thee, of thy great mercy sake, to forgive my pursuers, if it be thy blessed will." And then he was delivered to sir Robert Morley, and so led forth again to the Tower of London; and thus there was an end of that day's work.

While the lord Cobham was thus in the Tower, he sent out privily unto his friends; and they, at his request, wrote this little bill here following, causing it to be set up in divers quarters of London, that the people should not believe the slanders and lies that his enemies, the bishop's servants and priests, had made on him abroad. And thus was the letter:<sup>1</sup>

### A Testimonial made by the Lord Cobham's Friends.

*To stop  
 lying lips,  
 a rehearsal  
 of his  
 belief,*

Forasmuch as sir John Oldeastle, knight, and lord Cobham, is untruly convicted and imprisoned, falsely reported and slandered among the common people by his adversaries, that he should otherwise both think and speak of the sacraments of the church, and especially of the blessed sacrament of the altar, than was written in the confession of his belief; which was indented and taken to the clergy, and so set up in divers open places of the city of London: known be it here to all the world, that he never since varied in any point therefrom, but this is plainly his belief: That all the sacraments of the church be profitable and expedient also to all them that shall be saved, taking them after the intent that Christ and his true church have ordained. Furthermore he believeth, That the blessed sacrament of the altar is verily and truly Christ's body in form of bread.<sup>2</sup>

*The  
 clergy  
 hated  
 of the  
 people.*

After this, the bishops and priests were in great discredit both with the nobility and commons; partly, for that they had so cruelly handled the good lord Cobham, and partly again, because his opinion (as they thought at that time) was perfect concerning the sacrament. The prelates feared this to grow to further inconvenience towards them both ways, wherefore they drew their heads together, and at last consented to use another practice somewhat contrary to that they had done before. They caused it by and by to be blown abroad by their feed servants, friends, and babbling sir Johns,<sup>3</sup> that the said lord Cobham was become a good man, and had lowly submitted himself in all things unto holy church, utterly changing his opinion concerning the sacrament. And thereupon, they counterfeited an abjuration in his name, that the people should take no hold of his opinion by any thing they had heard of him before, and so to stand the more in awe of them, considering him so great a man, and by them subdued.

*A practice  
 of false  
 priests.*

*These are  
 their  
 common  
 feats.*

This is the abjuration, say they, of sir John Oldeastle, knight, sometime the lord Cobham.

(1) Ex vetusto exemplari Londinensium.

(2) In form of bread, but not without bread he meaneth.

(3) A name of derision for the lower orders of the popish clergy.—Ed.

An Abjuration counterfeited by the Bishops.<sup>1</sup>Henry  
V.A. D.  
1413.

In Dei nomine, Amen. I John Oldcastle denounced, detected and convicted of, and upon, divers articles savouring both heresy and error, before the reverend father in Christ and my good lord, Thomas, by the permission of God, lord archbishop of Canterbury, and my lawful and rightful judge in that behalf, expressly grant and confess: That as concerning the estate and power of the most holy father the pope of Rome, of his archbishops, his bishops, and his other prelates, the degrees of the church, and the holy sacraments of the same, especially of the sacraments of the altar, of penance, and other observances besides of our mother, holy church, as pilgrimages and pardons; I affirm, I say, before the said reverend father archbishop, and elsewhere, that I, being evil-seduced by divers seditious preachers, have grievously erred, and heretically persisted, blasphemously answered, and obstinately rebelled; and therefore I am, by the said reverend father, before the reverend fathers in Christ also, the bishops of London, Winchester, and Bangor, lawfully condemned for a heretic.

Mark  
from  
whence  
this gear  
cometh.Fine  
work-  
manship,  
I trow.

Yet nevertheless, I now, remembering myself, and coveting by this mean to avoid that temporal pain which I am worthy to suffer as a heretic, at the assignation of my most excellent christian prince and liege lord, king Henry V., now, by the grace of God, most worthy king both of England and of France; minding also to prefer the wholesome determination, sentence, and doctrine of the holy universal church of Rome, before the unwholesome opinions of myself, my teachers, and my followers, I freely, willingly, deliberately, and thoroughly confess, grant, and affirm, that the most holy fathers in Christ, St. Peter the apostle, and his successors, bishops of Rome, especially now at this time my most blessed lord, pope John, by the permission of God, the three and twentieth pope of that name, who now holdeth Peter's seat (and each of them in their succession), hath full strength and power to be Christ's vicar on earth, and the head of the church militant: and that by the strength of his office (what, though he be a great sinner, and afore-known of God to be damned?) he hath full authority and power to rule and govern, bind and loose, save and destroy, accuse and assail, all other christian men.

Alas!  
good  
man,  
thou art  
sland-  
ered.

And agreeably still unto this I confess, grant, and affirm, all other archbishops, bishops, and prelates in their provinces, dioceses, and parishes, appointed by the said pope of Rome to assist him in his doings or business, by his decrees, canons, or virtue of his office, to have had in times past, to have now at this time, and that they ought to have in time to come, authority and power to rule and govern, bind and loose, accuse and assail, the subjects or people of their aforesaid provinces, dioceses, and parishes, and that their said subjects or people ought, of right, in all things to obey them. Furthermore, I confess, grant, and affirm, that the said spiritual fathers, as our most holy father the pope, archbishops, bishops, and prelates, have had, have now, and ought to have hereafter, authority and power for the estate, order, and governance of their subjects or people, to make laws, decrees, statutes, and constitutions, yea, and to publish, command, and compel their said subjects and people to the observation of them.

How  
prove ye  
that by  
the Scrip-  
tures?

Moreover, I confess, grant, and affirm, that all these aforesaid laws, decrees, statutes, and constitutions, made, published, and commanded, according to the form of spiritual law, all christian people, and every man in himself is straightly bound to observe, and meekly to obey, according to the diversity of the aforesaid powers, as the laws, statutes, canons, and constitutions of our most holy father the pope, incorporated in his decrees, decretals, clementines, codes, charts, rescripts, sextiles, and extravagants over all the world; and as the provincial statutes of archbishops in their provinces, the synodal acts of bishops in their dioceses, and the commendable rules and customs of prelates in their colleges, and curates in their parishes, all christian people are both bound to observe, and also most meekly to obey. Over and besides all this, I, John Oldcastle, utterly forsaking and renouncing all the aforesaid errors and heresies, and all other errors and heresies like unto them, lay my hand here upon this book or holy evangely of God, and swear, that I shall never more from henceforth hold these aforesaid heresies nor yet any other like unto them wittingly. Neither

No Scrip-  
ture have  
they to  
show.Intole-  
rable  
yokes lay  
they.

(1) Walden. in fasciculo Zizaniorum Wiclevi.

*Henry V.*A. D.  
1113.The  
pope holy  
Bible of  
papists.  
Mark this  
handling.This  
charge  
gave they  
com-  
monly.

shall I give counsel, aid, help, or favour at any time, to them that shall hold, teach, affirm, or maintain the same, as God shall help me,<sup>1</sup> and these holy evangelists.

And I shall from henceforth faithfully obey, and inviolably observe;<sup>2</sup> all the holy laws, statutes, canons, and constitutions, of all the popes of Rome, archbishops, bishops, and prelates, which are contained and determined in their holy decrees, decretals, clementines, codes, charts, rescripts, sextiles, sums papal, extravagants, statutes provincial, acts synodal, and other ordinary regules and customs constituted by them, or that shall chance hereafter directly to be determined or made. To these and all such other will I myself with all power possible apply. Besides all this, the penance which it shall please my said reverend father the lord archbishop of Canterbury hereafter to enjoin me for my sins, I will meekly obey and faithfully fulfil. Finally, all my seducers and false teachers, and all others besides, whom I shall hereafter know suspected of heresy or errors, I shall effectually present, or cause to be presented, unto my said reverend father lord archbishop, or to them who have his authority, so soon as I can conveniently do it, and see that they be corrected to my uttermost power.

This abjuration never came to the hands of the lord Cobham, neither was it compiled by them for that purpose, but only therewith to blear the eyes of the unlearned multitude for a time; after which like fetch and subtle practice was also devised the recantation of the archbishop Thomas Cranmer, to stop for a time the people's mouths: which subtlety in like manner was also practised with the false recantation of the bishop Hooper, and divers other, as in their places hereafter, Christ granting, shall be showed.

\* And<sup>3</sup> when the clergy perceived that policy would not help, but made more and more against them, then sought they out another false practice: they went unto the king with a most grievous complaint<sup>4</sup>, like as they did afore, in his father's time, that in every quarter of the realm, by reason of Wickliff's opinions, and the said lord Cobham, were wonderful contentions, rumours, tumults, uproars, confederations, dissensions, divisions, differences, discords, harms, slanders, schisms, sects, seditions, perturbations, perils, unlawful assemblies, variances, strifes, fightings, rebellious ruffings, and daily insurrections. The church, they said, was hated. The diocesans were not obeyed. The ordinaries were not regarded. The spiritual officers, as suffragans, archdeacons, chancellors, doctors, commissaries, officials, deans, lawyers, scribes, and somners, were every where despised. The laws and liberties of holy church were trodden under foot. The christian faith was ruinously decayed. God's service was laughed to scorn. The spiritual jurisdiction, authority, honour, power, policy, laws, rites, ceremonies, curses, keys, censures, and canonical sanctions of the church, were had in utter contempt, so that all, in a manner, was come to naught.

And the cause of this was, that the heretics and lollards of Wickliff's opinion were suffered to preach abroad so boldly, to gather conventicles unto them, to keep schools in men's houses, to make

The cla-  
mour of  
the pa-  
pists.Christ  
always  
troubleth  
them.

(1) Never made he such an oath.

(2) And this maintain they still.

(3) The next few paragraphs are from the Edition 1563, p. 274. Why Foxe should have omitted them in succeeding editions does not readily appear. Dr. Wordsworth, in his Ecclesiastical Biography, vol. i. p. 269, quotes them from "Bales Breve Chronicle," observing that "the history is not equally full or well told in Fox;" a remark which does not apply to the first edition of the "Acts and Monuments."—Ed.

(4) Ex Statutis Parliamenti Regis Henrici V.

books, compile treatises, and write ballads, to teach privately in angles and corners, as in woods, fields, meadows, pastures, groves, and in caves of the ground.

This would be, said they, a destruction to the commonwealth, a subversion to the land, and an utter decay of the king's estate royal, if remedy were not sought in time. And this was their policy, to couple the king's authority with what they had done in their former council, of craft, and so to make it, thereby, the stronger. For they perceived themselves very far too weak else, to follow against their enemies, what they had so largely enterprized. Upon this complaint, the king immediately called a parliament at Leicester. It might not, in those days, be holden at Westminster, for the great favour that the lord Cobham had, both in London and about the city. Yet were they deceived; what they doubted most, lighted the soonest upon them.

A bill was put in there again by the commons, against their continual wasting of the temporalities,<sup>1</sup> like as it had been twice before, by procurement of the said lord Cobham, both in the days of king Richard II., A. D. 1395,<sup>2</sup> and also of king Henry IV., A. D. 1410. Whereupon was grown all this malice afore specified; but this was then workmanly defeated by another proper practice of theirs: they put the king in remembrance to claim his right in France, and granted him thereunto a disme,<sup>3</sup> with other great subsidy of money. Thus were Christ's people betrayed every way, and their lives bought and sold by these most cruel thieves. For, in the said parliament, the king made this most blasphemous and cruel act, to be as a law for ever: That whatsoever they were that should read the Scriptures in the mother tongue (which was then called Wickliff's learning), they should forfeit land, cattle, body, life, and goods, from their heirs for ever, and so be condemned for heretics to God, enemies to the crown, and most arrant traitors to the land.<sup>4</sup>

Besides this, it was enacted, That never a sanctuary, nor privileged ground within the realm, should hold them, though they were still permitted both to thieves and murderers. And if, in any case they would not give over, or were, after their pardon, relapsed, they should suffer death in two manner of kinds: that is; they should first be hanged for treason against the king, and then be burned for heresy against God: and yet neither of them committed. The beginning of that act is this: "Pro eo quod magni rumores," &c. Anon after, was it proclaimed throughout the realm, and then had the bishops, priests, monks, and friars, a world somewhat to their minds.

For then were many taken in divers quarters, and suffered most cruel death. And many fled out of the land into Germany, Bohemia, France, Spain, Portugal, and into the welds<sup>5</sup> of Scotland, Wales, and Ireland; working there many marvels against their false kingdom too long to write.<sup>6</sup> In the Christmas following were sir Roger Acton, knight, master John Brown, esquire, sir John Beverly, a learned preacher, and divers others, attached, for quarrelling with

Henry  
V.

A. D.  
1413.

An old  
practice  
of theirs  
yet used.

See  
Appendix.

A cruel  
act of  
king  
Henry V.  
for reli-  
gion.

Christ  
hath less  
favour  
than  
thieves.

Never  
tyrant  
more  
cruel.

A sore  
persecu-  
tion in  
England  
for reli-  
gion.

(1) Robertus Fabianus, in Chronicis. Waldenus in fasciculo.

(2) Fabianus in Chronicis.

(3) "Disme," a tenth.—ED

(4) Waldenus ad Martinum papam, lib. 2, cap. 46, et in Sermone de funere regis. [See Appendix.] Polydorus.

(5) "Weld," or "weold," (Saxon) a forest.—ED.

(6) Waldenus ad Martinum papam, lib. 2, cap. 50. De sacramentalibus, cap. 53.

*Henry  
V.*

certain priests, and so imprisoned; for all men at that time could not patiently suffer their blasphemous brags.<sup>1</sup>

*A. D.  
1413.*

The complaint was made unto the king of them, that they had made a great assembly in St. Giles's field at London, purposing the destruction of the land, and the subversion of the common-wealth. As the king was thus informed, he erected a banner, saith Walden,<sup>2</sup> with a cross thereupon; as the pope doth commonly by his legates, when he pretendeth to war against the Turks, and, with a great number of men, entered the same field, where he found no such company. Yet was the complaint judged true, because the bishops had spoken it at the information of their priests. All this hath Thomas Walden in divers of his works, who was, at the same time, a white or Carmelite friar, and the king's confessor; and partly it is touched, both by Robert Fabian, and by Polidore Virgil, in their English Chronicles, but not in all points rightly, as is to be seen in our stories afore touched.\*

For con-  
firmation  
of this  
history.

And thus much hitherto concerning the first trouble of sir John Oldecastle, lord Cobham, with all the circumstances of the true time, place, occasion, causes, and order belonging to the same, wherein I trust I have sufficiently satisfied all the parts, requisite to a faithful history, without corruption. For the confirmation whereof, to the intent the mind also of the wrangling caviller may be satisfied, and to stop the mouth of the adversary, which I see in all places to be ready to bark, I have, therefore, of purpose annexed withal my ground and foundation, taken out of the archives and registers of the archbishop of Canterbury:<sup>3</sup> whereby may appear the manifest error both of Polydore, and of Edward Hall, who, being deceived in the right distinction of the times, assign this citation and examination of the lord Cobham to be after the council of Constance, whereas Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, at the council of Constance was not alive. The copy and testimony of his own letter shall declare the same, being written and sent to the bishop of London in form as followeth.

Edward  
Hall de-  
ceived.

Copy of the Epistle of the Archbishop of Canterbury, written to the Bishop of London, whereon dependeth the ground and certainty of this aforesaid History of the Lord Cobham above premised.

To the reverend father in Christ, and lord, the lord Robert, by the grace of God, bishop of Hereford, Richard, by the permission of God, bishop of London, health and continual increase of sincere love: We have of late received the letters of the reverend father in Christ, and lord, the lord Thomas, by the grace of God archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the apostolic see. To our reverend brother the lord Richard bishop of London, health and brotherly love in the Lord. It was lately concluded before us, in the convocation of prelates and clergy of our province of Canterbury last celebrated in our church of St. Paul, intreating amongst other things with the said prelates and clergy upon the union and reformation of the church of England, by us and the said prelates and clergy; that it was almost impossible to amend the whole of our Lord's coat which was without seam, unless, first of all,

(1) Walden, Fabian, John Major, Polydore.

(2) Waldenus ad Martinum, et in prologo de sacramentis.

(3) Ex Epistola Thom. Arund. ad Rich. Lond. [Wilkins's Conc. iii. p. 353—Ed.]

certain nobles of the realm, who are authors, favourers, protectors, defenders, and receivers of these heretics called Lollards, were sharply rebuked, and, if need were, by the censures of the church and the help of the secular power, they be revoked from their errors. And afterwards, having made diligent inquisition in the convocation amongst the proctors of the clergy and others who were there in great number out of every diocese of our province, it was found out amongst others, that sir John Oldcastle, knight, was, and is, the principal receiver, favourer, protector, and defender of them; and that, especially in the dioceses of London, Rochester, and Hereford, he had sent the said Lollards to preach, not being licensed by the ordinaries and bishops of the dioceses or places, contrary to the provincial constitutions in that behalf made, and hath been present at their wicked sermons, grievously punishing with threatenings, terrors, and the power of the secular sword, such as did withstand him: alleging and affirming amongst others, that we and our fellow-brethren, suffragans of our provinces, had not, neither have, any power to make any such constitutions: also he hath holden and doth hold opinion, and teach, as touching the sacraments of the altar, of penance, of pilgrimage, of the worshipping of saints, and of the keys, contrary to that which the universal church of Rome doth teach and affirm.

Wherefore, on the behalf of the said prelates and clergy, we were then required that we would vouchsafe to proceed against the said sir John Oldcastle upon the premises. Notwithstanding for the reverence of our lord the king, in whose favour the said sir John at that present was, and no less also for honour of his knighthood, we, with our fellow-brethren, and suffragans then present, with a great part of the clergy of our province, coming personally before the presence of our lord the king, being then at his manor of Kennington, put up against the said sir John a complaint, and partly reciting the defaults of the said sir John; but at the request of our lord the king, we, desiring to reduce the said sir John to the unity of the church without any reproach, deferred all the execution of the premises for a great time. But at last, forasmuch as our said lord the king, after his great travails taken about the conversion of him, did nothing at all profit, as our said lord the king vouchsafed to certify us both by word and writing, we immediately decreed to call forth the said sir John personally to answer before us at a certain time already passed, in and upon the premises, and sent our messengers with these our letters of citation to the said sir John, then being at his castle at Cowling: unto the which messenger we gave commandment, that he should in no case go into the castle, except he were licensed; but by the mean of one John Butler, porter of the king's chamber, he should require the said sir John, that he would either license the said messenger to come into the castle, or that he would cite him, or at least, that he would suffer himself to be cited without his castle. The which sir John openly answered unto the said John Butler, declaring the premises unto him on the behalf of our lord the king; that he would by no means be cited, neither in any case suffer his citation. Then we, being certified of the premises, lawfully proceeded further.

First, having faithful report made unto us, that he could not be apprehended by personal citation, we decreed to cite him by an edict, to be openly set up in the porches of the cathedral church of Rochester next unto him, little more than three English miles distant from the said castle of Cowling. As we had thus caused him to be cited, and our edict aforesaid to be publicly and openly set upon the porches of the said church, that he should personally appear before us the eleventh day of September last past, to answer unto the premises, and certain other things concerning heresy: which day being come, we, sitting in the tribunal seat in our great chapel within the castle of Leedes of our diocese, which we then inhabited, and where we then kept residence with our court, and having taken an oath, which is requisite in the premises, and the information by us heard and received, as the common report goeth, in the parts where the said sir John dwelleth (fortifying himself in his said castle), defending his opinions manifoldly, contemning the keys of the church and the archbishop's power; we therefore caused the said sir John Oldcastle, cited as is aforesaid, to be openly, with a loud voice, called by the crier; and so being called, long looked for, and by no means appearing, we judged him, as he was no less worthy, obstinate, and for punishment of his said obstinacy we did then and there excommunicate him. And, forasmuch as by the order of the premises, and other evident tokens

Henry  
V.A. D.  
1413.

A thing  
thought  
right  
necessary  
that the  
lord Cob-  
ham  
should be  
made out  
of the  
way, or  
else not  
possible  
for papis-  
try to  
flourish.

Sir John  
Oldcastle  
in favour  
with the  
king.

The keys  
of the  
church  
falsely  
wrested.

Henry  
V.A.D.  
1413.The lord  
Cobham  
excom-  
muni-  
cated.See  
Appendix.Lord Cob-  
ham cast  
into the  
Tower.  
The tears  
of the  
crocodile!Popish  
absolu-  
tion neg-  
lected.

of his doings, we understand that the said sir John, for the defence of his error, doth fortify himself, as is aforesaid, against the keys of the church, by pretence whereof a vehement suspicion of heresy and schism riseth against him; we have decreed, if he may be apprehended, again personally to cite him, or else, as before, by an edict, that he should appear before us the Saturday next after the feast of St. Matthew the apostle and evangelist next coming, to show some reasonable cause, if he can, why we should not proceed against him, to more grievous punishment, as an open heretic, schismatic, and open enemy of the universal church, and personally to declare why he should not be pronounced such a one, or that the aid of the secular power should not be solemnly required against him; and further to answer, do, and receive as touching the premises, whatsoever justice shall require. Which time being come, that is to say, the Saturday next after the feast of St. Matthew, being the twenty-third day of September, sir Robert Morley, knight, lieutenant of the Tower of London, appeared personally before us, sitting in the chapter-house of the church of St. Paul at London, with our reverend fellow-brethren and lords, Richard by the grace of God bishop of London, and Henry bishop of Winchester, and brought with him sir John Oldecastle, knight, and set him before us; for a little before, he was taken by the king's servants, and cast into the Tower: unto which sir John Oldecastle, so personally present, we rehearsed all the order of the process, as it is contained in the acts of the day before passed, with good and modest words and gentle means; that is to say, how he, the said sir John, was detected and accused in the convocation of the prelates and clergy of our said province, as is aforesaid, upon the articles before rehearsed, and how he was cited, and, for his contumacy, excommunicated: and when we were come to that point, we offered ourselves ready to absolve him. Notwithstanding, the said sir John, not regarding our offer, said, that he would willingly rehearse before us, and my said fellow-brethren, the faith which he held and affirmed. So he, having his desire, and obtaining license, took out of his bosom a certain schedule indented, and there openly read the contents of the same, and delivered the same schedule unto us, and the schedule of the articles whereupon he was examined, which was in form following:—

**The Catholie Faith and Confession of the Lord Cobham, a Copy of which accompanied the preceeding Letter to the Bishop of London.**

I, John Oldecastle, knight, lord of Cobham, desire to make manifest unto all Christians, and God to be taken to witness, that I never thought otherwise, or would think otherwise, by God's help, than with a steadfast and undoubted faith to embrace all those his sacraments which he hath instituted for the use of his church.

The sac-  
rament  
of the  
altar.

Furthermore, that I may the more plainly declare my mind in these four points of my faith: first of all, I believe the sacrament of the altar to be the body of Christ under the form of bread. The very same body which was born of his mother Mary, crucified for us, dead, and buried, rose again the third day, sitteth on the right hand of his immortal Father, now being a triumphant partaker with Him of his eternal glory.

Of pen-  
ance.

Then as touching the sacrament of penance, this is my belief: That I do think the correction of a sinful life to be most necessary for all such as desire to be saved, and that they ought to take upon them such repentance of their former life, by true confession, unfeigned contrition, and lawful satisfaction, as the word of God doth prescribe unto us; otherwise there will be no hope of salvation.

Of  
images.

Thirdly, as touching images, this is my opinion: That I do judge them no point of faith, but brought into the world, after the faith of Christ, by the sufferance of the church, and so grown in use, that they might serve for a calendar for the lay-people and ignorant; by the beholding whereof they might the better call to remembrance the godly examples and martyrdom of Christ and other holy men: but if any man do otherwise abuse this representation, and give the reverence unto those images which is due unto the holy men whom they represent, or rather unto Him to whom the holy men themselves owe all their honour, setting all their trust and hope in them, which ought to be referred unto God; or if they be so affected toward the dumb images, that they be in any behalf addicted



unto them, either be more addicted unto one saint than another, in my mind they do little differ from idolatry, grievously offending against God, the author of all honour.

Last of all, I am thus persuaded: That there be no inhabitants here in earth, but that we shall pass straight either to life or punishment; for whosoever doth so order his life that he stumbleth at the commandments of God, which either he knoweth not, or he will not be taught them, it is but in vain for him to look for salvation, although he range overall the corners of the world. Contrariwise, he who observeth his commandments cannot perish, although in all his lifetime he walked no pilgrimage, neither to Rome, Canterbury, nor Compostella, nor to any other place, whither the common people are accustomed to walk.

Henry  
V.A. D.  
1413.Of pil-  
grimages.

This schedule, with the articles therein contained, being read, as is aforesaid, by the said sir John, we with our fellow-brethren aforesaid, and many other doctors and learned men, had conference upon the same; and at last, by the counsel and consent of them, we spake these words following, unto the said sir John there present: 'Behold, sir John! there are many good and catholic things contained in this schedule, but you have at this time to answer unto other matters which savour of errors and heresies, whereunto, by the contents of this schedule, it is not fully answered; and, therefore, you must answer therunto, and more plainly express and declare your faith and opinions as touching those points in the same bill; that is to say, Whether you hold, believe, and affirm, that in the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration rightly done, there remaineth material bread or not?'

See whether these  
men pick  
quarrels  
where  
they need.

'Item, Whether you hold, believe, and affirm, that it is necessary, in the sacrament of penance, for a man to confess his sins unto a priest appointed by the church?'

The above articles in this manner delivered unto him, amongst many other things he answered plainly, That he would make no other declaration or answer thereunto than was contained in the said schedule. Whereupon we, favouring the said sir John, with benign and gentle means spake unto him in this manner: 'Sir John! take heed, for, if you do not plainly answer to these things which are objected against you, within a lawful time now granted you by the judges, we may declare you to be a heretic:' but the said sir John persevered as before, and would make no other answer. Consequently notwithstanding, we, together with our said fellow-brethren, and others of our counsel, took advice, and by their counsel declared unto the said sir John Old-castle, what the holy church of Rome in this matter, following the saying of blessed St. Augustine, Jerome, Ambrose, and other holy men, hath determined; which determinations every catholic ought to observe.<sup>1</sup> Whereupon the said sir John answered, That he would believe and observe whatsoever the holy church determined, and whatsoever God would he should observe and believe. But that he would in no case affirm, that our lord the pope, the cardinals, arch-bishops, and bishops, or other prelates of the church, have any power to determine any such matters. Whereunto, we, yet favouring him,<sup>2</sup> under hope of better advisement, promised the said sir John, that we would give him in writing certain determinations upon the matter aforesaid, whereunto he should more plainly answer, written in Latin, and, for his better understanding, translated into English: whereupon we commanded and heartily desired him, that against Monday next following he should give a plain and full answer; which determinations we caused to be translated the same day, and to be delivered unto him the Sunday next following. The tenor of which determinations here follow in this manner:

'The faith and determination of the holy church upon the holy sacrament of the altar is this: That after the consecration done in the mass by the priest, the material bread shall be changed into the material body of Christ, and the material wine into the material blood of Christ; therefore, after the consecration, there remaineth, no more, any substance of bread and wine, which was there before:—what do you answer to this article?'

The sum  
of the  
popish  
belief.

'Also the holy church hath determined, that every Christian, dwelling upon

Confes-  
sion.

(1) Here is no mention made of the word of God.

(2) Wolves clothed in sheep's skins.

*Henry  
V.*

*A. D.  
1413.*

*The  
pope's su-  
premacie.*

*Pilgrim-  
age.*

*Convene-  
runt in  
unum-  
adversus  
Domi-  
num et  
Christum  
ejus.  
Psal ii.*

*The sa-  
crament,  
both body  
and  
bread, in  
divers re-  
spects.*

*How con-  
fession is  
to be al-  
lowed.*

*What ho-  
nour to be  
done to  
the cross.*

*The pope  
is Anti-  
christ; the*

earth, ought to confess his sins unto a priest ordained by the church, if he may come unto him:—how think you by this article?

‘Christ ordained St. Peter his vicar on earth, whose seat is in the church of Rome, giving and granting the same authority, which he gave unto Peter, also to his successors, who are now called popes of Rome; in whose power it is to ordain and institute prelates in particular churches, as archbishops, bishops, curates, and other ecclesiastical orders, unto whom the christian people owe obedience, according to the tradition of the church of Rome. This is the determination of the holy church:—what think you by this article?’

‘Besides this the holy church hath determined, That it is necessary for every christian to go on pilgrimage to holy places, and there specially to worship the holy relics of the apostles, martyrs, confessors, and all saints whomsoever the church of Rome hath allowed:—what think you of this article?’

Upon which Monday, being the five and twentieth day of the said month of September, before us and our fellow-brethren aforesaid, having also taken unto us our reverend brother Benedict, by the grace of God, bishop of Bangor, and, by our commandment, our counsellors and ministers, Master Henry Ware, official of our court of Canterbury; Philip Morgan, doctor of both laws; Howel Kiffin, doctor of the decretals; John Kempe and William Carlton, doctors of law; John Witnam, Thomas Palmer, Robert Wombewell, John Withe, and Robert Chamberlain, Richard Dotington, and Thomas Walden, professors of divinity; also James Cole and John Stevens, our notaries appointed on this behalf: they, all and every one, being sworn upon the holy gospel of God, laying their hands upon the book, that they should give their faithful counsel in and upon the matter aforesaid, and in every such cause, and to the whole world: by and by appeared sir Robert Morley, knight, lieutenant of the Tower of London, and brought with him the aforesaid sir John Oldcastle, setting him before us; unto whom we gently and familiarly rehearsed the acts of the day before passed, and, as before, we told him that he both is and was excommunicate, requiring and entreating him that he would desire and receive in due form the absolution of the church. Unto whom the said sir John then and there plainly answered: That in this behalf he would require no absolution at our hands, but only of God. Then, afterwards, by gentle and modest means we desired and required him to make plain answer unto the articles which were laid against him; and first of all, as touching the sacrament of the altar. To which article, besides other things, he answered and said thus: That as Christ, being here on earth, had in him both Godhead and manhood, notwithstanding, the Godhead was covered and invisible under the humanity, which was manifest and visible in him: so likewise, in the sacrament of the altar, there is the very body and very bread; bread which we do see, the body of Christ hidden under the same, which we do not see. And plainly he denied, that the faith, as touching the said sacrament, determined by the Romish church and holy doctors, and sent unto him by us in the said schedule, was the determination of the holy church. But if it be the determination of the church, he said that it was done contrary unto the Scriptures; after the church was endowed, and after that poison was poured into the church, and not before. Also, as touching the sacrament of penance and confession, he plainly said and affirmed then and there: That if any man were in any grievous sin, out of which he knew not how to rise, it were expedient and good for him to go unto some holy and discreet priest to take counsel of him; but, that he should confess his sin to any proper priest or to any other, although he might have the use of him, it is not necessary to salvation; forasmuch as only by contrition such sin can be wiped away, and the sinner himself purged. As concerning the worshipping of the cross, he said and affirmed, That only the body of Christ which did hang upon the cross, is to be worshipped; forasmuch as that body alone was and is the cross, which is to be worshipped.

And being demanded what honour he would do unto the image of the cross, he answered by express words: That he would only do it that honour, that he would make it clean and lay it up safe. As touching the power and authority of the keys, the archbishops, bishops, and other prelates, he said, That the pope is very Antichrist, that is, the head; that the archbishops, bishops, and other prelates, be his members, and that the friars be his tail: which pope, archbishops, and bishops, a man ought not to obey, but so far forth as they be

followers of Christ and of Peter, in their life, manners, and conversation, and that he is the successor of Peter who is best and purest in life and manners. Furthermore, the said sir John, spreading his hands, with a loud voice said thus to those who stood about him: 'These men, who judge and would condemn me, will seduce you all and themselves, and will lead you unto hell; therefore take heed of them.' When he had spoken those words, we again, as oftentimes before, with lamentable countenance, spake unto the said sir John, exhorting him, with as gentle words as we might, that he would return to the unity of the church, to believe and hold that which the church of Rome doth believe and hold: who expressly answered, That he would not believe or hold otherwise than he had before declared. Wherefore, perceiving, as it appeared by him, that we could not prevail, at last, with bitterness of heart we proceeded to the pronouncing of a definitive sentence in this manner:

Henry  
V.  
A. D.  
1413.

bishops  
are his  
members,  
and the  
friars his  
tail.  
Bold talk  
of lord  
Cobham.

### The definitive Sentence of Lord Cobham's Condemnation, a Copy of which accompanied the preceding Letter to the Bishop of London.

In the name of God, Amen. We, Thomas, by the permission of God, archbishop and humble<sup>1</sup> minister of the holy church of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the apostolic see, in a certain cause or matter of heresy upon certain articles, whereupon sir John Oldcastle, knight, lord Cobham, before us, in the last convocation of our clergy of our province of Canterbury, holden in the church of St. Paul in London, after diligent inquisition thereupon made, was detected and accused, and by our said province notoriously and openly defamed. At the request of the whole clergy aforesaid thereupon made to us in the said convocation, with all favour possible that we might (God we take to witness), lawfully proceeding against him, following the footsteps and example of Christ,<sup>2</sup> who would not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should be converted and live, we have endeavoured, by all ways and means we might or could, to reform him, and rather reduce him to the unity of the church, declaring unto him what the holy universal church<sup>3</sup> of Rome doth teach, hold, and determine, in this behalf. And albeit that we found him wandering astray from the catholic faith, and so stubborn and stiff-necked, that he would not confess his error, or clear himself thereof, or detest the same; notwithstanding we, favouring him with a fatherly affection, and heartily wishing and desiring his preservation, prefixed him a certain competent time to deliberate with himself, and, if he would, to repent and reform himself. And last of all, forasmuch as we perceived him to be unreasonable, observing chiefly those things which by the law are required in this behalf, with great sorrow and bitterness of heart we proceeded to the pronouncing of the definitive sentence in this wise:—

The name of Christ being called upon, setting him only before our eyes: Forasmuch as by acts enacted, signs exhibited, evidences, and divers tokens, besides sundry kind of proofs, we find the said sir John to be, and to have been, a heretic, and a follower of heretics in the faith and observation of the sacred universal church of Rome, and specially as touching the sacraments of the eucharist and of penance; and that as the son of iniquity and darkness he hath so hardened his heart, that he will not understand the voice of his Shepherd, neither will be allured with his monitions, or converted with any fair speech: having first of all searched and sought out, and diligently considering the merits of the cause aforesaid, and of the said sir John, his deserts and faults aggravated through his damnable obstinacy, not willing that he that is wicked should become more wicked, and infect others with his contagion; by the counsel and consent of the reverend men of profound wisdom and discretion, our brethren, the lords Richard, bishop of London, Henry, bishop of Winchester, and Benedict, bishop of Bangor, and also of many other doctors of divinity, the decretals and civil law, and of many other religious and learned persons our assistants, we have judged and declared sententially, and definitively condemned the said sir John Oldcastle, knight, lord Cobham, being convict in and upon that most detestable guilt, not willing penitently to return unto the unity of the

They call  
light  
darkness,  
and dark-  
ness  
light.

Like, will  
to like.

(1) They call themselves humble, who rule over kings, and exercise the tyranny of the world.

(2) Following Christ's footsteps! clean contrary!

(3) The universal church, meaneth, by a figure, the part for the whole.

*Henry  
I.*

A.D.  
1113.

So did the  
Pharisees  
deliver  
Christ to  
Pilate.

church, and in those things which the sacred universal church of Rome doth hold, teach, determine, and show forth. And especially as one erring in the articles above-written, leaving him from henceforth as a heretic, unto the secular judgment.

Moreover, we have excommunicated, and by these writings do pronounce and excommunicate him, as a heretic, and all others who from henceforth, in favour of his error, shall receive, defend, or give him counsel or favour, or help him in this behalf, as favourers, defenders, and receivers of heretics. And, to the intent that these premises may be known unto all faithful Christians, we charge and command you, that, by your sentence definitive, you do cause the curates who are under you, with a loud and audible voice in their churches, when as most people is present, in their mother-tongue, through all your cities and diocese, to publish and declare the said sir John Oldecastle, as is before said, to be by us condemned as a heretic, a schismatic, and one erring in the articles above-said; and all others who from henceforth in favour of his errors shall receive or defend him, giving him any counsel, comfort, or favour in this behalf, to be excommunicated as receivers, favourers, and defenders of heretics: as is more effectually contained in the process. That by such means the erroneous opinions of the people (who, peradventure, have otherwise conceived the matter), by those declarations of the truth, how the matter is, may be cut off: which thing also we will and command to be written and signified by you, word for word, unto all our fellow-brethren, that they all may manifest, publish, and declare, throughout all their cities and dioceses, the manner and form of this our process, and also the sentence by us given, and all other and singular the contents in the same; and likewise cause it to be published by their curates who are under them, as touching the day of receipt of these presents, and what you have done in the premises, how you and they have executed this our commandment. We will that you and they duly and distinctly certify us, the business being done, by your and their letters-patent, according to this tenor.

Dated in our manor of Maidstone, the tenth of October, An. 1413, and in the eighteenth year of our translation.

Lord  
Cobham  
returned  
to the  
Tower.

Thus have you here the judicial process of the bishops against this most noble christian knight, described by their own letters and style. After all this, the sentence of death being given, the lord Cobham was sent away, sir Robert Morley carrying him again unto the Tower, where, after he had remained a certain space, in the night season (it is not known by what means), he escaped out, and fled into Wales, where he continued by the space of four years. \*Some<sup>1</sup> writers have thought this escape to come by the aforesaid sir Roger Acton, and other gentlemen in displeasure of the priests; and that to be the chief occasion of their deaths; which might well be: but Walden doth not so utter it, who reigned at the same time.\*

A DEFENCE OF THE LORD COBHAM, AGAINST NICHOLAS  
HARPSFIELD, SET OUT UNDER THE NAME OF  
ALANUS COPUS ANGLUS.

Alanus  
Copus  
Anglus  
with his  
six dia-  
logues.

As I was entering into this story of the lord Cobham, after the tractation of all the former histories hitherto passed, having next to set upon this present matter, luckily, and as God would, in such opportunity of season as God may seem to work himself for the defence of his saints, cometh to my hands a certain book of new-found dialogues, compiled in Latin, by Nicholas Harpsfield, set out by Alanus Copus, an Englishman, a person to me unknown, and obscure, hitherto, unto the world, but who now, to purchase himself a name

with Erostratus,<sup>1</sup> or with the sons of Anakim, cometh out, not with his five eggs, but with his six railing dialogues; in which dialogues the said Alanus Copus Anglus (whether he, under the armour of another, or another under title of his name, I know not, nor pass not), uncourteously behaving himself, intemperately abusing his time, study, and pen, forgetting himself, neglecting all respect of honesty, and mild modesty, neither dreading the stroke of God, nor caring for shame, neither favouring the living, nor sparing the dead, who, when alive as they never offended him, so now cannot answer for themselves, being gone; thus, provoking both God and man against him, after an unseemly sort, and with a foul mouth, and a stinking breath, rageth and fareth against dead men's ashes, taking now the spoil of their good name, after their bodies lie slain in the field; his gall and choler being so bitter against them, that he cannot abide any memory after them to remain upon earth; insomuch that for the hatred of them he spurneth also against me, and flieth in my face, for that in my Aets and Monuments, describing the history of the church, I would say any thing in favour of them, whom the Romish catholics have so unmercifully put to death. The answer to whose book, although it would require a several tractation by itself (as, if Christ grant space and leisure, hereafter it shall not be forgotten), yet, because such opportunity of the book is offered to me at this present, coming now to the matter of the lord Cobham, sir Roger Acton, and others, with whom he beginneth first to quarrel, it shall be requisite a little by the way to cope with this Cope, whatsoever he be, so much as truth shall give me for their defence to say something. And here, to cut off all the offals of his railing talk and unhonest rebukes, which I leave to scolds and men of his profession against they list to brawl, let us briefly and quietly consider the matter for discussing of the truth; wherein first I shall desire the reader, with equality and indifferency, to hear both the parties speak, as well what the martyrs, hence gone and slain, could say for themselves if they were present, as also what this man here doth object against them now being gone. And so, according to the same, to judge both upon them, as they deserve, and of me, as they shall please.

Henry  
V.

A. D.  
1413.

Copus in-  
tempe-  
rately  
abuseth  
his pen.

Copus  
a barker  
against  
dead  
men.

Answer  
to Copus.

Indiffer-  
ency of  
the reader  
craved.

Now to the scope of Master Cope's matter, which is this: whether this aforesaid sir John Oldeastle, lord Cobham (first to begin with him) is rather to be commended for a martyr, or to be reproved for a traitor? and whether that I, in writing of him, and of sir Roger Acton, with others besides, in my former edition, have dealt fraudulently and corruptly, in commending them in these Aets and Monuments, or no? Touching the discussion hereof, first, I trust the gentle Master Cope, my friend, neither will, nor well can, deny any part of all that hitherto, touching the story of the lord Cobham, hath been premised; who yet all this while was neither traitor to his country, nor rebel to his prince, as by the course of his history hitherto the reader may well understand. First, in the time of king Henry IV., he was sent over to France to the duke of Orleans: he did obey. Afterwards, king Henry V. coming to the crown, he was of him likewise well liked and favoured, until the time that Thomas Arundel, with his

Whether  
lord Cob-  
ham be to  
be judged  
a traitor,  
or a mar-  
tyr.

Lord Cob-  
ham, true  
and obe-  
dient to  
king Hen-  
ry IV.

(1) "Erostratus," or Eratostratus, an Ephesian, who, to immortalize his own name, burned the famous temple of Diana, the night in which Alexander the Great was born.—Ed.

Henry  
V.A.D.  
1413.In the  
beginning  
favoured  
of king  
Henry V  
The  
king's  
displea-  
sure pro-  
cured  
against  
the lord  
Cobham  
by popish  
prelates.Cobham  
constant  
in his  
faith to  
the day of  
his death.

clergy, complaining to the king, made bate<sup>1</sup> between them. Then the lord Cobham, being cited by the archbishop, at his citation would not appear: but, sent for by the king, he obeyed and came. Being come, what lowly subjection he showed there to the king, the story declareth. Afterwards he yielded an obedient confession of his faith: it would not be received. Then did he appeal to the bishop of Rome, for which the king took great displeasure with him, and so was he repealed by the king to the archbishop, and committed to the Tower: which also he did obey. From thence he was brought to his examination once or twice: there, like a constant martyr, and witness of the truth, he stood to his confession, and that unto the very sentence of death defined against him. If this be not the effect of a true martyr, let Alanus Copus say what he will, or what he can. This I say, at least I doubt, whether the said Alanus Copus Anglus, put to the like trial himself, would venture so narrow a point of martyrdom for his religion, as this christian knight did for his: certes, it hath not yet appeared.

To proceed; after this deadly sentence was thus awarded against him, the said lord Cobham was then returned again unto the Tower, which he, with patience and meekness, did also obey; from which Tower if he afterwards by the Lord's providence did escape, whether hath Alanus Copus herein more to praise God for offering to him the benefit, or to blame the man for taking that which was offered? What catholic in all Louvain, having his house over his head on fire, will not be glad to have, if he might, the door set open to fly the peril? or else why did Alanus Copus fly his county, having so little need, if this man, bleeding almost under the butcher's axe, might not enjoy so great an offer of so lucky deliverance?

Lord  
Cobham  
worthy  
the name  
of a  
martyr:  
the name  
of a  
martyr,  
what it  
signifi-  
fieth.Calum-  
nia.

Thus hitherto, I trust, the cause of the lord Cobham standeth firm and strong against all danger of just reprehension; who being, as ye have heard, so faithful and obedient to God, so submiss to his king, so sound in his doctrine, so constant in his cause, so afflicted for the truth, so ready and prepared to death, as we have sufficiently declared, not out of uncertain and doubtful chronicles, but out of the true originals and instruments remaining in ancient records: what lacketh now, or what should let to the contrary, but that he, declaring himself such a martyr, that is, a witness to the verity, for which also at last he suffered the fire, may, therefore, worthily be adorned with the title of martyr, which is in Greek as much as a witness-bearer?

Sir Roger  
Acton,  
John  
Brown,  
John  
Beverly.

But here now steppeth in dame  $\eta$  διαβολ $\eta$ , with her cousin-scolld Aleeto, &c., who neither learning to hold her tongue, nor yet to speak well, must needs find here a knot in a rush, and beginning now to quarrel, inferreth thus: "But after," saith he, "that the lord Cobham was escaped out of the Tower, his fellows and confederates converted themselves together seditiously against the king, and against their country." A great crime no doubt, Master Cope, if it be true: so, if it be not true, the greater blame returneth unto yourself, so to enter this action of such slander, unless the ground whereupon ye stand be sure. First, what fellows of the lord Cobham were these you mean? "Sir Roger Acton," ye say, "Master Brown, and John Beverly, with thirty-six others, hanged and burned in the said field of St. Giles's." A marvellous matter, that such a great multitude of

twenty thousand, specified in story, should rise against the king, and yet but only three persons be known and named. And then to proceed further, I would ask of Master Cope, what was the end of this conspiracy: to rebel against the king? to destroy their country? and to subvert the christian faith? for so purporteth the story. As like true the one as the other: for even as it is like that they, being Turks, went about to destroy the faith of Christ wherein they died, and to subvert their country wherein they were bred; even so like it is, that they went about to destroy the king, whom God and their conscience taught to obey.

*Henry,  
F.*

*A. D.  
1413.*

Yet further proceedeth this furnish promoter in his accusation, and saith moreover: That these aforesaid fellows and adherents of the lord Cobham were in the field assembled, and there encamped in a great number against the king. And how is this proved? By Robert Fabian: which appeareth to be as true as that which in the said Robert Fabian followeth in the same place, where he affirmeth, that John Claydon and Richard Turming were burnt in the same year, being 1413, when indeed by the true registers they were not burnt before the year of our Lord 1415. But what will Master Cope say, if the original copy of the indictment of these pretended conspirators doth testify that they were not there assembled or present in the field, as your accusation pretendeth? "But they purposed," will you say? "and intended, to come." The purpose and intent of a man's mind is hard for you and me to judge, where no fact appeareth. But grant their intent was so to come, yet might they not come to those thickets near to the field of St. Giles, having Beverly their preacher with them (as ye say yourself,) as well to pray and to preach in that woody place, as to fight? Is this such a strange thing in the church of Christ, in time of persecution, for Christians to resort to desolate woods and secret thickets, from the sight of enemies, when they would assemble in praying and hearing the word of God? In queen Mary's time was not the same colour of treason objected against George Eagle, and others besides, for frequenting and using into back sides and fields, who suffered for that whereof he was innocent and guiltless? Did not Adam Damlip die in like case of treason, for having a French crown given him at his departure out of Rome by cardinal Pool? What cannot cankered Calumnia invent, when she is disposed to evil? It was not the cardinal's crown that made him a traitor, but it was the hatred of his preaching that stirred up the accuser.

*Fabian  
fixed  
with an  
untruth.*

*An un-  
truth in  
Copus.*

*Praying  
and  
preach-  
ing in  
corners,  
a com-  
mon  
thing in  
time of  
persecu-  
tion.*

*Ill-will  
taketh all  
things to  
worst  
meaning*

In France what assemblies have there been in late years, of good and innocent Christians congregating together in back fields and coverts, in great routs, to hear the preaching of God's holy word, and to pray; yea, and not without their weapon also, for their own safeguard; and yet who never intended nor minded any rebellion against their king. Wherefore, in cases of religion it may and doth happen many times that such congregations may meet without intent of any treason meant. But, howsoever the intent and purpose was of these aforesaid confederates of the lord Cobham, whither to come, or what to do (seeing this is plain by records, as is aforesaid, that they were not yet come unto the place), how will Master Cope now justify his words, so confidently affirming, that they were there assembled

*Another  
untruth  
in Copus.*

*Henry**F.*

A. D.

1413.

An un-  
likely  
tale.

seditionously together in the field of St. Giles against the king? And mark here, I beseech thee, gentle reader! how unlikely and untidely the points of this tail are tied and hanged together (I will not say without all substance of truth, but without all fashion of a cleanly lie); wherein these accusers in this matter seem to me to lack some part of Sinon's art, in conveying their narration so unartificially. First, say they, the king was come first, with his garrison, unto the field of St. Giles; and then, after the king was there encamped, consequently, the fellows of the lord Cobham (the captain being away) came, and were assembled, in the said field where the king was, against the king, and yet not knowing of the king, to the number of twenty thousand, and yet never a stroke in that field given! And furthermore, of all this twenty thousand aforesaid, never a man's name known but only three: to wit, sir Roger Acton, sir John Brown, and John Beverly, a preacher. How this gear is clamped together let the reader judge, and believe, as he seeth cause.

Cobham  
no traitor.

But give all this to be true, although by no demonstration it can be proved, yet by the pope's dispensation, which in this earth is almost omnipotent, be it granted; that after the king had taken the field of St. Giles before, the companions of the lord Cobham afterwards coming and assembling in the thickets near the said field, to fight seditiously against the king, their country, and against the faith of Christ, to the number of twenty thousand, where no stroke being given, so many were taken, that all the prisons of London were full, and yet never a man's name known of all this multitude, but only three: all this I say, being imagined to be true, then followeth to be demanded of Master Cope, whether the lord Cobham, was here present with his company in the field, or not? "Not in person," saith Cope,<sup>1</sup> "but with his mind and with his counsel he was present:" and he addeth this reason, saying, "And therefore he, being brought again after his escape, was convicted both of treason and heresy, and therefore, sustaining a double punishment, was both hanged and burnt for the same," &c. And how is all this proved? "By Robert Fabian," he saith. Whereunto briefly I answer, that Robert Fabian in that place maketh no such mention of the lord Cobham assisting or consenting to them either in mind or in counsel. His words be these, "That certain adherents of sir John Oldecastle assembled in the field near to St. Giles, in great number, of whom was sir Roger Acton, sir John Brown, and John Beverly: who, with thirty-six more in number, were afterwards convicted of heresy and treason, and for the same were hanged and burned within the said field of St. Giles," &c. Thus much in Fabian touching the commotion and condemnation of these men; but that the lord Cobham was there present with them in any part, either of consent or counsel, as Alanus Copus Anglus pretendeth, that is not found in Fabian, but is added of his liberal 'cornucopiæ,' whereof he is so copious and plentiful, that he may keep an open shop of such unwritten untruths, which he may afford very good and cheap I think, being such a plentiful artificer.

Copus  
taken  
with  
another  
untruth.

But here will be objected against me the words of the statute made the second year of king Henry V.,<sup>2</sup> whereupon this adversary, triumph-

(1) Al. Cop. p. 833, line 11.

(2) Ex. stat. reg. Hen. V. an. 2. cap. 7.



ing with no little glory, ὡπερ τις ὀλυμπιάδα ἀνελόμενος, thinketh himself to have double vantage against me : first, in proving these aforesaid accomplices and adherents of the lord Cobham to have made insurrection against the king, and so to be traitors : secondly, in convicting that to be untrue, where, in my former book of Acts and Monuments,<sup>1</sup> I do report, how that after the death of sir Roger Acton, Brown, and Beverly, a parliament was holden at Leicester, where a statute was made to this effect : “That all and singular such as were of Wickliff’s learning, if they would not give over (as in case of felony and other trespasses, losing all their goods to the king), should suffer death in two manner of kinds : that is, they should first be hanged for treason against the king, and then be burned for heresy against God.”

Henry  
V.  
A. D.  
1413.

Whereupon it remaineth now in examining this objection, and answering the same, that I both purge them of treason, and myself of untruth, so far as truth and fidelity in God’s cause shall assist me herein. Albeit in beginning first my history of ecclesiastical matters, wherein I have nothing to do with debatement of causes judicial, but only following the simple narration of things done and executed, I never suspected that ever any would be so captious with me, or so nice-nosed, as to press me with such narrow points of the law, in trying and discussing every cause and matter so exactly, and straining, as ye would say, the bowels of the statute law so rigorously against me ; yet, forasmuch as I am thereunto constrained now by this adversary, I will first lay open all the whole statute made the second year of this aforesaid Henry V., after the death of the aforesaid sir Roger Acton and his fellows, at the parliament holden at Leicester, A. D. 1415. That done, I will note upon the words thereof, so as by the circumstances of the same may appear what is to be concluded, either for the defence of their innocency, or for the accusation of this adversary. The tenor and purport of the statute hereunder ensueth.

The Words and Contents of the Statute made in the second year of Henry V., chapter seventh.

See  
Appendix.

Forasmuch as great rumours, congregations and insurrections (a) here in England, by divers of the king’s majesty’s liege people, have been made here of late, as well by those which were of the sect of heresy called Lollardy, as by other of their confederations, excitations and abatements, to the intent to annul and subvert the christian faith and the law of God (b) within the same realm, as also to destroy our sovereign lord the king himself (c), and all manner of estates of the same his realm, as well spiritual as temporal (d), and also, eventually, all manner of policy and the laws of the land (e) :

(a) The preface or preamble of the statute.  
(b)  
(c)  
(d)  
(e)

The same our lord the king—to the honour of God, in conservation and fortification of the christian faith, and also in salvation of his royal estate, and of the estate of all his realm, willing to provide a more open and more due punishment against the malice of such heretics and Lollards, than hath been had or used in that case heretofore, so that for the fear of the same laws and punishments, such heresies and lollardies may the rather cease in time to come—by the advice and assent aforesaid, and at the prayer of the said commons, hath ordained and established, that especially the chancellor, the treasurer, the justice of the one bench and of the other, justices of assize, justices of peace, sheriffs, mayors, and bailiffs of cities and towns, and all other officers, having the government of people either now present, or which for the time shall be, do make an oath in taking of their charge and offices, to extend their whole pain

Here it appeareth at whose suit and application this statute was set

(1) The first edition of the Acts and Monuments. London, 1563, p. 173, col. 2.—ED.

Henry  
V.

A.D.  
1413.

forward,  
as also  
the  
cause.  
Astite-  
runtreges  
et phari-  
sæi.

(f)

(g)

(h)

(i)

(k)

(l)

and diligence to put out and cause to put out, cease, and destroy, all manner of heresies and errors, commonly called lollardies, within the places in which they exercise their charges and offices from time to time, with all their power; and that they assist, favour, and maintain the ordinaries and their commissaries, so often as they or any of them shall be thereunto required by the said ordinaries or their commissaries; so, notwithstanding, that whenever the said officers and ministers travel or ride to arrest any Lollard, or to make any assistance at the instance and request of the ordinaries or their commissaries (f), by virtue of this statute, the same ordinaries and commissaries do pay for their costs (g) reasonably, and that the services of the king, whereunto the said officers be first sworn, be preferred; all other statutes for the liberty of holy church and the ministers of the same, and especially for the correction and punishment of heretics and Lollards, made before these days and not repealed, being in their force: and also that all persons convicted of heresy, of whatsoever estate, condition, or degree they be, by the said ordinaries or their commissaries left unto the secular power, according to the laws of holy church, shall lease and forfeit all their lands and tenements which they have in fee simple, in manner and form as followeth; that is to say, that the king shall have all the lands and tenements which the said convicts have in fee simple, and which be immediately holden of him, as forfeited; and that the other lords, of whom the lands and tenements of such convicts be holden, immediately after that the king is thereof seised and answered of the year, day and wast (h), shall have livery thereof out of the hands of the king, of the lands and tenements aforesaid, so of them holden, as hath been used in case of attainder of felonies, except the lands and tenements which be holden of the ordinaries or their commissaries, before whom any such impeached of heresy be convict, which lands and tenements shall wholly remain to the king as forfeit (i). And moreover, that all the goods and chattels of such convicted be forfeit to our right sovereign lord the king, so that no person convict of heresy, and left unto the secular power (according to the laws of holy church), do forfeit his lands before that he be dead. And if any such person so convicted be enfeoffed, whether it be by fine or by deed, or without deed, in lands and tenements, rents or services, in fee or otherwise, in whatsoever manner, or have any other possessions or chattels by gift or grant of any person or persons, to the use of any other than only to the use of such convicts; that the same lands, tenements, rents or services, or other such possessions, or chattels, shall not be forfeit unto our sovereign lord the king in any manner wise.

And moreover, that the justices of the king's bench, the justices of peace, and justices of assize, have full power to inquire of all such which hold any errors or heresies, as Lollards, and who be their maintainers, receivers, fautors, and sustainers, common writers of such books, as well of their sermons, as schools, conventicles, congregations, and confederacies, and that this clause be put in the commissions of the justices of peace. And if any persons be indicted of any of the points above said, that the said justices have power to award against them a 'capias,' and that the sheriff be bound to arrest the person or persons so indicted, as soon as he can find them, either by himself or by his officers. And for as much as the cognisance of heresies, errors, or lollardies, appertaineth to the judges of holy church, and not unto the secular judges, that such persons indicted be delivered unto the ordinaries of the places (k), or to their commissaries, by indentures between them to be made, within ten days after their arrest, or sooner, if it may be done, to be thereof acquitted, or convict by the laws of holy church, in case such persons be not indicted of any other thing, the cognisance whereof appertaineth to the judges and secular officers; in which case, after they shall be acquitted, or delivered before the secular judges of such things as appertain to the secular judges, they shall be sent in safe custody unto the said ordinaries or their commissaries, and to them to be delivered by indentures, as is aforesaid, to be acquitted or convicted of the same heresies, errors, and lollardies, as is aforesaid, according to the laws of holy church, and that within the term abovesaid; provided, that the said indictments be not taken in evidence, but only for information before the judges spiritual (l), against such persons indicted: but that the ordinaries begin their process against such persons indicted, in the same manner as though no such judgment were, having no regard to such indictment. And if any be indicted of heresy, error or lollardy, and taken by the sheriff, or any other officer of the king, he may be let to main-

prise, within the said ten days, by good surety, for whom the said sheriffs or other officers will answer, so that the person so indicted be ready to be delivered unto the said ordinaries, or to their commissaries, before the end of the tenth day above recited, if he may by any means for sickness.<sup>1</sup> And that every ordinary have sufficient commissaries or commissary abiding in every county, in place notable, so that if any such person indicted be taken, the said commissaries or commissary may be warned in the notable place of his abiding, by the sheriff or any of his officers, to come unto the king's gaol within the said county, there to receive the same person so indicted, by indenture, as is aforesaid; and that in the inquests in this case taken, the sheriffs and other officers unto whom it appertaineth, do impanel good and sufficient persons, not suspected, nor procured, that is to say, such as have at the least, every one of them that shall be so impanelled in such inquests, within the realm, a hundred shillings by the year, in lands, tenements, or rent, upon pain to leese to the king's use twenty pounds. And that those which shall be impanelled upon such inquests at sessions and gaols, have, every one of them, to the value of forty shillings by the year. And if any such person arrested, whether it be by the ordinaries, or the officers of the king, either escape or break prison(*m*) before he be thereof acquit before the ordinary, that then all his goods and chattels, which he had at the day of such arrest, shall be forfeit to the king: and his lands and tenements which he had the same day be seised also into the king's hands, and that the king have the profits thereof from the same day until he render himself unto the said prison from whence he escaped. And that the aforesaid justices have full power to inquire of all such escapes and breakings of prisons, and also of the lands, tenements, goods and chattels of such persons indicted. Provided, that if any such person indicted do not return unto the said prison, and dieth, not being convict, that then it shall be lawful for his heirs to enter into the lands and tenements of his or their ancestor, without any other suit made unto the king for this cause. And that all those who have liberties or franchises royal in England, as the county of Chester, the county and liberty of Durham, and other like; and also all the lords which have jurisdictions and franchises royal in Wales, where the king's writs do not run, have like power to execute and put in execution in all points these articles, by them or by their officers, in like manner as do the justices and other the king's officers above declared.

Henry  
V.

A. D.  
1413.

(*m*)

NOTES TOUCHING THE AFORESAID STATUTE.

Thus having recited the words of the statute, now let us consider the reasons and objections of this adversary, who, grounding peradventure upon the preface or preamble of this aforesaid statute, will prove thereby the lord Cobham and sir Roger Acton, with the rest of their abettors, to have been traitors to their king and their country. Whereunto I answer, first, in general, that although the face or preface prefixed before the statute, may show and declare the original cause and occasion why the statute was made, yet the making of the statute importeth no necessary probation of the preface always to be true that goeth before; which being but a colour to induce the making thereof, giveth no force material thereunto, nor is any necessary part of the body of the said statute, but only adhered as a declaration of the circumstance thereof, and sometimes is clean omitted, and differeth much from the substance of the same. For, as statutes in civil policy most commonly do tend to a public end, and are general, so prefaces before statutes, which most commonly declare the cause or beginning thereof, are private, and do stand but only upon particual facts, which either of ill will and displeasure may be suggested, or by colour may be exaggerated, or for fear may be believed—at least suspected—as many suspicions do oftentimes rise in

Preface  
before  
statutes  
not to be  
regarded  
in trial of  
truth.

(1) "If he may," &c. Unless hindered by sickness. Ed.

Henry  
V.A. D.  
1413.The pre-  
face be-  
fore the  
statute  
de com-  
burendo.See  
Appendix.False ac-  
cusation,  
no news  
in  
Christ's  
church.Example  
of Ne-  
mesion,  
a martyr.Example  
of Cy-  
prian.Justin  
Martyr,  
and Cor-  
nelius  
bishop of  
Rome.

princes heads through false surmises, and malicious complaints of certain evil disposed about them, whereby many cruel laws, rising upon a false ground, are promulgated, to the ruin of much innocent blood. Example whereof, we have not only in this present statute, made in the second year of king Henry V. cap. 7; but also in the like statute, commonly called the statute 'Ex officio, vel de comburendo,' made by this king's father and predecessor, the second year of Henry IV. cap. 15, in the preface of which bloody statute is contained another like complaint of the prelates and clergy, not less heinous, as also most shamefully false and untrue, against the poor lollards, as by the words of the complaint may appear, beginning, "Excellentissimo et gratiosissimo principi," &c.; wherein most falsely they slander and misreport the true servants of Christ to be Lollards, heretics, subverters of the commonwealth, destroyers of the christian faith, enemies to all good laws, and to the church of Christ. The words of which statute, proceeding much after the like course as doth this present statute, may easily bewray the untruth and false surmise thereof, if thou please, gentle reader, to mark and confer the words according as they are there to be read and seen, as followeth:—

"Conventiculas et confederationes illicitas faciunt, scholas tenent et exercent, libros conficiunt atque scribunt, populum nequiter instruunt et informant, et ad seditionem seu insurrectionem excitant, quantum possunt, et magnas dissensiones et divisiones in populo faciunt, et alia diversa enormia auditui horrenda in dies perpetrant et committunt, in fidei catholicæ et doctrinæ ecclesiæ sacrosanctæ subversionem divinique cultus diminutionem, ac etiam in destructionem status, jurium, et libertatum dictæ ecclesiæ Anglicanæ." And after a few words, "Ad omnem juris et rationis ordinem atque regimen penitus destruendum," &c. He that is, or shall be, acquainted with old histories, and with the usual practices of Satan, the old enemy of Christ, from the first beginning of the primitive church unto this present time, shall see this to be no news, but a common, and as one would say, a quotidian, fever among Christ's children, to be vexed with false accusations and cruel slanders.

Nemesion, the Egyptian and true martyr of Christ, was he not first accused to be a felon? And when that could not be proved, he was condemned at the same judgment for a Christian; and therefore being cast into bands, was scourged, by the commandment of the president, double to the other felons, and at length was burned with the thieves, although he never was found thief or felon.<sup>2</sup>

Against Cyprian, in like sort, it was slanderously objected by Galerius Maximus, proconsul, that he had long continued with a mind full of sacrilege, and that he had gathered unto him men of wicked conspiracy.<sup>3</sup>

So Justin Martyr, what false and criminous accusations suffered he by Crescens? Cornelius, bishop of Rome and martyr, was accused by Decius, That he wrote letters unto Cyprian against the commonwealth.<sup>4</sup>

To consider the laws and statutes made by tyrants and emperors in the first persecution of the primitive church, against the innocent servants of Christ, and to compare the same with the laws and statutes

(1) Ex vetustis instrumentis. [Printed in the Statutes at large.—Ed.]

(2) See vol. i. p. 199.—Ed.

(3) 'Quod diu sacrilega mente vixerit, et nefariæ sibi conspirationis homines adjunxit.' [Vol. i. p. 201.—Ed.]

(4) [Vol. i. p. 129.—Ed.] 'Quod ad Cyprianum litteras daret contra rempublicam.' [Vol. i. p. 189.—Ed.]

in this latter persecution under Antichrist, a man shall find, that as they all agree in like cruelty, so was there no great difference in false forging of pretended causes and crimes devised. For as then the Christians were wrongfully accused of the Gentiles for insurrections and rebellions against the emperors and empire, for being enemies to all mankind, for murdering of infants, for worshipping the sun (because they prayed toward the East), for worshipping also the head of an ass,<sup>1</sup> &c., upon the rumours whereof divers and sundry laws and statutes were enacted, some engraven in brass, some otherwise written against them; so in this aforesaid statute, made in the second year of Henry V., chap. 7, also in that made in the second year of Henry IV., chap. 15, and in such other statutes or indictments made and conceived against the Lollards, the case is not so strange, but it may credibly be supposed, that the making thereof did rise rather upon malice and hatred against their religion conceived, than upon any just cause ministered on their parts, whom they did wrongfully charge and accuse. Like as in the time of Domitian, for fear of David's stock, all the nephews of Jude, the Lord's brother in the flesh, were accused to the emperor. And also the like fear and hatred stirred up other emperors and the senate of Rome, to proceed with persecuting laws against the christian flock of Christ;<sup>2</sup> whereupon rose up those malicious slanders, false surmises, infamous lies, and wrongful accusations against the Christians; so that what crime soever either malice could invent, or rash suspicion could minister, that was imputed against them.<sup>3</sup>

Henry  
V.  
A. D.  
1413.  
Laws and  
statutes  
grounded  
upon  
false  
causes  
against  
the Chris-  
tians.  
Perse-  
cuting  
statutes  
in the  
primitive  
and latter  
church  
com-  
pared.  
Hatred  
and fear,  
causers of  
perse-  
cution.

Not unlike also it may seem, that the pope with his prelates, fearing and misdoubting lest the proceeding of the gospel preached by these persons should overthrow the state of their majesty, did therefore, by sinister accusations, inflame the hearts of princes against them, and under some coloured covert, to shadow their cloaked hatred, devised these and other like crimes which were not true, but which might cleanly serve their purpose.

This hitherto have I said as in a general sum, answering to the preamble of the aforesaid statute, for the defence of sir John Oldcastle, and sir Roger Acton, and others; not as defining precisely what was, or was not (for here I may say with Hall, that as I was not present at the deed-doing, so with him, I may also leave the same at

The mat-  
ter de-  
bated by  
records,  
whether  
lord Cob-  
ham and  
sir Roger  
Acton  
were  
traitors.

(1) Revolting as this statement may appear to the christian reader, it is nevertheless a well authenticated fact, that some of the blind votaries of the Romish church have actually introduced, among the solemnities of her worship, this animal, the head of which the primitive Christians were falsely charged with worshipping.—Edgar, in his "Variations of Popery," p. 45, speaks of the 'Feast of the ass,' celebrated for some time in the Gallican church, especially at Beauvais in Burgundy. His words are these: "The friends of this ceremony had discovered, by their superior discernment, that an ass was the conveyance of Joseph and Mary, when they fled, for an asylum, from Herod, into Egypt. An institution therefore was appointed for the commemoration of the flight and deliverance; and the solemnity was a pattern of taste, rationality, and devotion. A handsome girl richly attired represented Mary, who, from some flattering portraits of her ladyship, was accounted a Jewish beauty. The girl, bedizened with finery, was placed on an ass, covered with a rich cloth of gold and richly caparisoned. The ass, accompanied with a vast concourse of clergy and laity, was led to the cathedral of the parish. The girl, who represented the mother of God, seated on an ass, was conducted unto the sanctuary itself, and placed, with the gospels, near the altar. High mass began; the ass, who was a devout worshipper on the occasion, was taught to kneel, as in duty bound, at certain intervals, while a hymn, no less rational than pious, was sung in his praise." The following is an extract from the hymn, which is given at length by Du Cange:—

"Hey, Sire Asnes, car chantez,  
Belle bouche rechignez  
Vous aurez de foin assez  
Et de l'avoine a plantez."

See Du Cange in his Glossarium, vol. iii. p. 426. Paris 1733. Also Velley's Histoire de France, vol. iii. p. 537. Paris. 1761. See the Appendix.—Ed.

(2) Enseb. lib. v. cap. 21. [See vol. i. p. 108.—Ed.]

(3) Vide vol. i. pp. 104, 109, 154, 159, for the particulars referred to in the foregoing paragraph.—Ed.

*Henry V.* large) ; but as one, by tracing the footsteps of the truth, as by all conjectures hunting out in this matter what is most like, would but only say my mind “*sine strepitu*,” as lawyers say, “*et sine figura judicii*.”

A.D.  
1413.

Now consequently it followeth that we descend to the special points and particulars of the aforesaid preamble ; to consider what thereof may be collected, or necessarily is to be judged, either for proof or disproof of this aforesaid sir John Oldcastle and his fellows.

And first where the proem of this statute beginneth with “*rumours, congregations and insurrections*,” &c. As it is not like, that if these men had intended any forcible entries or rebellion against the king, they would have made any rumours thereof before the deed done ; so is it more credibly to be supposed, all these flourishes of words to be but words of course, or of office, and to savour rather of the rankness of the inditer’s pen, who disposed either “*per amplificationem rhetoricam*” to show his copy, or else “*per maliciam papisticam*,” to aggravate the crime ; and, to make mountains of mole-hills, first of rumours maketh congregations, and from congregations riseth up to insurrections ; whereas in all these rumours, congregations and insurrections, (a) yet never a blow was given, never a stroke was stricken, no blood spilled, no furniture nor instruments of war, no sign of battle, yea no express signification either of any rebellious word, or malicious fact, described either in records, or yet in any chronicle. Again, if these rumours were words spoken against the king, as calling him a tyrant, an “*Usurper of the crown*,” the “*Prince of Priests*,” &c., why then be none of these words expressed in their indictments, or left in records ? Doth Master Cope think for a man to be called a traitor, to be enough to make him a traitor, unless some plain and evident proof be brought for him to be so indeed, as he is called ? “*Rumours*,” saith he, “*congregations, and insurrections were made*.” Rumours are uncertain, congregations have been, and may be, among christian men in dangerous times for good purposes, and no treason against their princes meant. The term of “*insurrections*” may be added *ἐκ τοῦ περισσοῦ* by practice or surmise of the prelates and pen-men, who, to bring them the more in hatred of the king, might add this rather of their own gentleness, than of the others’ deserving. Certain it is, and undoubted, that the prelates in those days, being so mightily inflamed against these Lollards, were not altogether behind for their parts, nor utterly idle in this matter, but practised against them what they could, first to bring them into hatred, and then to death.

Examples of this kind of practice among the popish clergy have not lacked either before or since. Moreover, if these men had made such a rebellious insurrection against the king, as is pretended in the preamble before this statute, which were a matter of high treason, how chanceth then, that the whole body of the statute, following after the said preface or preamble, runneth, in all the parts or branches thereof, both in matter of arrest, of indictment, information, request, allowance of officers, cognisance of ordinaries, of the forefact, &c., upon cases of heresy, and not of treason, as by particular tractation shall be, Christ willing, declared.

Ru-  
mours.  
congre-  
gations,  
insurrec-  
tions.  
(a)

And forasmuch as these men be so grievously accused by Alanus Copus, for congregating and rising against their king, and the whole realm, if I had so much leisure to defend, as he hath pleasure to defame, here might be demanded of him, to keep him in some further play, touching this mighty insurrection, Where they came in number of twenty thousand against the king? in what order of battle-array they marched? what captains, under-captains, and petty captains they had, to guide the wings, and to lead the army? whether they were horsemen or footmen? If they were horsemen, as is pretended, what meant they then to resort to the thickets near to St. Giles's field, which was no meet place for horses to stir? If they were footmen, how standeth that with the author, who reporteth them to be horsemen? Moreover, it is to be demanded, what ensigns or flags, what shot, what powder, what armour, weapons, and other furniture of war? also what treasure of money to wage so many, to the number of twenty thousand? what trumpets, drums, and other noise necessary for the purpose they had? All these preparations for such an enterprise, are requisite and necessary to be had. And peradventure, if truth were well sought, it would be found at length, that instead of armies and weapons, they were coming only with their books, and with Beverly their preacher, into those thickets. But as I was not there present at the fact, as is before said, so have I neither certainty to define upon their ease, nor yet Master Cope to exclaim against them; unless peradventure, that he, taking an occasion of the time, will thus argue against them, that because it was the hot month of January, the second day after the Epiphany, therefore it is likely that sir John Oldecastle, with twenty thousand Lollards, encamped together in the fields in all the heat of the weather, to destroy the king, and all the nobles, and to make himself regent of England: and why not as well the king, as regent of England, seeing all the nobles should have been destroyed, and he only left alone to reign by himself?

Henry  
V  
A.D.  
1413.  
Insurrections  
of the  
Lollards  
against  
the king,  
not  
likely.

It followeth moreover in the preamble of the aforesaid statute, "to annul, destroy and subvert, the christian faith, and the law of God, and holy church," &c. (b) He that was the forger and inventor of this report, as it appeareth to proceed from the prelates, seemeth no cunning Dædalus, nor half his craftmaster in lying for the whetstone. Better he might have learned of Sinon in Virgil, more artifi-  
cially to have framed and conveyed his narration; which although it could in no case sound like any truth, yet some colour of probability should have been set upon it, to give it some countenance of a like tale: as if he had first declared the lord Cobham to have been before in secret confederacy with the great Turk; or if he had made him some Termagant or Mahound out of Babylonia, or some Herod of Judea, or some Antichrist out of Rome, or some grand-paunch epicure of this world, and had showed, that he had received letters from the great Soldan, to fight against the faith of Christ, and law of God; then had it appeared somewhat more credible, that the said sir John Oldecastle, with his sect of heresy, went about to "annul, destroy, and subvert, the christian faith and law of God, within the realm of England," &c.

A stan-  
der on  
lord (b)  
Cobham,  
that he  
intended  
to destroy  
christian  
faith.

But now, where will either he or Master Cope find men so mad

*Henry  
V.*

*A.D.  
1415.*

to believe, or so ingenious, that can imagine this to be true, that the lord Cobham, being a Christian, and so faithful a Christian, would, or did, ever cogitate in his mind to destroy and annul the faith of Christ in the realm of England? Whatsoever the report of this pursuant or preface saith, I report me unto the indifferent reader, how standeth this with any face of truth? that he who before, through the reading of Wickliff's works, had been so earnestly converted to the law of God, who had also approved himself such a faithful servant of Christ, that for the faith of Christ, he, being examined and tried before the prelates, not only ventured his life, but stood constant unto the sentence of death defined against him, being a condemned and a dead man by law,<sup>1</sup> who had, as much as to devotion and fear appertained, "suffered already what he might or could suffer," as Cyprian said by Cornelius: that he, I say, who a little before, in the month of September, stood so constant in defence of Christ's faith, would now, in the month of January, rise to destroy, annul, and subvert Christ's faith, and the law of God, and holy church within the realm of England?

How can it be, not likely only, but possible to be true, that he who never denied the faith; who ever confessed the faith so constantly; who was for the same faith condemned; yea, and at last also burned for the faith, would ever fight against the faith and law of God, to annul and subvert it? Let us proceed yet further, and see when he should have so destroyed and annulled the christian faith and law of God in England, what faith or law then could he or did he intend to bring into the realm of England? the Turk's faith? or the Jew's faith? or the pope's faith? or what faith else I pray you? for he that will be an enemy to the faith of Christ, and will show himself a friend to no other faith besides, I account him not out of his right faith, but out of his right wits.

And therefore, even as it is true, that sir John Oldcastle with his confederates and abettors, were up in arms to subvert and extinguish the faith of Christ and law of God in the realm of England, so, by the like truth, it may be esteemed, that the same persons rose also "to destroy their sovereign lord the king, and his brethren."<sup>(c)</sup> First, thanks be to God, that neither the king nor any of his brethren had any hurt by him. But his intent, saith the preface, was to destroy his sovereign lord the king. Whereunto I answer with this interrogatory, Whether was his intent to have destroyed him privily, or by open force of arms? If privily, what needeth then such a great army of twenty thousand men, to achieve that secret feat? rather I would think that he needed more the help of such as were near about the king; as some of the king's privy chamber, or some of his secret council; whereof neither chronicle nor record doth insinuate any mention. If his intent was openly to invade the king; you must understand Master Cope, that to withstand a king in his own realm, many things are required; long time, great preparation, many friends, great assistance and aid of kindred, money, horse, men, armour, and all other things appertaining for the same.

Earl Godwin of Westsax, who had married Canute's daughter,

Lord  
Cobham  
falsely  
slandered  
for in-  
tending  
to de-  
stroy the  
king (c).

How  
unlikely.

(1) "Et qui quantum ad ejus devotionem pertinet et timorem, passus sit quicquid pati potuit," Cypr. l. iv, Epist. 2.



being a man both ambitious, and as false a traitor, for all his six sons and great alliance, yet durst not set upon king Edward to invade him within his realm; although he sought many occasions so to do, yet never durst he enterprise openly that which his ambition so greatly presumed unto.<sup>1</sup>

Henry  
V.  
A. D.  
1413.

In the time of king Henry III. Simon Montfort, earl of Leicester, Gilbert Clare, earl of Gloucester, Humphrey Bohun, and the earl of Ferrers, with a great number of lords and barons, thought themselves to have great right on their sides; yet durst not, for all their power, openly assail the king in his realm, before great debatement and talk first had between.<sup>2</sup>

What a  
hard mat-  
ter it is  
to rise  
against  
the king  
See  
Appendix.

Likewise what murmuring and grudging was there in the realm against king Edward II., among the peers and nobles, and also prelates, Walter bishop of Coventry, only excepted; first for Gaveston, then for the Spencers, at what time Thomas earl of Lancaster, Guido earl of Warwick, with the most part of all the other earls and barons, concordly consenting together to the displacing first of Gaveston, then of the Spencers, yet neither rashly, nor without great fear, durst stir up war in the land, or disquiet or vex the king; but first, by all means of moderate counsel and humble petition, thought rather to persuade, than to invade the king.<sup>3</sup>

Against  
king  
Edward  
II.

In like manner, and with like grudging minds, in the reign of king Richard II., Thomas Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, the king's uncle, with the earls of Arundel, Warwick, and Derby, with the power almost of the whole commons, stood up in arms against the king; and yet, notwithstanding all their power joined together being so great, and their cause seeming to them so reasonable, yet were they not so hardy as straightways to fly upon the king, but by way of parliament thought to accomplish that which their purpose had conceived; and so did, without any war striking against the king.<sup>4</sup>

Against  
king  
Richard  
II.

After king Richard II. was deposed, and was in prison yet living, divers noblemen were greatly inflamed against king Henry IV., as sir John Holland, earl of Huntingdon; Thomas Spencer, earl of Gloucester; the earls likewise of Kent and Salisbury, with sir John Cheiney, and others, whereof divers had been dukes before, and were now deposed by king Henry IV., although they had conceived in their hearts great grudge and malice against the said king Henry, yet had they neither heart nor power openly, with man's force, to assail the king, but secretly were compelled to achieve their conceived intent, which notwithstanding they could not accomplish.<sup>5</sup>

Against  
king  
Henry  
IV.

Thus you may see, Master Cope, or else Master Harpsfield, or whatsoever ye be, to gainstand a king, and with open force to encounter with him in his own land, and in his own chamber of London, where he is so sure and strong, a matter of how great achievement it is, wherein so many and so great difficulties do lie, the attempt so dangerous, the chances so uncertain, the furniture of so many things required, that scarce in any king's days heretofore any peers or nobles of the realm, were they ever so strongly assisted with power, wit, or counsel, yet either were able, or else well durst ever to enterprise upon the case so dangerous, notwithstanding they were of themselves

The in-  
surrec-  
tion of  
lord  
Cobham  
judged  
by cir-  
cum-  
stance.

(1) See vol. ii. p. 86.—En.

(3) Ibid. p. 616, &c. and p. 653, &c.—Ed.

(2) Ibid. pp. 539—567.—Ed.

(1) See pp. 317—319.—Ed. (5) Ex. Hist. D. Alban.

*Henry  
V.**A.D.  
1413.*

ever so far from all fear of God, and true obedience. And shall we then think, or can we imagine, Master Cope, that sir John Oldecastle, a man so well instructed in the knowledge of God's word, being but a poor knight by his degree, having none of all the peers and nobles in all the world to join with him, being prisoner in the Tower of London a little before in the month of December, could now, in the month of January, so suddenly, in such a hot season of the year, start up an army of twenty thousand fighting men to invade the king, to kill two dukes, his brethren, to annul christian faith, to destroy God's law, and to subvert holy church? And why doth not he add, moreover, to set also all London on fire, and to turn all England into a fish-pool? Belike these men, who give out these figments of sir John Oldecastle, did think him to be one of Deucalion's stock, who by casting stones over his shoulder, could, by and by, make men at his pleasure, or else that he had Cadmus' teeth to sow, to make so many harvest men to start up at once.

Twenty thousand men, and yet not known from whence they came, it is not likely.

No rebellion in England; but the special country, from whence they came, was known.

But let us consider yet further of these twenty thousand soldiers, so suddenly, without wages, without victual or other provision, congregated together, what they were, from whence, out of what quarter, county, or counties they came. In another king's days, whensoever any rebellion against the king was moved by the commons, as when Jack Straw, and Wat Tyler of Kent, and Essex, also, rose in the time of king Richard II.; when William Mandevil of Abingdon, Jack Cade of Kent, in the time of king Henry VI.; in the time of king Henry VIII., when the commotion of rebels was in Lincolnshire, then in Yorkshire; when in king Edward the VIth's time, Humphery Arundel in Devonshire, and captain Kyte in Norfolk, made stir against the king, the country and parts from whence these rebels did spring, were both noted and also defamed. In this so traitorous commotion, therefore, let us now learn what these men were, and from what county or counties in all England they came. If they came out of any, let the chronicles declare what counties they were. If they came out of none, as none are named, then let them come out of Eutopia, where, belike, this figment was first forged and invented. Wherefore seeing neither the counties from whence they came, nor yet the names of any of all these twenty thousand do appear, what they were, either in chronicle or in record, but remain altogether unknown, I leave it, gentle reader, to thy judgment, to think thereupon, as thy wisdom shall lead thee.

(d)  
Another false report; that Oldecastle intended to kill all manner of estates in the realm.

It followeth more in the aforesaid preface; "And to destroy all other manner of estates of the same realm of England, as well spiritual as temporal," &c. (d) By the course of this preamble it appeareth, that the said sir John Oldecastle was a wonderfully cruel tyrant and murderer, who, being not yet satisfied with the blood of the king, nor of the two dukes his brethren, would also make havoc and sweep-stake of all manner of estates in the realm of England. What! and leave no manner of estate alive?—No! neither lord spiritual nor temporal, but all together shall be destroyed. And what had all these estates done, thus so miserably to be destroyed? Although, percase, the mood of this man might have been incensed and kindled against the king and the lords spiritual, by whom he had been condemned, as is aforesaid; yet why should all other manner of other

estates both spiritual and temporal be killed? If none of all the estates in England, neither duke, earl, baron, lord, knight, or other gentleman had been his friend, but all his enemies, how then is it likely that he, having all the estates, peers, nobles and gentlemen of the realm against him, and none to stand with him, either could or durst attempt any commotion against the whole power of the land, he being but one gentleman only, with sir Roger Acton, and Master Brown left alone? At least, good reason yet would, that those hundred knights should have been spared out of this bloody slaughter, whom he offered to produce unto the king before<sup>1</sup>, for his purgation. And finally, if this was his purpose, that all these estates both spiritual and temporal should have been cut down, what needed then that he should have made himself a regent, when he might as well have made himself a king, or what else he would, being left then prince alone?

*Henry  
V.  
A. D.  
1413.*

The preamble, as it began with untruth, and continued in the same figure, heaping one untruth upon another, so now endeth with another misreport as untrue as the rest, showing and declaring that the intent of sir John Oldcastle was also, "To destroy all manner of policy," and finally, "the laws of the land," &c.(e) We read of William the Conqueror, otherwise named William the Bastard, who being a puissant duke in his country, when the crown of England was allotted to him, and he coming over with all his peers, nobles and barons of his whole land, into this realm, and had with great difficulty obtained victory against king Harold, yet to alter and destroy the policy and the laws of the land, it passed his power; insomuch that it had not been permitted unto him to have proceeded so far as he did, unless he had first sworn to the nobles of this land, to retain still the laws of king Edward, as he found them. And albeit he afterwards forswore himself, breaking his oath in altering and changing many of the aforesaid laws, yet wild he, mild he, he could not so destroy them all (for which much war and great commotions endured long after in the realm), but that he was constrained, and also contented, to allow and admit a great part of the said laws of king Edward.<sup>2</sup> And if he, being king and conqueror, with all his strength of Normans and Englishmen about him, was too weak and insufficient to destroy all manner of policy and laws of this land which he had conquered, how much less, then, is it to be supposed that sir John Oldcastle, being but a private subject, and a poor knight, and a condemned prisoner, destitute and forsaken of all lords, earls and barons, who, to save his own life had more to do than he could well compass, would either take in hand, or conceive in his head, any such exploit, after the subversion of christian faith and law of God; after the slaughter of the king and all manner of estates, as well spiritual as temporal, in the realm of England; after the desolation of holy church; to destroy also all manner of policy; and, finally, the laws of the land? Which monstrous and incredible figment, how true it may seem to Master Cope, or to some other late chroniclers of the like credulity, I cannot tell: certainly, to me, and as I think, to all indifferent readers, it appeareth as true as is the verse of the satire, wherewith it may well be compared;

A hard  
matter to  
destroy  
all policy  
and laws  
of a land.  
(e)

"Nil intra est oleam, nil extra est in nuce duri."

But here will it be said again perhaps, that the matter of such

(1) See p. 325.—ED.

(2) See vol. ii. pp. 91, 166.—ED.

Henry  
V.

A. D.  
1413.

Objection.  
Answer.

preambles and prefaces being but pursuants of statutes, and containing but words of course, to aggravate and to give a show of a thing which they would have to seem more odious to the people, is not so precisely to be scanned, or exquisitely to be stood upon, as for the ground of a necessary case of truth.

This is it, Master Cope, that I said before, and now do well grant and admit the same, that such preambles or forefaces lined with a 'non sequitur,' containing in them matter but of surmise, and words of course, and rather monsters out of course, and many times rising upon false information, are not always in themselves material or necessary probations in all points to be followed; as appeareth, both by this statute, and also by the statute of this king's father, made in the second year of Henry IV., c. 15, beginning "Excellentissimo," &c. And yet, notwithstanding, out of these same preambles and forefronts of statutes, and other indictments, which, commonly rising upon matter of information, run only upon words of course of office, and not upon simple truth, a great part of our chroniclers do often take their matter, which they insert into their stories, having no respect or examination of circumstances to be compared, but only following bare rumours, or else such words as they see in such fabling prefaces or indictments expressed; whereby it cometh so to pass, that the younger chronicler following the elder, as the blind leading the blind, both together fall into the pit of error. And you also, Master Cope, following the steps of the same, do seem likewise to err together with them for good fellowship. And thus concerning the face of this statute hitherto sufficiently.

Now let us consider and discuss in like manner first the coherence, then the particular contents of the said statute; as touching which coherence, if it be well examined, a man shall find almost a chimera of it, in which neither the head accordeth with the body, nor yet the branches of the statute well agree with themselves, wherein he that was the drawer, or first informer thereof, seemeth to have forgot his verse and art poetical.

"Atque ita mentitur, sic veris falsa remiscet,  
Primum ne medio, medium ne discrepet imo."<sup>1</sup>

The body  
of the  
statute,  
an. 2. reg.  
Hen. V.  
cap. 7.  
examined.

For whereas the preface of the statute standeth only upon matter of treason, conceived by false suggestion and wrong information, the body of the said statute, which should follow upon the same, runneth only upon matter of heresy pertaining to the ordinaries, as by every branch thereof may appear.

For first, Where he saith, "At the instance and request of the ordinaries or their commissaries," &c. (f): hereby it appeareth, this to be no cause of treason or felony; for every man, of duty, is bound to, and by the laws of the realm may, arrest and apprehend a traitor or a felon, if he can; where otherwise by this statute, an officer is not bound to arrest him who offendeth in case of this statute, without request made by the ordinaries or their commissaries; and therefore this offence seemeth neither to be treason nor felony.

Secondly, Where it followeth, that "the same ordinaries and commissaries do pay for their costs," &c. (g): this allowance of the

(1) Horace, 'De Arte Poetica,' l. 151; or, 'Primo ne medium, medio ne discrepet inum'—ED.

officers' charges in this sort proveth this offence neither treason nor felony. *Henry V.*

Thirdly, Where the statute willeth the king to be "answered of the year, day and wast," &c. (*h*): by this also is proved the offence not to be treason; for else in cases of treason, the whole inheritance, I trow, Master Cope (speaking as no great skilful lawyer), is forfeit to the prince. A. D. 1413.  
(*h*)

The fourth argument I take out of these words of the statute, "Whereas such lands and tenements which are holden of the ordinaries, are willed wholly to remain to the king as forfeit," &c. (*i*): whereby it is manifest, that the prelates, for their matter of lollardy only, were the occasioners and procurers of this statute; and therefore were barred of the benefit of any forfeit arising thereby, as good reason was they should. And thus it is notorious, that the preface running specially and principally upon treason, and the statute running altogether upon points of heresy, do not well cohere nor join together. (*i*)

Fifthly, In that "such persons indicted shall be delivered unto the ordinaries of the places," &c. (*k*): it cannot be denied, but that this offence concerneth no manner of treason, forasmuch as ordinaries cannot be judges in cases of treason or felony, by the laws of our realm.<sup>1</sup> (*k*)

Sixthly, By the indictments provided "not to be taken in evidence, but only for information, before the judges spiritual," &c. (*l*): it is likewise to be noted, to what end these indictments were taken; to wit, only to inform the ordinaries, which cannot be in cases of treason. (*l*)

Lastly, Where it followeth, toward the end of the statute, touching escape or breaking of prison, &c. (*m*): by this it may lightly be smelt, whereto all the purpose of this statute driveth; that is, to the special escape of the lord Cobham out of the Tower, to this end, to have his lands and possessions forfeit unto the king. And yet the same escape of the lord Cobham, in this statute considered, is taken by Mr. Justice Stanford, in the first book of the Pleas of the Crown, chap. 33, to be an escape of one arrested for heresy, where he speaketh of the case of the lord Cobham. (*m*)

Moreover, as touching the parts of this aforesaid statute, how will you join these two branches together, whereas in the former part it is said, "That the lands of such persons convicted shall be forfeit to the king, not before they be dead;" and afterwards it followeth, "That their goods and possessions shall be forfeit at the day of their arrest to the king?" But herein standeth no such great doubt, nor matter to be weighed. This is without all doubt, and notoriously, evidently, and most manifestly, may appear, by all the arguments and the whole purport of the statute; that as well the preamble and preface thereof, as the whole body of the said statute were made, framed and procured only by and through the instigation, information, and excitation, of the prelates and the popish clergy; not so much for any treason committed against the king, but only for fear and hatred of lollardy, tending against their law, which they more dreaded and abhorred than ever any treason against the prince. And then, to set John Stanford,  
of the  
Pleas of  
the  
Crown.  
  
First  
procurers  
of this  
statute.

(1) Bracton, in fine prim. libri.

Henry  
V.

A. D.  
1413.

Practice  
of pre-  
lates to  
couple  
treason  
with  
heresy.

the king and all the states against them, whereby the more readily to work their dispatch, they thought it best, and no policy so compendious, as prettily to join treason together with their lollardy; wherein the poor men once entangled, could no ways escape destruction.<sup>1</sup>

This, Master Cope, have I said, and say again, not as one absolutely determining upon the matter. At the doing whereof, as I was not present myself, so with your own Hall, I may and do leave it at large, but as one leading the readers by all conjectures and arguments of probability and of due circumstances, to consider with themselves what is further to be thought in these old accustomed practices and proceedings of these prelates. Protesting, moreover, Master Cope, in this matter to you, that those chroniclers which you so much ground upon, I take them in this matter neither to be as witnesses sufficient, nor as judges competent; who, as they were not themselves present at the deed done, no more than I, but only following uncertain rumours and words of course and office, bringing with them no certain trial of that which they do affirm, may therein both be deceived themselves, and also deceive you and others who depend upon them.

And hitherto concerning this statute enough: out of which statute you see, Master Cope, that neither your chroniclers, nor you, can take any great advantage, to prove any treason in the lord Cobham, or in his fellows, as hath been hitherto abundantly declared in the premises.

It remaineth further, that forasmuch as you in your sixth dialogue,<sup>2</sup> with your author Edward Hall, do allege the records, "*et publica iudicii acta*," to defame these men for traitors, although what records they be you bring forth never a word, I, therefore, in their defence do answer for them, who cannot now answer for themselves. And because you, to accuse them, do mention a certain record, and yet do not show us what record it is, and peradventure cannot, if ye would, I have taken the pains therefore, for the love of them whom you so hate, to search out such records, whereby any occasion can be raised against them. And first I will declare the commission granted, then the indictment commenced against them: which commission and indictment, albeit in countenance of words it will seem to minister much suspicion against them, to the simple reader, before he be better acquainted with these subtle dealings and practices of prelates; yet, trusting to the goodness of the cause which I see here so falsely and slightly to be handled, I nothing fear, nor doubt, to produce the same out of the records in Latin as they stand; to the intent that when the crafty handling of the adversaries shall be disclosed, the true simplicity of the innocent, to the true hearted reader, may the better appear. The words first of the commission here follow under written, which when thou shalt hear, let them not trouble thy mind, gentle reader! I beseech thee, before thou understand further, what packing and subtle conveyance lie covered and hid under the same.

### The Words of the Commission against Lord Cobham.

Rex dilectis et fidelibus suis Willielmo Roos de Hamlaek, Henrico le Scrop, Willielmo Croiomere Majori civitatis sue London, Hugoni Huls, Joanni Preston, et Joanni Martin, salutem. Sciatis quod eum nos plenius (a) informemur,

(1) *Papre consilium callidum.*

(2) Alanus Copus, page 833, line 4.

Henry  
V.A. D.  
1413.

ac notorie et manifeste dignoscatur, quod quam plures subditi nostri Lollardi vulgarie nuncupati, ac alii, mortem nostram contra ligeancie sue debitum proditorie imaginaverunt, ac quam plura alia, tam in fidei catholice, quam status dominorum et magnatum regni nostri Angl. tam spiritualium quam temporalium destructionem proposuerunt, ac diversas congregationes, et alia conventicula illicita pro nefando proposito suo in hac parte perimplendo fecerunt, in nostri exheredationem ac regni nostri destructionem manifestam: nos hujusmodi Lollardos ac alios predictos juxta eorum demerita in hac parte castigari et puniri volentes, ac de fidelitate et circumspectione vestris plenius confidentes, assignavimus vos quinque, quatuor, et tres vestrum, quorum vos, prefati Major et Hugo, duos esse volumus, justic. nostros ad inquirend. per sacram. proborum et legal. hominum de civitate predicta et suburbiis ejusdem, ac de comitatu Middlesexie, tam infra libertates, quam extra, per quos rei veritas melius sciri poterit de omnibus et singulis proditiombus et insurrectionibus per hujusmodi Lollardos in civitate, suburbiis, et comitat. predictis, factis et perpetratis: necnon de omnimodo proditiombus et insurrectionibus, rebellionibus et felonis in civitate, suburbiis, et com. predictis, per quoscunque et qualitercunque factis sive perpetratis, et ad easd. proditiom. insurrect. rebell. et felonias aud. et termin. secund. legem et consuetudinem regni nostri Angl. Et ideo vobis mandamus, quod ad certos, etc. quos, etc. quorum, etc. ad hoc provideritis diligentes super premissis fac. inquisitiones, et premissa omnia et singula audiat et terminetis in forma predicta facturi, etc. Salvis, etc. Mandavimus enim vicecomitibus nostris Lond. et Midd. quod ad certos, etc. quos, etc. quorum, etc. ejus scire fac. venire facientes coram vobis, etc. quorum, etc. tot. etc. de Balliva sua, tam infra libertates, quam extra, per quos, etc. et inquire. In cujus, etc. T. R. apud Westm. (b) x. die Jan. Per ipsum Regem.—In Rotulo patent. de anno primo Henrici quinti.

(b)

By these high and tragical words in this commission sent down against the lord Cobham, sir Roger Acton, and their fellows, it may peradventure seem to the ignorant and simple reader, some heinous crime of treason to rest in them, for conspiring against God, the church, the king and their country. But what cannot the fetching practice of the Romish prelates bring about, where they have once conceived a malice? Wherefore marvel not, good reader, at this, nor judge thou according to the words which thou hearest, but suspend thy judgment awhile till the matter be more opened unto thee. Examples of like handling be not so rare, but thou mayest soon judge by other times the like also of these. George Egle, of whom mention was made before, did but preach in time of queen Mary, and yet commission was directed against him, as in case of raising up a commotion against the queen. Adam Damlip, in Calais, did but preach, and the receiving of one poor crown two years before at Rome, was enough to make him a traitor. In time of king Henry VIII., one Singleton, chaplain to queen Anne, the queen's majesty's mother, that now is, did but preach the gospel, moved by zeal (as I have credible witness of his own scholar that heard him speak it, being with him), and yet, by virtue of a commission, it was objected to him for raising up commotion against the king, yea, and also for killing of Pakington, and he suffered for the same as a traitor. So here, what matter or marvel is it, if the king incensed, or rather circumvented by the wrong information of the prelates, whom he believed, gave out his commission, against things never wrought nor thought?

Exam-  
ples of di-  
vers false-  
ly accused  
for trea-  
son.

Wherefore I exhort thee, christian reader! as I said before, judge not by and by the truth by the words of the commission, but judge rather the words of the commission by the truth; neither measure

*Henry V.* thou the line by the stone, but the stone rather by the line. At least, yet defer thy sentence till both the commission and the indictment being laid together, thou mayest afterwards see and perceive more, what is to be judged in the case.

English  
chroni-  
clers ex-  
amined by  
the words  
of the  
commis-  
sion.

- (a) In the mean season mark well these words of the king in this commission, (a) "*Cum nos plenius informemur,*" &c.; by which words it is easy to be understood, that the king himself had no certain knowledge thereof, but only by information of others (of bishops no doubt and prelates), and thereupon gave forth his commission aforesaid. And then, how will this stand with our chronicles, and other epitomes and summaries, which Master Cope doth allege? for, if that be certain which Robert Fabian saith, that "the king himself being in the field took certain of them, as sir Roger Acton, Master Brown, and John Beverly;" and your own Edward Hall also, and your epitome agreeth to the same; and saith, moreover, that "they were brought before the king's presence:" Thomas Cooper also, whom you allege, addeth further, and saith, that "the king there by strength did take them:"—I pray you, Master Cope, what needed the king to write this by information, when he himself was both present at the fact, was the taker of them, and a witness of the deed? which, if it be true, that the king heard this but by way of information, how will you then defend your '*Chronicos*' and your '*Epitomas*?' But herein I will neither greatly stick with you, nor contend with them; desiring the reader only to bear in mind the date of this present commission when it was given, (b) which soundeth to be the tenth day of January; and afterwards to compare the same with the date of the indictment hereunder following, which I will, the Lord willing, also hereunto annex, leaving nothing out; yea rather, ministering to the adversary all manner of helps, whatsoever they can seek or require, for their utmost advantage in this matter, to be desired: so sure and confident I am in the innocent cause of these good men, not fearing whatsoever blind malice can cavil against them.

The parliament of the Lord Cobham, Sir Roger Acton, and others, with Notes following upon the same.

- Parliamenta coronæ coram domino rege apud Westm. de termino sancti Hilarii, anno regni regis Henrici, quinti post conquestum, primo, Rot. 7. inter parliamenta regis. Alias coram Gulielmo Roos de Hamlak, Henrico le Scrope, Gulielmo Crowmere Majore civitatis London. Hugone Huls et sociis Justic. domini Regis, ad inquirend. per sacram. proborum et legal. hominum de civitate domini regis London. et suburbiis ejusdem, ac de com. Middl. tam infra libertates, quam extra, de omnibus et singulis prodicionibus et insurrectionibus, per quamplures subditos domini regis lollardos et vulgarit. nuncupatos et alios in civitate, suburbiis, et com. prædictis, factis et perpetratis, necnon de omnibus prodicionibus, insurrectionibus, rebellionibus, et felonis in civitate, suburbiis et com. præd. per quoscunque et qualitercunque factis sive perpetratis, et ad easdem prodiciones, insurrectiones, rebelliones, et felonias audiend. et terminand. secundum legem et consuetudinem regni domini regis Angliæ, per literas ipsius domini regis patentes, assign. apud Westm. (a) die Mercurii proximo post festum Epiphaniæ Domini, anno regni regis Henrici quinti post conquestum primo, (b) per sacram. xii. Juratorum extitit presentatum; quod Jo. Oldcastle de Couling. in Com. Kane. chr. et alii lollardi vulgar. nuncupat. qui contra fidem catholicam diversas opiniones hæreticas, et alios errores manifestos legi catholicæ repugnantes a diu temerarie tenuerunt, opiniones et errores prædictos



Henry  
V.A.D.  
1413.

manutenere, ac in facto minime perimplere valentes, quamdiu regia potestas et tam status regal. Domini nostri regis, quam status et officium prelatice dignitatis infra regnum Angl. in prosperitate perseverarent, falso et proditorie machinando, tam statum regni, quam statum et officium prelatorum, necnon ordines religiosorum infra dictum regnum Angl. penitus annullare; ac Dominum nostrum regem, fratres suos, prelatos, et alios magnates ejusdem regni interficere, nec non viros religiosos, relict. cult. divinis et religiosus observantis ad occupationes mundanas provocare, et tam ecclesias cathedrales, quam alias ecclesias et domos religiosas de reliquis et aliis bonis ecclesiasticis totaliter spoliare ac funditus ad terram prosternere, (c) et dictum Johannem Oldecastle regentem ejusdem regni constituere, et quamplura regimina secundum eorum voluntatem infra regnum predictum (d) quasi gens sine capite, in finalem destructionem tam fidei catholice et cleri, quam status et majestatis dignitatis regal. infra idem regnum ordinare, falso et proditorie ordinaverunt et proposuerunt, quod ipso insimul (e) cum quampluribus rebellibus domini regis ignotis ad numerum viginti millium hominum de diversis partibus regn. Angl. modo guerrino arrivat. (f) privatim insurgent. et (g) die Mercurii proximo post festum Epiphaniæ Domini, anno regni regis predicti predicto apud villam et parochiam Sanctii Egedii extra Barram veteris Templi London. in quodam magno campo ibidem unanimiter convenirent et insimul obviarent pro nefando proposito suo in præmissis perimplend. quo quidem die Mercurii apud villam et parochiam predictas predicti Johannes Oldecastle et alii in hujusmodi proposito proditorio perseverantes, (h) predictum dominum nostrum regem, fratres suos, viz. Tho. ducem Clarentiæ, Joan. de Lanc. et Humfred. de Lancast. necnon prelatos et magnates predictos interficere, necnon ipsum dominum nostrum regem, et heredes suos de regno suo predicto inheredere, et præmissa omnia et singula, necnon quamplura alia mala et intolerabilia facere et perimplere falso et proditorie proposuerunt et imaginaverunt (i) et ibidem versus campum predictum, modo guerrino arrivati proditorie modo insurrectionis contra ligeancias suas equitaverunt ad debellandum dictum dominum nostrum regem, nisi per ipsum manu forti gratiose impediti fuissent. Quod quidem inditamentum dominus rex nunc, certis de causis, coram eo venire fecit terminandum. Per quod preceptum fuit vic. quod non omitteret, etc. quin caperet præfatum Johannem Oldecastle, si, etc. et salvo, etc. Ita quod haberet corpus ejus coram domino rege apud Westmonasterium ad hunc diem; scilicet die Mercurii proximo post octavas Sancti Hilarii isto eodem termino ad respondendum domino regi de præmissis, etc. Ad quos diem et locum, coram domino rege vic. return. quod predictus Johan. Oldecastle non fuit inventus in balliva sua, etc. Per quod preceptum fuit vic. quod exigui faceret eum de com. in com. quousque utlagetur si non, etc. Et si, etc. tunc eum caperet, et salvo, etc. Ita quod haberent corpus ejus coram domino rege in octavas Sancti Joannis Baptistæ ex tunc proximum sequen. ubicunque, etc. ad respondendum domino regi de prodicionibus et feloniis superius sibi impositis. Ad quas octavas Sancti Joannis Baptistæ, anno regni regis Henrici quinti post Conquestum secundo, Joannes Sutton, et Joannes Michel, Vic. Midd. coram domino rege returnaverunt quod ad Com. Midd. centum apud Braynford die Jovis proximo ante festum Sancti Barnabæ Apostoli, anno regni regis Henrici quinti post Conquestum secundo. Et ad quatuor com. ex tunc ex proximo precedentes predictus Johannes Oldecastle exactus fuit, et non comparuit. Et quia ad nullum eorundem com. predict. utlagatus fuit, per quod inquiratur de terra et catallis suis.

NOTES AND CONSIDERATIONS UPON THE INDICTMENT AND  
COMMISSION ABOVE PREFIXED.

(a) "Die Mercurii proximo post festum Epiphaniæ," &c.

First, here is to be noted and considered, good reader, the day and date of giving out the commission, and then of the verdict presented by the jurors, which were both in one day, that is, on the Wednesday next after the Epiphany, in the first year of the reign of king Henry V., which was the tenth day of the month of January

(a)  
First  
note.

Henry  
F.A.D.  
1413.

(as the date of the commission saith), anno 1413, after the use of England, or after the Romish use, anno 1414; so that after what use soever we count, whether it be anno 1413, or else anno 1414, the dominical letter beginning at the first day of January to change, must needs be G for the year, and so necessarily make Wednesday next after the Epiphany to be the tenth day of the said month of January. Thus then this present Wednesday, which was the tenth day of the month, being well noted and borne in mind, on which day both the commission was directed, and also the verdict presented, let us now proceed further in the aforesaid indictment. It followeth.

(b)  
Second  
note, of  
the names  
of the  
jurors  
left out.

(b) "Per sacramentum xii. juratorum extitit præsentatum," &c.

If there had been true dealing in this, the jurors should have been named. But it is not likely that there was ever any such indictment found by any jurors, and therefore they did best not to name the jurors, lest they would have denied this indictment to be their act. It followeth more in process of the indictment:

(c)  
Third, by  
making a  
regent,  
the king  
being not  
yet gone  
over.

(c) "Et dictum Johan. Oldecastle, regentem ejusdem regni constituere," &c.

If there were no other argument, this were sufficient to prove the manifest untruth of this surmised indictment: when the king was not yet gone to France, nor determined to go, how could they conspire then to make a regent? for the king went in July following, viz., the second year of his reign, leaving behind him the queen, his mother-in-law, for regent, whereby it may be gathered, that this matter was untruly entered and stolen into the records with an antedate, or else at the least there appeareth manifest untruth, that they should conspire to make a regent, when a regent was not thought upon, unless it were already run into the heads of the clergy, who shortly after, "fearing their temporalities," as Caxton saith, persuaded the king to make wars in France. This word 'regent' therefore proceedeth of the secret spirit of the clergy, and maketh the whole matter very suspicious, to be grounded altogether upon the malice of the clergy, and their untrue surmises. It followeth moreover:

(d)  
The fifth,  
by contra-  
dict.

(d) "Quasi gens sine capite, in finalem destructionem," &c.

How doth this stand with that which goeth before, that they conspired to make a regent, except you will say, that to make a regent is to be a people without a head? It followeth:

(e)  
The  
sixth, by  
the per-  
sons un-  
known.

(e) "Cum quampluribus rebellibus domini regis ignotis ad numerum viginti millium hominum," &c.

A strange matter, that they should know of the conspiracy of twenty thousand, and yet know of no more names of the rebels but the lord Cobham only, or one or two more, and all the rest were 'ignoti.'

(f)  
The  
seventh,  
by the  
unskilful  
penning.

(f) "Privatim insurgentes," &c.

This smelleth of the clergy's own penning, without any great advice of learned counsel; for otherwise such as had been herein skilful would never have put in 'privatim insurgentes.'

(g)  
The  
eighth, by  
the date  
and time.

(g) "Die Mercurii proximo post festum Epiphaniæ Domini anno regni regis predicti," &c.

This Wednesday next after the Epiphany was the tenth day of the month of January, and the same day when both the conspiracy was put in execution, and the same day when the commission was

given out to inquire; also when the fact was by inquiry presented. Whereby it may seem a strange thing that so great a conspiracy known beforehand, was not suppressed nor inquired of by any commission, but only by a commission bearing date the same day upon which, by the purport of the indictment, the conspiracy should have been put in execution by open rebellion, as it is aforesaid.

*Henry  
V.  
A. D.  
1413.*

(h) "Prædictum dominum nostrum regem, fratres suos, viz. Tho. ducem Clarentie, Johannem de Lancastre, et Humfred de Lancastre," &c.

(h)  
The  
ninth, by  
error and  
wrong  
naming  
the  
dukes.

If the king's learned counsel had dealt in this indictment as in case of treason they should have done, if it had been a matter of truth they would never have handled it so slenderly and wrongly, as to name the dukes of Bedford and Gloucester, John of Lancaster, and Humfrey of Lancaster, who were made dukes in the thirteenth year of the reign of king Henry IV., their father, as appeareth by Caxton's chronicle.

(i) "Et ibidem versus campum prædictum, modo guerrino arri-  
vati proditorie, modo insurrectionis, contra ligeantias suas equitaverunt  
ad debellandum dictum dominum nostrum regem," &c.

(i)  
The  
tenth, by  
the ab-  
sence of  
the party

This is falsified by plain evidence of histories, and Cope himself confesseth no less; for so he saith and confesseth, page 833, line 12, that sir John Oldcastle was not there in person, but only that his consent and good will were there.

Again, seeing this equitation or riding toward St. Giles's field was upon the Wednesday next after the feast of Epiphany, (as in this indictment and proecess of outlawry is above testified), which was the tenth day of January, and commission also the same day was charged, and the jury moreover impanelled the same day, and yet no juror named; item, the verdict the same day presented: how all these can concur together, and all in one day, let the reader, after he have well considered the matter, use his judgment therein, not only whether it be likely, but also whether it be possible.

The  
eleventh.

Over and beside all this it is to be noted, that if this matter had been truly and duly handled, as touching the treason, then had it not been needful to have brought sir John Oldcastle into the parliament-house, before the lords to have had his judgment; for by his outlawry, if it had been true, he was attainted, and without any more ado should have had judgment in the King's Bench as a traitor. But the chief justice, knowing the handling of the matter, durst not, belike, enterprise so far: wherefore it was devised that he should certify the record unto the parliament, which he did, together with the bishop's sentence filed to the record; which was very strange.

The  
twelfth.  
Lord Cob-  
ham, and  
others,  
proved no  
traitors.

And thereupon the lords gave such a judgment as was not due for a traitor: for that they gave no judgment, that he should be drawn, hanged, and let down alive, and then bowelled and quartered, which is the judgment of a traitor. And albeit the parliament might have attainted him without any more ado, and by the same act of attainder have ordained a special judgment, as they should think good, yet when he was before attainted by the outlawry, they could not lawfully vary from the common judgment of treason. At least how could, or should, the judgment of sir Roger Acton, Master Brown, and John Beverly, who were judged in the Guildhall before, and without the parliament, vary from the said common judgment of traitors,

Henry  
V.

if they had truly committed and been convicted of such high treason?

A.D.  
1413.

The thir-  
teenth  
note or  
argu-  
ment.

Add this, moreover, to the aforesaid notes: that if sir John Oldcastle, after his escape out of prison, had been culpable, and so attainted of that high treason, whereby his lands had been immediately forfeited unto the king by the process of his outlawry; what needed the king then in the second year of his reign, in the parliament after holden at Leicester, have made that proviso to have his lands forfeited to him by virtue of parliament, upon his escape on the day of his arrest, when the lands and cattle of his, had been forfeited before, by the process of the outlawry, as is before specified?

Thus you see, Master Cope, how little advantage you can wrest out of this commission and indictment against the lord Cobham and his fellows, to prove them traitors: and admit the said lord Cobham was attainted of treason by the act, and that the king, the lords, and the commons, assented to the act; yet it bindeth not in such sort, as if indeed he were no traitor, that any man may not, by search of the truth, utter and set forth sincerely and justly, the very true cause whereby his death happened and followed.

Answer  
to the  
allega-  
tions of  
Fabian,  
Pol. Vir-  
gil, and  
Hall, &c.

Thus then, having sufficiently cleared the lord Cobham and his partners, from all that you can object unto them out of records and statutes, let us now come to your English chroniclers wherewith you seem to press me, and oppress them, whom ye name to be Robert Fabian, Edward Hall, Polydore Virgil, Thomas Cooper, Richard Grafton, with other brief epitomes and summaries, &c.; concerning which authors, as I have nothing to say, but to their commendations, in this place: so, if you had avouched the same to the commendation rather than to the reproof of others, I would better have commended your nature, and believed your cause. But now, like a spider-catcher, sucking out of every one what is the worst, to make up your laystall, you heap up a dung-hill of dirty dialogues, containing nothing in them but malicious railing, virulent slanders, manifest untruths, opprobrious contumelies, and stinking blasphemies, able almost to corrupt and infect the air. Such is the malady and 'cacoethes' of your pen, that it beginneth to bark, before it hath learned well to write; which pen of yours, notwithstanding, I do not here reproach or condemn, as neither do I greatly fear the same. God, of his mercy, keep the sword out of the papists' hand: it is not the PEN of the papists I greatly pass upon, though twenty Copes and so many surplices were set against the 'Book of Monuments,' were I so disposed, Master Cope, to dally, or, as the Greeks do say, 'ἀντιπαίζειν,' and to repay again as I am provoked. But, in spiteful railing, and in this satirical sort of barking, I give you over, and suffer you therein to pass not only yourself, but also Cerberus himself, if ye will, the great bandog of Pluto. Mildness and humanity rather beseemeth, and is the grace of the Latin phrase. If ye could hit upon the vein thereof, it would win you much more honesty with all honest men: but the Lord hereafter may call you, which I beseech him to do, and to forgive you that you have done.

Modesty  
com-  
mended  
in writ-  
ers.

In the mean time, seeing this your prattling pen must needs be walking, yet this you might have learned of these your own authors whom you allege, more civilly to have tempered your fume in exclaiming against them whose cause is to you not perfectly known. And now

briefly to answer to these your aforesaid writers, as witnesses produced against these men: there be two things (as I take it) in chronicle writers to be considered; first, the grounds which they follow; secondly, in what place they serve.

As touching the order and ground of writing among these chroniclers, ye must consider, and cannot be ignorant, that as none of all these by you forenamed was present at the deed, nor witness of the fact, so have they nothing of themselves herein certainly to affirm, but either must follow public rumour and hearsay for their author, or else one of them must borrow of another: wherof neither seemeth to me sufficient; for, as public rumour is never certain, so one author may soon deceive another; by reason wherof it cometh oft to pass, that as these story-writers hit many times the truth, so again all is not gospel that they do write: wherfore great respect is here to be had, either not to credit rashly every one that writeth stories, or else to see what grounds they have whom we do follow.

Now to demand, Master Cope, of you, what authority or foundation hath your Robert Fabian, have Polydore Virgil, Edward Hall, and other of your authors, to prove these men to be traitors? what authority do they avouch? what acts, what registers, what records, or out of what court do they show, or what demonstration do they make? And do you think it sufficient, because these men do only affirm it, without further probation, with your 'αὐτός ἐφη,' therefore we are bound to believe it? Take me not so, Master Cope, that I do here diminish any thing, or derogate from the credit of those writers you allege, whose labours have deserved well, and serve to great utility: but coming now to trial of a matter lying in controversy between us, we are now forced to seek out the fountain and bottom of the truth, where it is not enough to say, 'so it is,' but the cause is to be showed why it is so affirmed. And what though Robert Fabian, Polydore Virgil, and Edward Hall should altogether (as they do not) agree in the treason of sir John Oldcastle, and of the rest? yet neither is this any sufficient surety to prove them traitors; considering that writers of stories for the most part following either blind report, or else one taking of another, use commonly all to sound together after one tune, "tanquam Dodonæi lebetes," so that as one saith, all say; and if one err, all do err. Wherfore you see, Master Cope, how it is not sufficient, nor sure, to stick only to the names and authorities of chronographers, unless the ground be found substantial whereupon they stand themselves, which yet in none of these whom you have produced doth appear.

Secondly, In alleging and writing of chronicles, it is to be considered to what place and effect they serve. If ye would show out of them the order and course of times, what years were of dearth and of plenty, where kings kept their Christmas, what conduits were made, what mayors and sheriffs were in London, what battles were fought, what triumphs and great feasts were holden, when kings began their reign, and when they ended, &c.: in such vulgar and popular affairs the narration of the chronicler serveth to good purpose, and may have his credit, wherein the matter forceth not much whether it be true or false, or whether any listeth to believe them. But where a thing is denied, and in cases of judgment and in controversies doubtful, which

Henry  
V.

A.D.  
1413.

Two things to be observed in story writers.

The ground of histories to be considered.

Not all things true that be found in stories.

Words without probation, are not sufficient in story matters.

How far, and to what effect, chroniclers serve.

*Henry  
F.*

*A. D.  
1413.*

are to be decided and bolted out by evidence of just demonstration : I take them neither for judges of the bench, nor for arbiters of the cause, nor as witnesses of themselves sufficient necessarily to be sticked unto : albeit I deny not but histories are taken many times, and so termed for witnesses of times, and glasses of antiquity, &c., yet not such witnesses as whose testimony beareth always a necessary truth, and bindeth belief.

Histories  
not rashly  
to be be-  
lieved.

The two witnesses who came against Susanna being senators, both of ancient years, bare a great countenance of a most evident testimony, whereby they almost both deceived the people, and oppressed the innocent, had not young Daniel, by the Holy Spirit of God, taken them aside, and severally examining them one from the other, found them to be false liars both ; leaving to us thereby a lesson of wholesome circumspection, not rashly to believe every one that cometh, and also teaching us how to try them out. Wherefore, Master Cope, following here the like example of Daniel in trying these your records which ye infer against these men, we will, in like manner, examine them severally one from another, and see how their testimony agreeth : first beginning with your Robert Fabian ; which Robert Fabian being neither in the same age, nor at the deed-doing, can of himself give no credit herein, without due proof and evidence convenient.

Testimo-  
ny of Fa-  
bian  
against  
the lord  
Cobham  
examin-  
ed.

How then doth Robert Fabian prove this matter of treason true ? what probation doth he bring ? what authority doth he allege ? And doth Robert Fabian think, if he were not disposed to conceive of the lord Cobham and those men, a better opinion but to be traitors, that men are bound to believe him only at his word, without any ground or cause declared, why they should so do, but only because he so saith, and it pleased him so to write ? And if ye think, Master Cope, the word only of this witness sufficient to make authority, speaking against the lord Cobham, and proving nothing which followed so many years after him ; why may not I, as well and much rather, take the word and testimony of Richard Belward, a Norfolk man of the town of Crisam, who, living both in his time, and possibly knowing the party, and punished also for the like truth, is not reported, but recorded also in the registers of the church of Norwich, to give this testimony, among his other articles, for the aforesaid lord Cobham ; that is, that sir John Oldcastle was a true catholic man, and falsely condemned, and put to death without a reasonable cause, &c.<sup>1</sup>

Testimo-  
ny of  
Richard  
Belward.

Against this man if you take exception, and say, that one heretic will hold with another ; why may not I, with the like exception, reply to you again, and say as well, one papist will hold with another, and both conjure together, to make and say the worst against a true protestant ?

Wit-  
nesses  
against  
the lord  
Cobham  
agree not  
together.

Further, yet to examine this aforesaid Fabian (witness against sir John Oldcastle), as Daniel examined the witnesses against Susanna : I will not here ask under what tree these adherents of sir John Oldcastle conspired against the king, and subversion of the land, but in what time, in what year and month, this conspiracy was wrought ? Fabian witnesseth, that it was in the month of January. Contrariwise, Edward Hall, and others, our abridgmenters, following him, do affirm

(1) Ex Regist. Episc. Norwic.

that they were condemned in the Guildhall the 12th of December, and that their execution upon the same was in January following, so that by their sentence the fact was done either in the month of December, or else before, and so 'Fabianus mentitus est in caput suum, ut cum Daniele dicam,' or, if it were in the month of January, as Fabian saith, then are Hall and his followers deceived, testifying the fact to be done in the month of December.

And yet to object, moreover, against the said Fabian, forasmuch as he is such a rash witness against these burned persons, whom he calleth traitors,<sup>1</sup> it would be demanded further of him, or in his absence of Master Cope, in what year this treason was conspired? If it were in the same year, as he confesseth himself, in which year John Claydon, the skinner, and Richard Turming, baker, were burned, then was it neither in the month of January, nor in the first year of king Henry V., for in the register of Canterbury it appeareth plainly, that John Cleidon was condemned neither in the time of Thomas Arundel, archbishop, nor yet in the first or second year of king Henry V., but was condemned in the second year of the translation of Henry Chichesly, archbishop of Canterbury, the seventeenth day of August, which was the year of our Lord 1415: so that if this conspiracy was in the same year, after the witness of Fabian, in which year John Cleidon was burned, then doth the testimony of Fabian neither accord with other witnesses, nor with himself, nor yet with truth. And thus much concerning the witness of Robert Fabian.

Let us next proceed to Polydore Virgil, whose partial and untrue handling of our history, in other places of his books, doth offer to us sufficient exception not to admit his credit in this: and yet because we will rather examine him, than exclude him, let us hear a little what he saith, and how he faileth, and in how many points, numbering the same upon my five fingers.

First, ending with the life of king Henry IV., he saith that he reigned fourteen years, six months, and two days, 'Angliæ Historia,' lib. 21, which is an untruth worthy to be punished with a whole year's banishment (to speak after the manner of Apuleius,<sup>2</sup>) when, as truth is, he reigned, by the testimony of the story of St. Alban's, of Fabian, of Hall, of our old English chronicle, and of 'Scala Mundi,' but thirteen years and six months, lacking, as some say, five days; Hall saith, he reigned but twelve years.

The second untruth of Polydore is this, whereas he, speaking of this sedition of sir John Oldcastle and his adherents, affirmeth the same to be done after the burning of John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, which was, saith he, in the year 1415, in which year, saith he, Thomas Arundel died. His words be these, "In eodem concilio damnata est Johan. Wicliff. hæresis; ac Johan. Hus, et Hieronimus Pragensis, in ea urbe combusti sunt. Quod ubi reliquis consociis, qui etiam tunc in Anglia erant, patefit, tanquam furis agitati primum conjurationes in omnes sacerdotes, deinde in regem," &c.; in which words he not only erreth, falsely assigning

Henry  
V.A. D.  
1413.Fabian  
convicted  
of a mani-  
fest un-  
truth in  
his story  
of the  
lord  
Cobham.The tes-  
timony of  
Polydore  
ex-  
amined.Five un-  
truths of  
Polydore.  
First  
untruth.  
See  
Appendix.Second  
untruth.

(1) Fab. part vii. in vita Hen. p. 390.

(2) An allusion to the African Philosopher of the second century, who in his Apology exclaims, "O falsum et auidax nimium mendacium, viginti annorum exilio puniendum."—Ed.

Henry  
V.

A. D.  
1413.

the cause and occasion of this sedition to the death of John Huss and of Jerome, but also misseth as much in the order and computation of the years. For neither was sir Roger Acton with his aforesaid fellows alive at the time of the council; neither doth he agree therein with any of our English writers, except only with Hall, who also erreth therein as wide as he.

Third and  
fourth  
untruths.

For the third and fourth untruth I note this, where he addeth and saith, that after this rebellion raised against the king, the said sir John Oldcastle, being there present himself, was taken and imprisoned in the Tower, and afterward escaped out of the said Tower by night: wherein is contained a double untruth; for neither was sir John Oldcastle there present himself, if we believe Fabian and Cope,<sup>1</sup> neither yet did he ever escape out of the Tower after that conspiracy, if ever any such conspiracy was.

Fifth  
untruth.

His fifth, but not the last untruth in Polydore, is this, that he states Thomas Arundel to have died in the same year, noting the year to be 1415, whereas by the true registers he died in the year 1413.

Another  
untruth  
in Poly-  
dore  
noted.

To this untruth another also may be joined, where he, erring in the computation of the years of the said Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, reporteth him to sit thirty-two years;<sup>2</sup> who was there archbishop but only eighteen years, as is to be seen in the records of Canterbury. The words of Polydore be these; "Thomas Arundellinus Cantuariensis antistes annum jam tunc sedens tertium et trigessimum e vita excessit."<sup>3</sup> Albeit in this I do not greatly contend with Polydore, and peradventure the adversary will find some easy shift for this matter.

The testi-  
mony of  
Hall  
against  
the lord  
Cobham  
ex-  
amined.

But let us now pass from Polydore, not, as they say, out of the hall into the kitchen, but out of the kitchen into the 'hall,' examining and perpending what saith 'Edward Hall,' another witness, in this matter; upon whom Master Cope bindeth so fast, that he supposeth his knot is never able to be loosed. And, moreover, he so treadeth me down under his feet in the dirt (as a man would think him some dirt-dauber's son) "that the spots thereof," he saith, "will never be gotten out while the world standeth, and a day longer." Notwithstanding I trust, Master Cope, that your dirty pen, with your cockish brags, hath not so bedaubed and bespotted me, nor yet convicted me to be such a depraver of histories, but I hope to sponge it out. At least wise, with a little 'asperges' of the pope's holy water, I trust to come to a 'dealbabor'<sup>4</sup> well enough.

But, certes, Master Cope, your mastership must first understand, that if ye think so to depress me, and disprove me of untruth in my history, you must go more groundly to work, and bring against me other authors than Edward Hall. You must consider, Master Cope, if you will be a controller in story-matters, it is not enough for you to bring a railing spirit, or a mind disposed to carp and cavil where any matter may be picked: diligence is required, and great searching out of books and authors, not only of our time, but of all

(1) Dial. vi. p. 833, line 11.

(2) In all the Editions previous to that of 1596 Foxe's text reads in figures "33," but this last Edition changes 33 into "22," while the quotation from Polydore remains unaltered.—ED.

(3) Lib. xxii. Ang. Hist.

(4) "Dealbabor:" see the Appendix.—ED.



ages. And especially where matters of religion are touched pertaining to the church, it is not sufficient to see what 'Fabian' or what 'Hall' saith; but the records must be sought, the registers must be turned over, letters also and ancient instruments ought to be perused, and authors with the same compared: finally, the writers amongst themselves one to be conferred with another; and so with judgment matters are to be weighed; with diligence to be laboured; and with simplicity, pure from all addition and partiality, to be uttered.

Thus did Aventine, thus did Sleidan, write. These helps also the eldest and best historians seemed to have, both Livy, Sallust, Quintus Curtius, and such like; as by their letters and records inserted may well appear. The same helps likewise, both in your Fabian, and in your Edward Hall, were to be required, but especially in you, Master Cope, yourself, who take upon you so cockishly, rather than wisely, to be a controller and master-moderator of other men's matters: in which matters, to say the truth, you have no great skill, and less experience; neither have you such plenty of authors meet for that purpose, nor yet ever travelled to search out the origins and grounds of that whereof ye write; but contented with such only as cometh next to hand, or peradventure, receiving such alms as some of your poor friends bestow upon you, you think it sufficient if you can allege Fabian and Hall for your purpose.

*Henry  
V.  
A.D.  
1413.*

Now what purpose and affection herein doth lead you, or rather doth drive you, to the carping and barking against the history of these good men that be hence gone, and had their punishment, all men may see it to be no simple sincerity of a mind indifferent, but the zeal only of your sect of popery, or rather of fury, which setteth your railing spirit on fire. But now, out of the fiery kitchen to come to the 'hall' again, let us see what matter lieth in the testimony of Edward Hall, to prove these men to be traitors. And here forasmuch, Master Cope, as you seem neither sufficiently acquainted with this your own master and author, Master Hall, nor yet well experienced in the searching out of histories, I will take a little pains for you, in this behalf, to certify you, concerning the story of this author, whereof percase you yourself are ignorant.

*Cope, a  
carper  
of stories  
whereof  
he hath  
no skill*

*Answer  
to  
Edward  
Hall.*

The truth hereof is this, that as the said Edward Hall, your great master and testis, was about the compiling of his story, certain there were who resorted to him, of whom some were drawers of his pedigree and vineat, some were gravers, the names of whom were John Betts, and Tyrral, who be now both dead. And others there were of the same sodality, who be yet alive, and were then in the house of Richard Grafton, he being both the printer of the said book, and also, as is thought, a great helper of the penning of the same. It so befell, that as Hall was entering into the story of sir John Oldcastle, and of sir Roger Acton and their fellows, the book of John Bale, touching the story of the lord Cobham, was at the same time newly come over: which book was privily conveyed by one of his servants into the study of Hall, so that in turning over his books it must needs come to his hands. At the sight whereof, when he saw the ground and reasons in that book contained, he turned to the authors in the aforesaid book alleged; whereupon, within two nights

Henry  
V.

A. D.  
1413.

Hall  
raseth  
out his  
own story  
written  
against  
lord  
Cobham.

after, moved by what cause, I know not, but so it was, that he, taking his pen, rased and cancelled all that he had written before against sir John Oldcastle and his fellows, and which was now ready to go to print, containing near to the quantity of three pages. And lest Master Cope, you, or any other should think me to speak beside my book, be it therefore known both to you, and to all others, by these presents, that the very selfsame first copy of Hall, rased and crossed with his own pen, remaineth in my hands to be shown and seen, as need shall require. The matter which he cancelled out, came to this effect. Wherein he, following the narration of Polydore, began with like words to declare how the sacramentaries<sup>1</sup> here in England, after the death of John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, being pricked, as he saith, with a demoniacal sting, first conspired against the priests, and afterwards against the king, having for their captains sir John Oldcastle the lord Cobham, and sir Roger Acton, knight; with many more words to the like purpose and effect, as Polydore, and other such like chroniclers do write against him. All which matter, notwithstanding, the said Hall with his pen, at the sight of John Bale's book, did utterly extinguish and abolish; adding in the place thereof the words of Master Bale's book, touching the accusation and condemnation of the said lord Cobham before Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, taken out of the letter of the said archbishop, as is in his own story to be seen.<sup>2</sup>

Hall, in  
his story  
agreeth  
not with  
others.  
Untruth  
in Hall  
noted.

And thus Edward Hall, your author, revoking and calling back all that he had devised before against the lord Cobham (whereof I have his own hand to show, and witness substantial upon the same), in his printed book recordeth of him no more, but only sheweth the process between the archbishop of Canterbury and him for matters of religion. And so, ending with sir John Oldcastle, he proceedeth further to the assembly of sir Roger Acton (whom he falsely calleth Robert Acton), John Brown, and Beverly, the narration whereof he handleth in such sort, that he neither agreeth with the record of other writers, nor yet with the truth itself. For where he excludeth the lord Cobham out of that assembly, he discordeth therein from Polydore and others; and where he affirmeth the fact of that conspiracy to be wrought before, or at the twelfth day of December, that is manifestly false, if the records before alleged be true. And where he reporteth this assembly to be after the burning of John Huss, and of Jerome of Prague, therein he accordeth with Polydore, but not with the truth. Moreover so doubtful he is and ambiguous, in declaration of this story, that no great certainty can be gathered of him.

Hall  
doubtful  
in the  
story of  
sir Robert  
Acton.

First, as touching the confession of them, he confesseth himself that he saw it not, and therefore leaveth it at large: and as concerning the causes of their death, he leaveth the matter in doubt, not daring (as doth Master Cope) to define or pronounce any thing thereof, but only to recite the surmises and minds of divers men diversely, some thinking it was for conveying the lord Cobham out of the Tower, some that it was for treason and heresy. And here cometh in the mention only of a record; but what record it is, neither doth he

(1) "Sacramentaries," a term of reproach given by the papists to the protestants, for their alleged errors respecting the catholic sacraments. — Ed.

(2) Hall in vita Hen. V. p. 2, line 30.

utter it, nor doth he examine it; otherwise again affirming, as he saith, that it was for feigned causes surmised by the spirituality, more of displeasure than truth. And thus your author Hall, having recited the variety of men's opinions, determineth himself no certain thing thereof; but, as one indifferent, neither bound to the conjectures of all men, nor to the writings of all men, referreth the whole judgment of the matter free unto the reader. And so concluding his narration, forasmuch as he was neither a witness of the fact, nor present at the deed, he overpasseth the story thereof.

*Henry V.*

A. D. 1413.

Hall no witness in sir Roger Acton's case.

And what witness then will you, or can you, Master Cope, take of Edward Hall, who denieth himself to be a witness? will you compel him to say what he saw not, and to witness what he cannot? Wherefore, like as Susanna in the story of Daniel was quit by right judgment in the case of adultery, because her accusers and 'testes' being examined asunder were found to vary and halt in their tale, and not to agree in the two trees; so why may not, in like case of treason, sir Roger Acton, sir John Oldcastle, Brown, and the rest, claim the same privilege? seeing among the 'testes' and witnesses produced against them such discord is found, and such halting among them, that neither do they agree in place, person, year, day, nor month.

Repugnance noted in the witness against the lord Cobham, and sir R. Acton.

For first: Where Fabian and his fellows say, that they were assembled together in a great company in the field near to St. Giles, the forged indictment above alleged saith, they were but riding toward the field.

1. Repugnance in the place.

Secondly: Where the aforesaid indictment, and Polydore, give the lord Cobham to be present personally in that assembly, Hall, and Alanus Copus Anglus,<sup>1</sup> do exclude his personal presence from thence; and so doth Fabian also seem to agree, speaking only of the adherents of sir John Oldecastle.

2. In the person.

Thirdly: Where Hall and Polydore report this assembly to be after the burning of John Huss and of Jerome at the council of Constance, which was in the year 1415, that cannot be; but if there were any such conspiracy in the first year of Henry V. it must needs be in 1413. And here by the way, why do certain of your epitome-writers, speaking of the lord Cobham, committed first to the Tower for heresy, refer this said imprisonment to the year 1412, whereas by their own count, reckoning the year from the Annunciation, it must needs be in the year 1413, being done in harvest time.

3. In the year.

Fourthly: Where Hall with his followers affirm that sir Roger Acton, Brown and Beverly were condemned the twelfth day of December, the record is evidently against it, which holdeth the fact to be in working the tenth day of January.

4. In the month.

Fifthly: Whereas the aforesaid record of the indictment giveth the Wednesday next after the Epiphany, which was the tenth day of January that present year, both the fact to be committed the same day, the commission also to be granted and delivered to the commissioners the same day, the said commissioners to sit in commission the same day, the sheriffs of Middlesex to return a jury out of the body of Middlesex the same day, and the jurors to find the indictment on the same day; and yet no juror in the indictment named the same day.

5. In the day.

(1) Alanus Copus, p. 833, line 12.

Henry  
V.

A. D.  
1413.

Item, the lord Cobham the same day to be found conspiring to make himself regent, when the king, that day and year, was not yet passed into France—how all these can concur and hang together, and all in one day—I suppose it will cost you two days before you, with all your learned council, will study it out. And when you, in your unlawful assemblies, have conspired and conferred together all ye can, yet will ye make it, as I think, three days, before you honestly dispatch your hands of the matter.

And where ye think that ye have impressed in me such a foul note of lying, never to be clawed off while the world standeth, yet shall the posterity to come judge between you and me, whether shall appear more honest and true: my defence for that worthy lord, or your uncourteous and viperous wrangling against him, moved with no other cause but only with the peevish spirit of popery, which can abide nothing but what savoureth of your own sect.<sup>1</sup> For else, how many loud lying legends, yea what legions of lies, are daily used and received in the popish church? What doltish dreams? what feigned miracles? what blasphemous tales and friarly fables, and idle inventions, fighting against the sincere religion, doctrine, and cross, of Christ! And could you hold your pen from all these and find nothing else to set your idleness at work, but only to write against the lord Cobham, sir Roger Acton, Brown, Onley, Cowbridge, with a few others, whom, with much ado, at length you have sought out, not so much for any true zeal to rebuke iniquity, as craftily seeking matter by these to deface and blemish the book of Acts and Monuments? which seemeth belike to make you scratch there, where it itcheth not. And if I should, after the like dealing, take in hand your popish portues,<sup>2</sup> and with the like diligence excuss every popish martyr and saint there canonized; think you, Master Cope, I could not make you out half a dozen as rank traitors and rebels to their kings and princes, as ever were any of these of your picking out? What pope almost hath there been these last five hundred years, who hath not been a traitor to his emperor and prince, and to his country? either openly rebelling against them, or privily conspiring their destruction, or proudly setting his feet upon their necks, or spurning their crowns off from their heads, or making the son to fight against the father? How many have they deposed, and set up others in their seats? How many emperors and kings have they wrongfully cursed? What consuls of Rome have they resisted, deposed, and put to death? What wars have they raised up against their own country of Rome? Yea, the continual holding of the city of Rome from its lawful emperor, what is it but a continual point of treason?

What will you answer me, Master Cope, to the pope, who conspired to let fall down a stone upon the emperor's head, kneeling at his prayers?<sup>3</sup>

And though this treachery, being as big as a millstone, seemed but a small mote in your eye, that it could not be espied, yet what will ye say of the monk of Swinshead, that poisoned king John,<sup>3</sup> who was both absolved by his abbot before his treason committed, and, after his treason, had a perpetual mass sung for him, to help him out of

Popes,  
traitors to  
their em-  
perors  
and  
princes.

Many  
of the  
pope's  
saints  
and con-  
fessors  
were  
traitors.

(1) Papists cannot see great beams in their own eyes, who spy small moles in others.

(2) "Portues," Porthose, quasi 'Port-hors,' a breviary.—Ed. (3) See vol. ii. pp. 122, 340.—Ed.

purgatory? And what think ye in your conscience is to be said of Thomas Becket, who did enough, and more than became him, to set the French king and the king of England together by the ears? of Anselm likewise, and of Stephen Langton, who departed both out of the realm to complain of their princes and sovereigns? the like may be said also of John Peckham. John Stratford, archbishop of the same see of Canterbury, notoriously resisted the king's commandment, being sent for by king Edward III., to come to the parliament at York; through the default of whose coming, the present opportunity of getting Scotland was the same time lost.<sup>1</sup>

Richard Scrope, archbishop of York, was openly in arms to rebel and fight against king Henry IV., for which he was condemned and put to death: and yet, notwithstanding, commission was sent down from the pope shortly after, to excommunicate them who put him to death, his treason notwithstanding. Read the story sincerely of pope Benedict XII. and of pope Clement VI., and see how the traitorous rebellion of these two popes against Louis, their rightful emperor, can be defended; which emperor at last was also poisoned, and not without the practice of pope Clement, as Hieronimus Marius doth credibly witness.<sup>2</sup>

In the reign of king Edward II., mention was made before of Thomas, earl of Lancaster,<sup>3</sup> who, with a great number of other nobles and barons of the realm, rose in armour against their prince, and, therefore, at length were put to death as traitors. And yet notwithstanding this treason committed, Master Cope, if you be so ignorant in our stories that you know it not, set your setters on to search, and you shall find it true, that certain noblemen went up to Rome, for the canonizing of the said Thomas of Lancaster, to be made a saint, and obtained the same; insomuch that in a certain old calendar, the name of the said St. Thomas of Lancaster is yet extant to be seen.

In the fourth book of the Acts and Monuments, mention was made of Edmund Abbingdon, archbishop of Canterbury,<sup>4</sup> whom although I do not disprove, but rather commend in my history, for his bold and sage counsel given unto king Henry III., and also for offering the censure of excommunication against the king in so necessary a cause, yet notwithstanding, the same Edmund afterwards, about his latter end, went up with a rebelling mind to complain of his king unto the pope, and in his journey died, before his return; who, afterwards, for the same, was canonized by the pope, and now shineth among the saints in the pope's calendar.

Let us come more near to these days and times, and consider the doings of Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, who being first deposed and exiled for his contemptuous deserts against the king, and afterwards coming in with Henry Bolingbroke, duke of Hereford, in open arms, and with main force, rose against his natural and lawful king. Think you, Master Cope, this is not as great a point of treason, as that which was done in Thicket's fields? and though he be not placed among the portuous saints, yet I think nothing contrary, but in your heart you will not greatly stick to say, "Sancte Thoma! ora pro nobis."

All these things well considered, tell me, Master Cope, I pray you,

(1) See vol. ii. pp. 214, 145, 161, 323, 579, 606, 783.—ED.

(2) Ibid. p. 663.—ED.

(3) Ibid. pp. 646, 653.—ED.

(4) Ibid. pp. 407, 408, 427, 719.—ED.

Henry  
V.

A.D.  
1413.

Scrope,  
arch  
bishop of  
York,  
traitor;  
and yet  
counted a  
holy man.  
Popes  
common-  
ly trai-  
tors.

See  
Appendix.

Lancaster  
a traitor,  
and yet  
made a  
saint.

Abbing-  
don, arch-  
bishop of  
Canter-  
bury,  
rebelled  
against  
his  
prince,  
and yet  
made a  
saint.

Arundel  
a rank  
traitor  
against  
his king,  
and yet  
account-  
ed a great  
pillar in  
the pope's  
church.

Henry  
V.

A. D.  
1413.

is treason such a strange and uncouth thing in your pope-catholic church, that your burning zeal of obedience to kings and princes cannot read the story of the lord Cobham and sir Roger Acton, but your pen must needs be inflamed to write against them, and yet so many traitors in your own calendars neither seen nor once spoken of? And if the traitorous conspiracy and rebellion of so many your calendar saints, committed against emperors, kings, and princes, cannot stir your zeal, nor move your pen; and if the treason of pope Gregory IX., raising war against his own city of Rome, and causing thirty thousand citizens in one battle to be slain, deserveth not to be espied and accused, as much as this treason of the lord Cobham; yet what will you, or can you answer to me, Master Cope, as touching the horrible treason of pope Gregory VII., committed not against emperor or king, or any mortal man, but against the Lord himself, even against your God of your own making, being therein, as you say, no substance of bread, but the very personal body, flesh, blood, and bone, of Christ himself; which body, notwithstanding, the aforesaid pope Gregory VII. took and cast with his own hands into the burning fire, because it would not answer him to a certain doubt or demand?<sup>1</sup> Soothly, if sir John Oldcastle had taken the body of king Henry V., and thrown it into the fire, the fact being so notoriously certain as this is, I would never have bestowed any word in his defence. And could this, and so many other heinous treasons pass through your fingers, Master Cope, and no other to stick in your pen but the lord Cobham?

Pope Gregory VII.  
a traitor  
against  
the Lord's  
own body.

Finally and simply to conclude with you, Master Cope, and not to flatter you: what is the whole working, the proceedings, actions, and practices of your religion, or have thus been almost these five hundred years, but a certain perpetual kind of treason, to thrust down your princes and magistrates, to derogate from their right and jurisdiction, and to advance your own majesties and dominations, as hath been sufficiently above proved,<sup>2</sup> and laid before your faces in a parliament holden in France, by the lord Peter de Cugnières? Wherefore, if the assembly of these before-named persons, either within or without St. Giles's-field, be such a great mote of treason in your eyes, first look upon the great blocks and millstones of your own traitors at home, and when you have well discussed the same, then afterwards pour out your wallet of trifling dialogues, or trialogues, if ye list, against us, and spare us not. Not that I so think this to be a sufficient excuse to purge the treason of these men, if your popish calendars and legends be found full of traitors. "*Multitudo enim peccatorum non parit errori patrocinium:*" but this, I think, that the same cause which made them to suffer as traitors, hath made you also to rail against them for traitors, that is, mere hatred only against their religion, rather than any true affection you have to your princes and governors; who, if they had been as fervent in your popery, and had suffered so much for the holy father of Rome, or for the liberties of the holy mother-church of Rome, I doubt not but they, as holy children of Rome, had been rung into your Romish calendar with a '*Festum duplex,*' or at least with '*Festum simplex,*' of nine lessons; also with a vigil, peradventure, before them.

Religion  
common-  
ly maketh  
treason  
among  
the  
papists.

(1) Benno. Card. [vol. ii. p. 122.—Ed.]

(2) Vol. ii. p. 613.—Ed.

Now, because they were of the contrary profession, and enemies to your 'magna Diana Ephesiorum,' you play with them as the Ephesian carvers did with St. Paul, and worse. Ye thrust them out as seditious rebels, not only out of life and body, but also cannot abide them to have any poor harbour in their own friends' houses, among our Acts and Monuments to be remembered. In the which Acts and Monuments, if, gentle 'Master Ireneus' with his fellow 'Critobulus,' in your clerkly dialogues, will not suffer them to be numbered for martyrs; yet speak a good word for them, Master Cope, they may stand for 'testes' or witness-bearers of the truth. And thus much for defence of them.

Henry  
V.

A. D.  
1412.

Now to the other part of his accusation; wherein this Alanus Copus Anglus, in his *ἑξαπλᾶ*, or six-fold dialogues, contendeth and chafeth against my former edition, to prove me in my history to be a liar, a forger, an impudent, a misreporter of truth, a depraver of stories, a seducer of the world, and what else not? whose virulent words, and contumelious terms, how well they become his popish person, I know not. Certes, for my part, I never deserved this at his hands wittingly, that I do know. Master Cope is a man whom I never yet saw, and less offended, nor ever heard of him before. And if he had not, in the front of his book, entitled himself to be 'an Englishman,' by his writing I would have judged him rather some wild Irishman, lately crept out of St. Patrick's purgatory, so wildly he writeth, so fumishly he fareth.

Answer  
to the  
second  
part of  
Cope's ac-  
cusation  
concern-  
ing his  
untrue  
charging  
of the  
book of  
Acts and  
Monu-  
ments.

But I cease here, and temper myself, considering not what Master Cope deserveth to be said un'o, nor how far the pen here could run, if it had its scope; but considering what the tractation rather of such a serious cause requireth; and therefore seriously to say unto you, Master Cope, in this matter: where you charge my history of Acts and Monuments so cruelly, to be full of untruths, false lies, impudent forgeries, depravations, fraudulent corruptions, and feigned fables; briefly, and in one word, to answer you, not as the Lacones answered to the letters of their adversary, with 'si,' but with 'osi:' would God, Master Cope, that in all the whole book of Acts and Monuments, from the beginning to the latter end of the same, were never a true story, but that all were false, all were lies, and all were fables!—would God the cruelty of your catholics had suffered all them to live, of whose death ye say now, that I do lie! Although I deny not but in that book of Acts and Monuments, containing such diversity of matter, something might overscape me, yet I have bestowed my poor diligence. My intent was to profit all men, to hurt none.

The book  
of Acts  
and  
Monu-  
ments  
too true,  
if it had  
pleased  
God  
other-  
wise.

If you, Master Cope, or any other, can better my rude doings, and find things out more finely and truly, with all my heart I shall rejoice with you and the common wealth, taking profit by you. In perfection of writing, of wit, cunning, dexterity, fineness, or other endowments required in a perfect writer, I contend neither with you nor any other. I grant that in a laboured story, such as you seem to require, containing such infinite variety of matter, as this doth, much more time would be required: but such time as I had, that I did bestow; if not so laboriously as others could, yet as diligently as I might.

But here partly I hear what you will say—I should have taken

*Henry**V.*

A. D.

1413.

more leisure and done it better. I grant and confess my fault ; such is my vice, I cannot sit all the day, Master Cope, fining and mincing my letters, and combing my head, and smoothing myself all the day at the glass of Cicero ; yet, notwithstanding, doing what I can, and doing my good will, me thinks I should not be reprehended, at least not so much be railed on at Master Cope's hand ; who if he be so pregnant in finding fault with other men's labours, which is an easy thing to do, it were to be wished, that he had enterprised himself upon the matter ; and so should he have proved what faults might have been found in him. Not that I herein do utterly excuse myself, yea rather am ready to accuse myself, but yet, notwithstanding, think myself ungently dealt withal at Master Cope's hand, who, being mine own countryman, an Englishman, as he saith, also of the same university, yea, college and school that I was of ; knowing that the first edition of these Acts and Monuments was begun in the far parts of Germany, where few friends, no conference, small information could be had ; and that the same edition was afterwards translated out of Latin into English by others, while I, in the mean time, was occupied about other registers ; and now the said Cope, hearing moreover and knowing that I was about a new edition of the same Acts and Monuments, at this present time to be set forth, for the amending of divers things therein to be reformed, if he had known any fault needful to be corrected, he might gently, by letters, have admonished me thereof : gentleness would so have required it, time would well have suffered it. Neither was he so far off, but he might sooner have written a letter to me, than a book against me ; neither was I so ungrateful and inhuman, but I would have thanked him for his monition ; neither yet so obstinate, but being admonished, I would have corrected willingly, where any fault had been committed.

Ungentleness  
noted in  
Cope.

But herein your nature, Master Cope, doth right well appear. First, in the said book of Acts and Monuments, where many other good things be contained, not unfruitful nor unprofitable peradventure for the instruction of your conscience, and wherein my labours perhaps might have deserved your thanks, all that, you dissemble and pass over, only excerpting those matters which make for cavillation. Thus the black spider out of pleasant flowers sucketh its poison.

The  
nature of  
the spi-  
der.

And what book is so pleasant and fruitful, though it were the pope's own portues, yea, his own decretals, yea, his own very mass-book, to the reading whereof if I brought the like mind so disposed to cavil, as you bring to the reading of my history, but I could find out twice as many 'mendacia,' 'maculas,' 'impudentias,' 'dolos malos,' 'fabulas,' 'fucos,' as you have done in these 'Acts and Monuments ?' and yet you have done pretty well.

Besides all this, yet better to mark the goodness of your gentle nature : be it so that I have been in some piece of my story deceived, as I do not justify myself in all points therein ; yet you, understanding that I was about the correction of my book again, might either have taken the best, and left the worst, or else have gently taken the pains to have advertised me of such notes as you had, without further exclamation ; or at least might have deferred your Dialogues for a time, till the coming out of my book, to see first what would in the latter edition be altered. But belike your



gall was full ; your haste could not tarry ; your venom must needs burst out. Henry V.

“ Et si non aliqua nocuisses, mortuus esses.”

A. D.  
1413.

Seeing therefore the order of your doings to be such, and the disposition of your nature, so far from all humanity, dealing with me so extremely, if I, thus provoked with your extremity again, should now, after this your eurrish nature, shape you a name accordingly, and instead of ‘Cope,’ godfather you to be a perpetual sycophant, could you much blame me ? and doth not your sycophantical book well deserve it ? or think you I could not repay you again with like extremity as you bring, and dress your drowsy, or rather lousy, Dialogues in their right colours, if I were so disposed ? But my purpose is with patience to spare you, and rather to pray for you : God make you a good man ! Peradventure he may hereafter call you ; and rather had I to win you, than to sting you. Leaving, therefore, the consideration of your ungrateful doings, I will now consider only the points wherein you charge me in your book, answering briefly unto the same : briefly, I say, because the greatness of this volume, and abundance of other more fruitful matter, give me little leisure at this present to stand about brawling words.

Copus  
sycophanta.

First, he seemeth to be highly grieved with me for my Calendar prefixed before the Book of Monuments ; wherein he hath no cause either to be offended with me, or to chafe with himself. As touching that calendar I have sufficiently and expressly declared before so much as might quickly satisfy this scruple of Master Cope, if he either would have taken the pains, or else had the leisure to read the words contained in the Latin preface before the book prefixed, which are thus : “ Quancum a me quidem non aliter Calendarium hoc institutum est, nisi ut pro indice duntaxat suum cuiusque Martyris mensem et annum designante, ad privatum lectoris serviret usum,”<sup>1</sup> &c. : in which words preventing beforehand the cavilling objection of the adversary, I forewarned the reader touching the calendar, wherefore it was ordained and prefixed ; for no other purpose, but only to serve the use of the reader, instead of a table, showing the year and month of every martyr, what time he suffered, &c. What hurt, I pray you, is in this calendar prefixed before the Book of Monuments, more than in the table of Master Cope’s book, set after his Dialogues ? But Master Cope had no leisure to pursue this place ; it made not for his humour.

The Calendar of the Acts and Monuments defended.

But this grieveth him in the calendar, and that very sorely : for that I place in this calendar, sir John Oldecastle, sir Roger Acton, Brown, Beverly, and others, for martyrs ; and displace for them other holy ancient martyrs and saints, as Anatholius, Sother, Dorothea, Clarus, Lucianus, Severinus, &c.—Answer : If Master Cope cannot abide the lord Cobham, sir Roger Acton, Brown, and Beverly, who were hanged (as he saith, for treason), to have the name of martyrs, then let them bear the name of witness-bearers, or ‘ testes ’ of the truth, because they were also burned for the testimony of their faith : seeing there is no difference in the said names, all is one to me, by which they are called.

Objection for martyrs in the Calendar.

Answer.

(1) Ex præmio ad lectorem. [See vol. I.—En.]

Henry  
F.

A. D.  
1413.

Untruth  
noted in  
Cope.

And where he chargeth me for thrusting and shouldering out the old and ancient holy saints aforenamed out of this calendar, and placing other new-come saints in their rooms; this is not the first untruth that Master Cope hath made in his Dialogues, nor yet the least: unto whom I might, therefore, fitly answer again with his own familiar phrase, or rather the phrase of Cicero, which he doth so much affect: "*Quod nimirum hic ipse Alanus Copus Anglus unde me mendacii coarguit, inde sibi ipsi sempiternam ac indelebilem turpissimi mendacii ac singularis impudentiæ notam inurat;*"<sup>1</sup> for why have not I as just cause to say this to him, as he to me? forasmuch as in the first beginning and preface of the said book of Acts and Monuments, I so diligently and expressly do warn all men beforehand, first, that I make here no calendar purposely of any saints, but a table of good and godly men that suffered for the truth, to show the day and month of their suffering. My words be extant and evident, which are these: "*Neque vero ideo inter divos a me referuntur isti, quod inseruntur in calendarium,*" &c.; and declaring afterwards how the said calendar doth stand but instead of a table, my words do follow thus: "*Haud aliter calendarium hoc institutum est, nisi ut pro indice duntaxat suum cujusque martyris mensem et annum designante, lectori ad usum atque ad manum serviat,*" &c.<sup>2</sup>

Again, neither did I receive these men into that calendar, that holy Anatholius, Sother, Dorothea, with other ancient holy saints should be removed out, as you do falsely and untruly affirm; but, because the course of that story, reaching but five hundred years, did not comprehend those former times of such ancient martyrs, but only of such as suffered in these latter days: therefore, requisite it was, that in the table such should be placed chiefly, of whom the whole book did then principally and only treat; to demonstrate thereby the time and day of their martyrdom. Neither yet were the others excluded out of this new calendar, who were never inserted in the same before, but only because both together could not there have standing; necessity so required these in no case to be omitted; and yet no injury meant to the others to be excluded out of their own calendars, whereto properly they did pertain. As for this calendar, or this table, because they were not pertinent unto it, they could not therein, neither was it necessary they should, be included: and yet neither did I, Master Cope, without due and solemn protestation omit the same in my aforesaid catalogue, to prevent and stop all cavilling mouths; as by special words in the said proem of my book unto the reader doth appear, following in this wise: "*Interim nullius ego boni sanctique viri (modo qui vere sanctus sit) causam lædo, nec memoriam extinguo, nec gloriam minuo. Et si cui hoc displiceat calendarium, mimineret, non in templis a me collocari, sed domesticæ tantum lectioni præparari,*" &c. And where is now, Master Cope, this your rejecting, expelling, removing, expulsing, exempting, deturbating and thrusting out, of Anatholius, Sother, Dorothea, and other holy saints, out of catalogues, fasts, and calendars? or what man is that, or where dwelleth he, "*qui veros christi martyres e cælo ad tartara deturbat?*"<sup>3</sup> that is, "who tumbleth

(1) Copus, p. 830, line 18.

(2) In præfat. ad doct. lector. li. Acts and Monuments. [See vol. i. Ed.]

(3) Copus, p. 861, line penultima.

down true martyrs from heaven into hell?" which if ye mean by me, in one word I answer, ye falsely belie me, Master Copus; I had almost called you Master Capus, so like a capon you speak. Neither have you, nor any other, ever heard me so say. Neither have I ever heard of any so mad, to play so the giants with their mountains to climb the heavens, to tumble down God's true and holy martyrs out of heaven into hell, unless it were yourself (as yet ye are, ye may be better), and such other of your gilded and popish fraternity, who make of God's true saints stinking dunghills (for so ye term them in your books), and not only thrust into heaven your 'pseudosancetos,' saints of your own making, whom God by his word doth not allow; but also depulse down from heaven, and make dunghills of God's well-beloved servants, his faithful people and blessed martyrs, who have died for the word of God. And what marvel then, if in your blasphemous books ye cast down from heaven to hell the poor saints of Christ, when in effect you deject also the blood and cross of the Son of God, Christ Jesus himself, setting up in his office and place

Henry  
V.

A.D.  
1413.

Copus almost called Copus.

The papists would thrust down God's true saints out of heaven to hell.

Tu per Thomæ sanguinem, quem pro te impendit,  
Fac nos Christe scandere, quo Thomas ascendit.

Say, Master Cope! your conscience indifferently; set all popish partiality apart: whereas the Scripture teacheth us simply, "Quod citra sanguinem nulla fit remissio," i. e. "Without blood there is no remission;" whether ye think, by this blood of the New Testament is meant the blood of Christ alone, or the blood of other more besides? If the blood of one must stand alone, why do ye then with the giants build up your mountains, and make a ladder of Becket's popish blood, for men to scale the heavens? or in so doing, how can you, but either with the protestants wipe out of your calendar 'Thomæ sanguinem,' or else demolish from heaven 'sanguinem Christi,' with the papists?

Becket's blood set up, to the injury of Christ's blood.

And here, by the way, I cannot but muse, why you are so devout in setting up the cross of Christ in your church, who are such enemies to the true cross of Christ to stand in heaven. Look upon this, Master Cope! and tell me, "Utra pars verius veros Christi martyres e cælo in tartara detrudat?" and therefore, as you falsely belie me in this, for detruding and tumbling out of heaven Anatholius, Julian, Clarus, Lucian, Agatha, Dorothea, and others against whom I never yet spake any reproachful word, but rather in this my volume have set forth their commendation: so it is untrue likewise, where you affirm, that in this my calendar I make an 'ἀποθεωσις,' or canonization of false martyrs. I told you before, when ye were in England, in words as plain as I could; I tell you again, being now in your transmigration: "Hanc ego Apotheosin mihi nunquam sumpsi, quam sibi tam confidenter sumpsit Gregorius nonus." Were not these words of my protestation manifest enough? were they not sufficient to satisfy a reasonable Momus? And, to make the matter more plain, did I not add, moreover, as followeth? "Porro neque eo spectat hoc calendarium, ut novam aliquam festorum dierum legem præscribam Ecclesiæ," &c. And, not contented with this, foreseeing before such wrangling spirits to come, as now I see in you, I showed also the cause why I needed not so to do. My words

Papists are devout to set up Christ's cross on earth; but enemies to Christ's cross in heaven. A double untruth in Copus.

Henry  
I.  
A.D.  
1413.

were these: "*Festorum dierum jam plus satis erat in mundo,*" &c. And yet further, because no caviller should here take hold of any injury done to the holy saints, either old or new in the church, therefore, in express words, I removed away all suspicion of any injury, preventing the objection of the adversary in these words: "*Habeat et Ecclesia suos sanctos, tum recentes, tum veteranos, modo probatos, modo interim iidem ne adorentur, modo quam sint vetusti, tam etiam vere sancti sint,*" &c.<sup>1</sup>

Truth  
in Cope.

These places of my book, if ye did see, why do you dissemble them? If ye had not so much leisure to read them, how had you so much leisure to write against any man's book, not knowing what is in the book contained? And how stands it then with truth, that so like a Momus ye cry out so in your book against these new-made martyrs, "*Qui non possunt nisi per aliorum injuriam crescere,*" &c.<sup>2</sup> And again, where you exclaim against me, and say, that I thrust out the ancient martyrs from their seat and possession, and place new in their rooms, &c. Also where you, continuing yet still in your common place of lying, out of which you cannot digress, do charge me further, that I do point out holy days and working days by colours of red and black, in my aforesaid calendar to be observed; these lewd notes of yours, if they had been picked out of the calendar by you, without mine own special declaration before made to the contrary, they might seem to have some blush of credit.

Now what will the reader say, or what may he judge, considering and conferring this your cavilling with the matter of my premonition made before, but that you are altogether set to play the perpetual syc—: I had almost called you by your right name, Master Cope. But God make you, as I said, a good man!—Reading further in your book, I could not but smile and laugh at this your ridiculous and most loud-lying hyperbolismum; where you, comparing my making of saints with the pope's making, can find, as ye say, in the pope, no such impudent arrogancy in presuming, as ye find in me.<sup>3</sup> If the pope had not abused his arrogant jurisdiction in canonizing and deifying his saints, more than I have done, the year should not be cumbered with so many idle holy days, nor the calendars with so many rascal saints; some of them as good, as ever were they that put Christ to death.

Double  
abomina-  
tion in  
the pope's  
calendar

But where will you find, Master Cope, any man to believe this your hyperbolical comparison to be true, who seeth and knoweth the infinite and unmeasurable excess of the pope's arrogancy, not only in shrining such a rabble of blind saints of his own creating, but also in prescribing the same to be received universally in the whole world; and not to be received only, but also to be invocated for gifts and graces; also to be worshipped for advocates and mediators? wherein riseth a double abomination of the pope, the one for his idolatrous making and worshipping of saints; the other for his blasphemous injury and derogation to Christ in repulsing him out of his office of mediation, and placing other mediators of his own making.

The great  
saint-  
maker of

And now, to consider what saints these were, or what were the causes of their sancting: what saint almost among all the pope's

1) Copus Momus. Copus, p. 820.

(2) Copus, p. 820, line 25.

(3) Copus, p. 819, line 7.

saints shall you find, Master Cope, made within these five hundred years, but commonly he was either some pope, or some rich bishop and prelate, or some fat abbot, or some blind friar, some monk, or nun, some superstitious regular, or some builder of monasteries, or some giver and benefactor to the popish clergy, or maintainer, agonizing for the dignities and liberties of the popish church? What poor lay-man or lay-woman, were their lives ever so christian, their faith and confession ever so pure, their death ever so agonising for the witness of Christ, and truth of his word, shall find any place of favour in all the pope's 'πονηρόπολις,' that is, in the pope's calendar, either in red colour, or else in black?

Henry  
V.

A. D.  
1413.

Rome,  
and who  
be his  
saints.

But here, Master Cope, if ye had the wit so much to defend, as ye have to overthwart, you might take me with the manner, and reply again for the defence of your great saint-maker, or rather god-maker, of Rome, that he maketh more martyrs and saints of these aforesaid poor lay-men, and lay-women, than ever he did of any other: for he burneth them, he hangeth them, he drowneth them, he imprisoneth and famisheth them, and so maketh truer martyrs of Christ, than any other of his new shrined saints, whom he hath so dignified in his calendar; for the one he doth rubricate only with his red letters, the other doth he rubricate with their own blood. And, therefore, to answer you, Master Cope, to your comparison made between the pope and me, for making of holy martyrs and saints: briefly I say, and report me to all the world, that herein is no comparison; for if ye speak of true martyrs, who doth make them, but the pope? if ye speak of false martyrs, who doth make them, but the pope? And, furthermore, to compare together the causes of these martyred saints in my calendar with them who shine shrined in the pope's calendar (taking the same proportion of time as I do, within these last five hundred years), why may not I have as good cause to celebrate these in my calendar, who lost their lives and were slain principally for the cause of Christ and of his word, as the pope hath to celebrate his double and simple feasted saints in his calendar; who in their doings, doctrine, and life, as they seemed rather to serve the pope, than Christ the Lord; so in their death appeared no such cause, why they should be sanctified in the church beyond all others? Let not the church of Christ, Master Cope, be deluded with hypocritical names, or feigned apparitions and fabulous miraeles, neither be you deceived yourself, but let us resort sincerely to the word of God.

The great  
god-  
maker of  
Rome.

No cause  
why the  
pope's  
new  
saints  
should be  
put in the  
calendar.

What was in St. Francis (look upon his superstitious life, and presumptuous testament, wrought no doubt by Satan to diminish and obscure the Testament of Jesus Christ), why he should be made a saint, and not an enemy, rather, of Christ? What was, likewise, in friar Dominic, who, before Francis, ten years together, persecuted the poor Waldenses to death and destruction? why should he stand a saint and a pillar of the church? I pray you what see you in Thomas Becket, but that he died for the ambitious liberties of the popish church? What in Aldelm and in Anselm, but only that they chased away married priests from the churches, and planted in idle monks in their stead? The like also did Dunstan, who was rubricated with a 'duplex festum.' Elizabeth, who was the wife of the marquis of Thuringia, when she had, with much persuasion, got out her husband to fight against the

Henry  
V.

A. D.  
1413.

Canoniza-  
tion of  
St. Gil-  
bert of  
Sem-  
pring-  
ham.

Turks, and he was there slain, she afterwards enloistered herself, and was made a nun. And do you think these causes to be sufficient why they should be made saints, worshipped in churches, and set in calendars? Long it were to make rehearsal of all this ruffraff, and almost infinite. One example may suffice for many. St. Gilbert of Sempringham was the son of Jocelin, a knight, who, for the deformity of his body, was set to learning, and afterwards made canon, and was author of the Gilbertines in the time of king John.

This Gilbert, after he had erected thirteen monasteries of his order of Sempringham, was afterwards laboured for unto the pope to be made a saint, who, hearing of his miracles, wrote his letters to Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, in behalf of the aforesaid Gilbert, willing and commanding “per apostolica scripta,” that the feast of the said Gilbert should be solemnized through all the province of Canterbury; “Ut meritis nimirum ejus et precibus apud misericordissimum judicem misericordiam consequamur,” &c.; whereupon Hubert, the archbishop, directeth down his writings to all the bishops within his province, the contents of which writings the reader may see below.<sup>1</sup>

The sum of which writing of the archbishop tendeth to this effect: That forasmuch as the pope, hearing of the life and miracles of Gilbert, master of the order of Sempringham, by sufficient witness and testimonies, hath in his letters commanded him, by the advice of his cardinals, that the said Gilbert should be canonized and ascribed in the catalogue of saints, and that his solemnity should be celebrated solemnly throughout all the province of Canterbury; and also his body to be taken up and shined to the honour and glory of God: he, therefore, at the pope’s commandment writing unto them, willeth all the suffragans, within his province of Canterbury, yearly to solemnize, and cause to be solemnized, reverently, the deposition of the said St. Gilbert, confessor; to the intent that their devotion may be commended by the Lord, and by him. And also that the humble intercession of the said saint, may profit them to their salvation.

Is this  
good doc-  
trine,  
Master  
Cope, in  
the pope’s  
canoniza-  
tion?

The blas-  
phemous  
collect of  
the pope’s  
making  
for St.  
Gilbert.

Furthermore, for the more full canonizing (canvising, I had almost said) of this new made saint, the said pope Innocent, writing to Hubert aforesaid, adjoineth withal a collect of his own making, which is this.<sup>2</sup> “Work in us, O eternal Saviour, full remedy of thy virtue, that we who worship the worthy merits of blessed Gilbert, thy confessor, being succoured by his suffrages, may be delivered from all languors and discases of our souls; who livest and reignest,” &c.<sup>3</sup>

The consecration of this one saint, who perhaps was not the worst, I thought here to commemorate, to the intent that the reader, measuring, by this one, the canonization of all the rest, may judge the

(1) *The Pope’s Letter, and the Archbishop’s, for the Canonizing of St. Gilbert.*—Hubertus Dei gratia Canturb. archiepiscop. totius Angliæ primas, dilectis in Christo frat. episcop. per provinciam Canturb. sal. grat. et benedictionem. D. papa, sicut ex literis ipsius manifeste perpenditur, de conversatione, meritis, et moribus beati Gilberti magistri ordinis de Sempringham, et miraculis a Deo per eum factis per testes et testimonia sufficienter instructus, de concilio fratrum cardin. ipsum mag. catalogo sanctorum decrevit ascribi, solemnitatem ejus constituit et mandavit per Canturb. provinciam solemniter celebrari, insuper et corpus ejus cum requisiti fuerimus præcepit ad honorem Dei et gloriam elevari. Vestra igitur Universitas huic mandato cum devotione congaudeat, et secundum formam in ipso mandato præscriptam, prædicti confessoris domini depositionem annuam faciatis cum reverentia et solemniter observari; ut apud dominum et ab illo vestra debeat et possit devotio commendari, necnon et ipsius sancti supplex intercessio vobis proficiat ad salutem. Valete.—*Ex Lib. de Vita Gilberti Confessoris.*

(2) “Plenam in nobis æterne Salvator tuæ virtutis operare medelam, ut qui præclara beati Gilberti confessoris tui merita veneramus, ipsius adjuti suffragiis a cunctis animarum nostrarum languoribus liberemur: qui vivis et regnas,” &c.

(3) Copus, p. 119, line 7.

better upon this comparison of Master Cope, whether of us doth vindicate more impudent authority, the pope in his calendar, or I in mine : or, to make the comparison more fit, whether is more impudent the pope in his calendar, or Master Cope in his dialogues more doltish.

Henry  
V.  
A. D.  
1413.

But, briefly to make an end of this matter with you : to canonize or to authorize any saints, for man it is presumptuous ; to prescribe any thing here to be worshipped, beside God alone, it is idolatrous ; to set up any mediators but Christ only, it is blasphemous. And whatsoever the pope doth, or hath done, in his calendar, my purpose in my calendar, was neither to deface any old saint, or to solemnize any new. In my book of Acts and Monuments treating of matters passed in the church, these latter five hundred years, I did regulate out a calendar, not for any canon to constitute saints, but only for a table of them, who, within the same time did suffer for the testimony of the word, whom I did, and do, take to be good and godly men. If any have other judgment of them, I bind no man to my opinion, as the pope doth to his. The day will come which shall judge both them and you. In the mean season it shall be best for you, Master Cope, in my judgment to keep a good tongue in your head, and to quiet your railing mood. A hard thing it is to judge before the Lord. Man's judgment may fail and is uncertain, the judgment of God is always sure. Best it is, therefore, either to be sure by the word and judgment of God before hand, what you do say, or else to say the best. Of such slanderous and intemperate railing can come no good ; neither to them whom ye rail upon, nor to yourself who rail, nor to the church of God that heareth you rail. For them you cannot hurt ; they are gone : to yourself, though your matters be true, yet little honesty it will bring to be counted a railer ; and if it be uncertain, your state is dangerous, and if it be false, most miserable : and as to the church, what great edification can proceed of such contentious brawling and barking one against another, I do not greatly see. And if the zeal of the bishop of Rome's church have so much swallowed you up, that you cannot but stamp and stare at traitors when ye see them put in calendars, first, Master Cope, be ye sure that they be traitors (wisdom would), whom you call traitors. And if ye can so prove them (as ye have not yet), then let your Irenæus, or Critobulus, tell me, why doth not this flagrant zeal of yours, as hot as purgatory, burn out, and flame as well against your own traitors, having so many in your own calendar and church at home ?

Cope  
counsel-  
led to  
cease  
his rail-  
ing.

No good  
cometh of  
railing.

And if there be such a catholic zeal in you, that hath set your gentle breast on such a pelting chafe, why then is not this your catholic zeal equally indifferent ? why take ye on so fell on the one side against sir John Oldecastle, sir Roger Acton, Master Brown, &c. ? A man would think you played " Hercules furens in orchestra." On the one side again, ye are " oleo tranquillior." What indifference, Master Cope, call you this ? or what zeal make you this to be ? albeit, your zeal I judge not, as I know it not. Swift judgment shall not become me, who go about to correct the same in you ; but this I exhort you to beware, Master Cope, that by your own fruits and doings evident, ye do not bewray this zeal in you to be " non secundum scientiam," nor such a zeal as fighteth " pro domo Dei, sed pro domo Pontificis."

The zeal  
of Master  
Cope ex-  
pended.

*Henry V.*  
*A. D.*  
*1413.* As I said, I judge you not. You have your Judge to whom ye stand or fall. My counsel is, that you do not so zeal the bishop of Rome, that for his sake ye lose your own soul. Ye remember the old vulgar voice, it is not good "*Ludere eum sanetis*;" worse it is "*Illudere*;" worst of all it is "*Debaechari in immerentes*;" because that "*Deus ipse ultionum Dominus*" many times taketh their cause in hand, according as it is written, "*Opprobria opprobriantium tibi eeciderunt in me*;" i. e. "The rebukes of thy rebuker fell upon me." And seldom have I seen any such blasphemous railers against the end or punishment of God's saints and servants, without great repentance, to come to any good end themselves.

And admit this, as granted unto you, Master Cope, that these men had been traitors, which ye are not able to prove: Well! they had their punishment therefore; the world can go no further, and what would you have more? who, and if they repented, why may they not have as good part in Christ's kingdom as yourself! Now, forasmuch as the said persons also suffering a double punishment were so constant in the way of truth, and most principally for the same were persecuted, and chiefly therefore brought to their death: that part of example, because I saw it pertain to the profit of the church, why might I not insert it with other church stories in my book? Let the church take that which belongeth to the church. Let the world take that which to the world pertaineth, and go no further. And if ye think it much, that I would exemplify these whom ye call traitors in the Book of Martyrs; first, ye must understand, that I wrote no such book bearing the title of the "*Book of Martyrs*;" I wrote a book called the "*Acts and Monuments of things passed in the Church*," &c. wherein many other matters be contained beside the martyrs of Christ. But this, peradventure, moveth your choler, that in the calendar I name them for martyrs. And why may I not, in my calendar, call them by the name of martyrs, who were faithful witnesses of Christ's truth and testament, for which they were also chiefly brought to that end? or why may I not call them holy saints, whom Christ hath sanctified with his blessed blood? And what if I should also call the thief and murderer, hanging on the right side of the Lord, by the name of a holy saint and confessor, for his witnessing of the Lord? what can Master Cope say against it?

And as for colouring the names of certain martyrs in the said calendar in red or scarlet letters (although that pertaineth nothing to me, which was as pleased the painter or printer), yet, if that be it, that so much breaketh patience, why rather doth he not expostulate in this behalf with the great saint-maker of Rome, who hath redded them much more than ever did I? for he did red and dye them with their own blood, whereas I did but only colour them with red letters. And thus for matter of my calendar enough.<sup>1</sup>

Proceeding now out of the calendar unto the book, wherein he chargeth me with so many lies, impudencies, vanities, depravations, and untruths, it remaineth likewise that I clear myself, answering first to those lies and untruths, which to the story of sir Roger Acton

(1) This calendar, copied from the first edition of the Acts and Monuments, in red and black letter, will be found in the first volume of this edition.—ED.



and sir John Oldecastle do appertain; and afterwards to other particulars, as in the order of my book do follow. And first, where he layeth against me whole heaps and cart-loads, I cannot tell how many, of lies and falsities: I here briefly answer Master Cope again, or what English Harpsfield else soever lieth covered under this English 'Cope,' that if a lie be, after the definition of St. Augustine, whatsoever thing is pronounced with the intent to deceive another; then, I protest to you, Master Cope! and to all the world, there is never a lie in all my book. What the intent and custom is of the papists to do, I cannot tell: for mine own part I will say, although many other vices I have, yet this one I have always of nature abhorred, wittingly to deceive any man or child, so near as I could, much less the church of God, which I with all my heart do reverence, and with fear obey. And therefore, among divers causes that have withdrawn my mind from the papists' faction, almost there is none greater than this; because I see them so little given to truth, so far from all serious feeling and care of sincere religion, so full of false pretended hypocrisy and dissimulation; so little regarding the church of Christ in their inward hearts, which they so much have in their mouths, so as under the title thereof they may hold up their own estate. Otherwise, so little reverence they yield to the true and honourable church of Jesus the Son of God, that what unworthy and rascal ministers they take into it they pass not; what fictions, what lies and fables, what false miracles and absurd forgeries, they invent to delude it, they care not. I speak not of all.

Some there be of that sect unfeigned in conscience, and more religious, and better disposed natures, only of simple ignorance deceived: but such commonly have been, and be, the chief guides and leaders of the papists' church, that little true care and small zeal hath appeared in them towards the church of Christ, not much regarding what corruption increased therein, so that their commodity might not decrease. Thus out of this fountain have gushed out so many prodigious lies in church legends, in saints' lives, in monkish fictions, in fabulous miracles, in false and forged relics; as in pieces of the holy cross, in the blood of Hales, in our Lady's milk, in the nails of Christ, which they make to a great number. Likewise in their false and blind errors, corrupt doctrines, absurd inventions, repugnant to the truth of the Word. Item, in their bastard books, forged epistles, their 'Apocrypha,' and 'Pseudepigrapha.' Here come in their forged canons, their foisting and cogging in ancient councils and decrees, as in *ὡς ἀπὸ ἐμὸν πῆρρον*, in 'Canons of the Apostles' (if those canons were the apostles'); 'Excepta Romana sede,' foisted into the decrees by Gratian; also the cogging in a false canon to the council of Nice for the maintenance of the see of Rome, as appeareth in the sixth synod of Carthage.

Here come in also the epistles of Clement, and other sundry epistles decretal, which as they are no doubt falsely inserted by others, so are they the well-head of many superstitious traditions, oppressing this day the church of Christ. To speak, moreover, of the liturgies of St. James, of Chrysostome and others, of the first mass said by St. Peter at Rome, and that St. Peter sat twenty-five years bishop of Rome. To speak also of the works of Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome,

Henry  
V.

A. D.  
1413.

Lies and  
fictions  
innume-  
rable in  
the pope's  
church.

See  
Appendix.

Untruth  
in the  
popish  
epistles  
decretal.  
And in  
their  
liturgies.

Henry  
V.

A. D.  
1413.

Untruth  
in coun-  
terfeited  
books.  
Gregory's  
Dia-  
logues.

and Gregory, what doctor or famous writer hath there been in the church, under whose name some counterfeited books have not falsely been fathered, and yet stand still authorised under their patronage, to the great detriment of the church? What should I speak of Abdias, Amphiloehius, Dionysius Arcopagita; the 'Dialogues of Gregory,' which falsely to this day have been ascribed to Gregory I., whereas indeed they were first written in Greek by Gregory III., and afterwards translated out of Greek into Latin by pope Zachary; vide supra.<sup>1</sup> Likewise that worthy and imperial sermon entituled, 'Eusebii Pamphili Sermo ad Convantum Sanctorum,' hath to this day wrongfully borne the name of Eusebius;<sup>2</sup> whereas, in very truth, it was made by the good emperor Constantine himself, in his own heroical style in Latin, and afterwards translated out of Latin into Greek by Eusebius, as he himself confesseth in his work, 'De Vita Constant.' lib. 4. But as touching this sermon, although the name be changed, so godly and fruitful it is, that it mattereth not much under whose name it be read, yet worthy to be read under the name of none so much, as of the emperor Constantine himself, who was the true author and owner thereof.

Untruth  
in the  
pope's  
doctrine.

In the  
pope's le-  
gend and  
mass  
books.  
In his  
miracles  
and relics  
and in his  
sacra-  
ments.

A master-  
lie.

Briefly, except it be only the books of the New Testament, and of the Old, what is there almost in the pope's church, but either it is mingled, or depraved, or altered, or corrupted, either by some additions interlaced, or by some diminution mangled and mutilated, or by some gloss adulterate, or with manifest lies contaminate? so that in their doctrines standeth little truth; in their legends, portues, and mass-book, less truth; in their miracles and relics least truth of all. Neither yet do their sacraments remain clear, and void of manifest lies and corruption. And especially here cometh in the master-see, which bringeth in much sweet honey into the pope's hives; the master lie, I mean, of all lies, where the pope leaving not one crumb of bread, nor drop of wine in the reverend communion, untruly and idolatrously taketh away all substance of bread from it, turning the whole substance of bread into the substance of Christ's own body; which substance of bread if the pope take from the sacrament, then must he also take the breaking from it; for breaking, and the body of Christ, can in no wise stand literally together by the Scripture. Thus, then, as this is proved by the word of God to be a manifest lie, so think not much, good reader, hercat, as though I passed the bounds of modesty in calling it the arch-lie, or master-lie of all lies: because upon this one, an infinite number of other lies and errors in the pope's church, as handmaids, do wait and depend.

But, forasmuch as I stand here not to charge other men so much, as to defend myself, ceasing therefore, or rather deferring for a time to stir this stinking puddle of these wilful and intended lies and untruths, which, in the pope's religion, and in papists' books, be innumerable, I will now return to those untruths and impudent lies, which Master Cope hath hunted out in my History of Acts and Monuments, first beginning with those untruths which he carpeth at in the story of the aforesaid sir John Oldecastle, and sir Roger Acton, Brown and the rest.

And first, where he layeth to my charge, that I call them martyrs,

(1) Vol. i. p. 369.—ED.

(2) Sermo ad conventum sanctorum, in fine Eusebii, made by Constantine the emperor.

who were traitors and seditious rebels against the king, and their country; to this I have answered sufficiently before.

*Henry V.*

A.D. 1413.

Now here then must the reader needs stay a little, at Master Cope's request, to see my vanity and impudence yet more fully and amply repressed in refuting a certain place in my Latin story, concerning the king's statute made at Leicester, which place and words by him alleged, be these, page 107. "*Quocirca rex indicto Leicestriæ concilio (quod fortassis Londini ob Cobhami fautores non erat tutum) proposito edicto, immanem denunciât pœnam his, quicunque deinceps hoc doctrinæ genus sectarentur; usque adeo in eos severus, ut non modo hæreticos, sed perduelliones etiam haberi, ac proinde gemino eos supplicio, suspendio simul et incendio afficiendos statuerit, &c.; et mox: Adeo ille vires, rationesque intendebat omnes, adversus Wicklevianos. Wickleviani id temporis dicebantur, quicunque Scripturas Dei sua lingua lectitarent,*" &c.

Upon these words out of my aforesaid Latin book alleged, Master Cope persuadeth himself to have great advantage against me, to prove me a notorious liar, in three sundry points. First: in that whereas I say, that the king did hold his parliament at Leicester, adding this by the way of parenthesis, "*quod fortassis Londini ob Cobhami fautores non erat tutum,*" &c.: here he concludeth thereby, 'simpliciter' and precisely, that the lord Cobham and sir Roger Acton with his fellows were traitors, &c.; whereby a man may soon shape a caviller, by the shadow of Master Cope. For whereas my 'Dialysis' out of the text speaketh doubtfully and uncertainly by this word 'fortassis,' meaning indeed the king to be in tear of the gospellers, that he durst not hold his parliament at London, but went to Leicester: he argueth precisely, therefore, that the lord Cobham, sir Roger Acton, and his fellows, went about to kill the king.

Three points.

First objection.

Cope cavilleth without cause.

Secondly: whereas I affirm that the king in that parliament made a grievous law<sup>1</sup> against all such as did hold the doctrine of Wickliff, that they should be taken hereafter, not for heretics, but also for felons, or rebels, or traitors, and therefore should sustain a double punishment, both to be hanged, and also to be burned, &c.: here cometh in Master Momus,<sup>2</sup> with his 'Cope' on his back, and proving me to be a liar, denieth plainly that the king made any such statute; see page 835, line 6, where his words be these: "*Atqui quod hæretici pro perduellionibus haberentur, et deinceps geminatas pœnas suspendii et incendii inherant, ut nugatur Foxus, nullo modo illic traditur,*" &c.

Second objection.

Here, first, would be asked of Master Cope, what he calleth 'Patriæ hostes, et proditores?' If he call these 'traitors,' then let us see whether they that followed the sect of Wickliff were made traitors and heretics by the king's law, or not. And first, let us hear what saith Polydore Virgil,<sup>3</sup> his own witness in this behalf, whose words, in his twenty-second book, page 441, be these: "*Quare publice edixit, ut si uspiam deinceps reperirentur qui eam sequerentur sectam, patriæ hostes haberentur, quo sine omni lenitate severius ac ocus de illis supplicium sumeretur,*" &c. That is, "Wherefore it was by public statute decreed, that whosoever were found hereafter to follow the sect of Wickliff, should be accounted for traitors; whereby, without all lenity, they should be punished more severely and quickly," &c.

The sect of Wickliff made heresy and treason by the king.

(1) Stat. an. 2. Hen. V. cap. 7.

(2) Copus, p. 835, lin. 6.

(3) Lib. 22.

*Henry**V.*

A. D.

1413.

Thus have you, Master Cope, the plain testimony of Polydore with me. And because ye shall further see yourself more impudent in carping, than I am in depraving of histories, you shall understand, moreover, and hear, what Thomas Walden,<sup>1</sup> one of your own catholic brotherhood, and who was also himself alive, and a doer in the same parliament, being the provincial of the Carmelites, saith in this matter, writing to pope Martin, whose very words in Latin here follow, written in his prologue to the said Martin, in this wise, “*Nec mora longa processit, quin statutum publicum per omne regni concilium in publico emanavit edicto, quod omnes Wiclevistæ, sicut Dei proditores essent, sic proditores regis, proscriptis bonis, censerentur et regni, duplici pœnæ dandi, incendio propter Deum, suspensio propter regem,*” &c. That is, “And it was not long after, but a public law and statute came out, by the common assent of the general parliament of the whole realm: that all Wicklevists, as they are traitors to God, so also should they be counted traitors to the king and to the realm, having their goods lost and confiscated to the king; and, therefore, should suffer double punishment, as to be burnt for God, and to be hanged for the king,” &c. And thus have you, Master Cope, not only my sentence, but also the very words of my story confirmed by this author; because ye shall not think me to speak so lightly or impudently without my book. And, moreover, to confirm the said sentence of Thomas Walden, it followeth also in another place of the aforesaid author, tom. i. lib. 2, ‘*De Doctrinali fide Ecclesiæ Cathol.*,’ cap. 46, where he writeth in these words, “*Et tamen jam eum regnare cœpisset illustris rex Henricus V., qui adhuc agit in sceptris, de eorum perfidia per catholicos bene doctos legem statui fecit, ut ubique per regnum Wicklevista probatus, ut reus puniretur de crimine læsæ majestatis,*” &c. That is, “And yet when the noble king Henry V., who as yet doth live and reign, began first to reign, he began to set forth a law, by his learned catholics who were about him, against the falseness of these men; so that whosoever was proved to be a Wicklevist, through the whole realm, should be punished for a traitor,” &c. What words can you have, Master Cope! more plain than these? or what authority can you require of more credit, who lived in the same time, and both did see and hear of the same things done? who, also, writing to pope Martin, was by the said pope Martin allowed, approved, and solemnly commended; as appeareth by the pope’s epistle to him, wherein the pope declareth, how he caused his books, “*per solennes viros videri, et examinari;*” that is, “by solemn persons to be seen and examined,” &c. So that you must needs grant either this to be true that Walden writeth, or else that the pope ‘*tanquam papa*’ in allowing his writings, may err and be deceived. Choose ye, Master Cope! of these two options whether you will take.

Either  
Walden  
writeth  
true, or  
the pope  
erreth.

And if ye think this my assertion yet not sufficiently rescued with these authorities aforesaid, I will also hereunto adjoin the testimony of another writer named Roger Wall, who writing ‘*De Gestis Henrici V.*,’ p. 10; and speaking of the said statute of this parliament something more plainly than the rest, hath these words: “*In hoc etiam parlamento nobilitas regia hostes Christi sibi reputans pro-*

(1) T. Walden. in tomo primo Doctrinalis ad Mart. papam, in prologo.

ditores, volens dare intelligere universis, quod ipse absque cujuscunque fluctuationis dubio, quamdiu auras hauriret vitales, verus et perfectus Christianæ fidei æmulator existeret; statuit et decrevit, ut quotquot ipsius sectæ, quæ dicitur Lollardorum, invenirentur æmuli et fautores, eo facto rei proditorii criminis in majestatem regiam haberentur," &c. In English: "Also in this parliament the noble king, reputing Christ's enemies to be traitors to himself, to the intent that all men should know, without all doubt, that so long as he lived, he would be a true and perfect follower of christian faith, did enact and decree, that whosoever should be found followers and maintainers of this sect, which is called 'The Lollard's Sect,' 'ipso facto,' should be counted and reputed guilty of treason against the king's majesty," &c.

By these hitherto alleged, if Master Cope will not be satisfied, yet let the reader indifferently judge; "Utrum in hac re magis nugatur Foxus, an Copus calumniatur." And yet, moreover, to make the matter more certain, mark the exclamation of the said Roger Wall added to the end of those words above recited, whereby we have to understand more clearly both what were the proceedings of the king in the said parliament, and also what was the blind affection of monks and priests at that time towards their king and prince, who was then called 'Princeps Sacerdotum,' in condemning and destroying the poor Lollards. The words of the monk be these: "O verus amicus! qui amico illatam injuriam sibi inferri consimiliter arbitratur, præjudicium illi intentum reputat esse suum, et, ad ejus onera conferenda, auxiliorum humeros supponere non veretur," &c. That is, "O true friend! who taketh and reckoneth that injury no less done to himself, which is done to his friend; and that prejudice which is intended against him, reputeth to be as his own; and, to bear together the burdens of his friend, sticketh not to lay to his own shoulders, for the easing and helping of him," &c.

Henry  
V.  
A.D.  
1413.

King  
Henry V.  
'Princeps  
Sacerdotum.'

How can it now be denied, Master Cope! in reading these authors, and seeing their testimonies, but that Lollardy in the parliament was made both treason and heresy, and had, therefore, a double judgment of punishment annexed, to be hanged for the one, and to be burned for the other; according as in my former Latin story<sup>1</sup> I recorded, and yet I trust, I trifled not?

But you will say again, as ye do, that there is no mention made for heresy to be made treason, nor of any double punishment to be inflicted for the same.<sup>2</sup> In the body of the statute, I grant, there is no express mention in words, of heresy to be made treason, expressly signified in rigour of words; but that inclusively it is so inferred, it cannot be denied. For first, where lands, goods and cattle of the said Lollards, were lost and forfeit to the king, what doth this import else, but treason or felony?<sup>3</sup>

Answer.

And whereas the lord Cobham, for whose cause specially this statute seemed to be made, did afterwards sustain both hanging and burning by the vigour of the same statute, what is here contained, but a double penalty? Again, where in the beginning of the statute mention is made of "rumours" and "congregations," and afterwards upon the same followeth "the services of the king, whereunto the

(1) *Rerum in Ecclesia Gestarum*, &c. Basil, 1559.

(2) Copus, p. 835, line 8. Objection.

(3) Stat an. 2, Hen. V. cap. vii.

*Henry  
V.**A.D.  
1413.*

officers be first sworn, should be preferred; all other statutes for the liberty of holy church, &c., and especially for the punishment of heretics, &c., made before these days and not repealed, being in their force<sup>1</sup>—what meaneth this, but to make these congregations of the Lollards to be forcible entries, riots, great ridings, unlawful assemblies, affrays of the people, armour, routs, and insurrections, and so sendeth them to the former statutes not repealed; that is, to the statute, Anno 13. Hen. IV., cap. vii., where the punishment is left to the discretion of the king; or else the statute, Anno 15. Rich. II., cap. ii., where the penalty is made fine and ransom; or else to the statute, Anno 5. Rich. II., cap. vii., where such assemblies be made plain treason, ‘in fine statuti.’

And as here is matter of treason sufficiently contained, so for heresy, likewise, the same statute referreth them to the ordinaries, and to the laws properly to heresy appertaining; as, to the statute Anno 2. Hen. IV., cap. xv., where the penalty is burning; also to the statute, Anno 5. Rich. II., cap. v.<sup>2</sup> So that in this present statute here, mention is contained, as ye see, although not in express words, yet inclusively (by referring to other statutes not repealed), of both Lollardy, which is punished with burning, and forcible entries, which are punished at the king’s pleasure. And thus much concerning the second untruth, which Master Cope untruly noted in me.

Third ob-  
jection.

The third untruth which he noteth in me concerning this matter is this, wherein he reporteth me, that I say, there was no other cause of devising this sharp law and punishment against these men, but only for having the Scripture books; and, therefore, here is to be noted in the margin “Foxi dolus malus;” but let Master Cope take heed he deceive not himself and others. For my part I remember

Answer.

no such place in this my Latin story where I so say. My words be only these, added in the latter end of the place above recited: “Wicle-  
viani vero dicebantur, quicunque id temporis scripturas Dei sua lingua  
lectitarent,” &c. That is, “They were called Wicklevists, whosoever  
at that time read the Scriptures in English, or vulgar tongue,” &c. I say not, that for the Scriptures being read in the English tongue, therefore the law was enacted; but so is Master Cope disposed to construe it. What law and statutes were made against writing or reading of any book in English, or any other tongue, contrary to the catholic, that is, the Romish faith, or to the determination of the holy church, that is, of Rome, read, I beseech thee, the bloody statute made Anno 2. Hen. IV., cap. xv., above specified.<sup>1</sup> Also read the constitution provincial of Thomas Arundel above-mentioned,<sup>3</sup> where it was decreed, that the text of holy Scripture should not be had, or read in the vulgar tongue, from the time of Master John Wickliff for ever after, unless the said translation be approved first by the ordinary, or by provincial council, under pain and punishment of heresy. Now let the reader judge whether the reading of scripture books in the English tongue, by the making or translating of Wickliff, or from the time of Wickliff downward, be counted heresy or not. As for the approving of the ordinary, or of the provincial council added in the end of the said constitution, it maketh more for a show or pretence, than for any just exception, or any true intention: for what man, having those Scriptures translated into English,

Reading  
of scrip-  
ture  
books,  
contrary  
to the  
Romish  
faith,  
made  
heresy.  
The text  
of the  
Scripture  
not to be  
translated  
into the  
vulgar  
tongue  
under  
pain of  
heresy.

(1) Suprà, p. 353, 354.—Ed.

(2) Suprà, pp. 37, 239.—Ed.

(3) Suprà, p. 245.—Ed

would either present them to their ordinaries being so set against the reading of such books? or what ordinary would, or ever yet did, since Arundel's time, approve any such translation presented unto them? Or else why did the good martyrs of Amersham suffer death, in the beginning of king Henry VIII., for having and reading certain books of Scripture, which were, as is said, only four epistles of St. Paul, with certain other prayers? and the others who but only heard them read, did bear faggots; and at the same time, the children were compelled to set faggots unto their fathers, at which time Longland, being then bishop of Lincoln, and preaching to them at the stake, said; that whatsoever they were that did but move their lips in reading those chapters, were damned for ever:—as when we come to that time, by the grace of Christ, shall hereafter more amply and notoriously appear. And where then is this ‘*Dolus malus Foxi*,’<sup>1</sup> margined against me, for crafty dealing in my story?

*Henry  
V.  
A.D.  
1413.*

Children  
of Amer-  
sham  
caused to  
set fag-  
gots to  
their  
fathers.

Moreover, where Master Cope, proceeding further in this matter, asketh me: “How was the lord Cobham obedient to the king, when for the fear of him the king durst not then keep his parliament at London?”<sup>2</sup> To whom I answer again, asking likewise of Master Cope: “How was the king then afraid to hold his parliament at London for the lord Cobham, when the lord Cobham at that time was in Wales?” And here Master Cope thinking to have me at a narrow strait, and to hold me fast, biddeth me tell him how it could be otherwise, but the lord Cobham must needs have fautors? “and who should these fautors be,” saith he, “but sir Roger Acton, Brown, and their fellows?” To which mighty question of Master Cope, I answer again: “How could sir Roger Acton, Brown, and their fellows be then fautors of the lord Cobham, for whom the king durst not hold the parliament at London, when the said Roger Acton, Brown, and the rest, were put to death a whole year almost before the parliament at Leicester began?”

And now, as I have hitherto briefly and truly answered your askings, Master Cope! let me be so bold with you again, to propound to you likewise another question, forasmuch as you have put me to the searching of the statutes in this matter, wherewith before I was not much acquainted. Now, out of the same statutes riseth a doubtful scruple or question, worthy to be solved. The case is this, that forasmuch as so many good martyrs and saints of God hitherto, in this realm of England, having been burned from the time of king Henry IV., Henry V., Henry VI., Henry VIII., to the time, and in the time of queen Mary, my question is; that you, with all your learned council about you, will tell me, by what law or statute of the realm were these men burnt? I know the ancient custom hath been, that heretics convicted by a provincial council were wont to be left to the secular power. But how will ye prove me, that these heretics were either convicted by such provincial council, or that these secular men ought to be your butchers in burning them whom ye have committed to them? If ye allege the six articles made in the reign of king Henry VIII., those articles neither did serve before the time of king Henry VIII., nor yet were they revived after his time. If ye allege the statute made Anno 5., Rich. II.,

(1) Copus, p. 833, line 20.

(2) *Ibid.* p. 836, line 13.

Henry  
V.  
A.D.  
1413.

Sundry  
statutes  
proved  
not suffi-  
cient to  
burn any  
man.

cap. v., in that statute, I answer, is contained no matter of burning, but only of arrest to be done at the certifications of the prelates, without any further punishment there mentioned. To conclude, if ye allege the statute made Anno 2. Hen. IV., cap. xv., and revived in the reign of queen Mary, mentioned before; to that statute I answer, that although the pretended statute appeareth, in form of words in the printed book, to give unto the temporal officers authority to bring them to the stake, and to burn them whom the bishop delivereth, yet is it not to be proved, either by you or any other, that statute to be law, or warrant sufficient to burn any person or persons committed to the secular power by the clergy. And that I prove thus: for although the same statute of king Henry IV., in the books printed, appear to have law and authority sufficient, by the full assent both of the king, of the lords, and of the commons; yet, being occasioned by Master Cope to search further into the statutes, I have found, that in the rolls and first originals of that parliament, there is no such mention either of any petition, or else of any assent of the commons annexed, or contained in that statute, according as in the printed books, usual in the lawyers' hands, too craftily and falsely is foisted in; as by the plain words thereof may well appear. For the said statute, Anno 2. Hen. IV., cap. xv., being thus entitled in the roll, 'Petitio Cleri contra hæreticos,' and assented unto in this form, hath these words:

The  
printed  
statute  
Anno 2.  
Hen. IV.  
c. 15.  
falsely  
corrupt-  
ed

"Quas quidem petitiones prælatorum et cleri superius expressatas do. noster rex, de consensu magnatum et aliorum procerum regni sui, in præsentì parlamento existentium, concessit, et in omnibus et singulis juxta formam et effectum eorundem ordinavit et statuit de cetero firmiter observari," and so forth, according to the petition: and more words are there not in the statute roll. Wherefore, whereas the Statute-Book printed hath thus: "Super quibus quidem novitatibus et excessibus superius recitatis," (videlicet, in the petition of the prelates and clergy,) "prælati et clerus supradicti ac etiam communitates dicti regni in eodem parlamento existen. dicto domino regi supplicarunt, &c. qui quidem dominus rex, &c. ex assensu magnatum et aliorum procerum ejusdem regni, &c. concessit, ordinavit," &c.; these words, "etiam communitates dicti regni," &c., are put in further than the roll doth warrant, and it seemeth to be the practice of the clergy to make that as an act of parliament, and to seem to have the force of a law, which was never assented unto by the commons.

And thus you see how this aforesaid statute, printed both in English and in Latin among the provincial councils of Oxford,<sup>1</sup> by virtue whereof so many good men have been burned so long in England, doth utterly overthrow itself, for that it swerveth from the record both in form and in matter, and lacketh the assent of the commons: which doubt I thought at this present to propound unto you, Master Cope, for that you have so urged me to the searching out of the statutes, by your declaiming against the lord Cobham.

Moreover unto this statute aforesaid, join also withal another memorandum of like practice, done Anno 5. Rich. II., in which year,

(1) Ex constitutionibus provincialibus Oxoniæ celebratis, Johan. Antho.



whereas a statute was concluded in the parliament, Anno 5. Rich. II., cap. v., against certain preachers specified in the same statute, who, going about in certain habits from place to place, did draw the people to sermons; and commissions were made and directed in the said parliament to the sheriffs, to arrest all such preachers, and to imprison the same, at the certifications of the prelates: here is then to be noted, that the same statute, Anno 5. Rich. II., cap. v., was revoked by the king in the parliament, Anno 6. Rich. II., upon the words of the commons, being these, viz., "Forasmuch as the same statute was never assented, ne granted by the commons, but that which therein was done, was done without their assent, and now ought to be undone, for that it was never their meaning to be justified, and to bind themselves and their successors to the prelates, no more than their ancestors had done before them."<sup>1</sup> And yet this aforesaid revocation notwithstanding, in queen Mary's time they inquired upon that statute.

Henry  
F.  
A. D.  
1413.

In searching of these statutes, as you have occasioned me to find out these scruples, so being found out, I thought here not to dissemble them, forasmuch as I see and hear many now-a-days so boldly to bear themselves upon this statute; and thinking so to excuse themselves, do say, that they have done nothing but the law, the law! to the intent that these men, seeing now how inexcusable they be, both before God and man, having no law to bear them out, may the sooner repent their bloody and unlawful tyranny, exercised so long against God's true servants, yet, in time, before the just law of God shall find out their unjust dealings; which partly he beginneth already to do, and more, no doubt, will do hereafter.

The persecutors in burning God's people have done against the law.

In the mean time, this my petition I put up to the commons, and to all others who shall hereafter put up any petition to the parliament; that they, being admonished by this abuse, will show themselves hereafter more wise and circumspect, both what they agree unto in parliaments, and also what cometh out in their name. And, as these good commons, in this time of king Henry IV., would not consent nor agree to this bloody statute, nor to any other like it; for so we read that the commons in that bloody time of king Henry IV., when another like cruel bill was put up by the prelates in Anno 8. Henry IV., against the Lollards, they neither consented to this, and also overthrew the other: so in like manner it is to be wished, that the commons, in this our time, or such others that shall have to do in parliaments hereafter, following the steps of these former times, will take vigilant heed to such cruel bills of the pope's prelaacy being put up, that neither their consent do pass rashly, nor that their names in any condition be so abused; considering with themselves that a thing once being passed in the parliament, cannot afterwards be called back; and a little inconvenience once admitted, may grow afterwards to mischiefs that cannot be stopped. And sometimes it may so happen, that through rash consent of voices, the end of things being not well advised, such a thing may be granted in one day, that afterwards may cause the whole realm many days to rue. But I trust men are bitten enough with such black parliaments, to beware of after-claps. The Lord Jesus, the only protector of his church, stop

A necessary admonition to the commons of England

(1) Ex Rotul. Parl. [vide supra, pp. 37, 38.]

Henry  
V.

A. D.  
1413.

all crafty devices of subtle enemies, and with his wisdom direct our parliaments, as may be most to the advantage of his word, and comfort of his people! Amen, Amen.

Proposi-  
tion dis-  
junctive.

And having said thus much for the defence of the lord Cobham, of sir Roger Acton, knight, of Master John Brown, esquire, of John Beverly, preacher, and of others their fellows, against Alanus Copus Anglus, here I make an end with this present interim, till further leisure serve me hereafter, Christ willing, to pay him the whole interest which I owe unto him: adding this, in the mean time, and by the way; that if Master Cope had been a Momus any thing reasonable, he had no great cause so to wrangle with me in this matter, who as I did commend the lord Cobham, and that worthily, for his valiant standing by the truth of his doctrine before Thomas Arundel the archbishop; so, touching the matter of this conspiracy, I did not affirm or define any thing thereof in my former history so precisely that he could well take any vantage thereof against me, who, in writing of this conspiracy laid against sir Roger Acton, and sir John Oldcastle, do but disjunctively or doubtfully speak thereof, not concluding certainly this conspiracy either to be true, or not true, but only proving the same not to be true at that time, as Polydore Virgil, and Edward Hall, in their histories do affirm; who say, that this conspiracy began after the burning of John Huss and Jerome of Prague; which could not be. And thereto tendeth my assertion. My words are plain, and are these: "Wherefore it is evident that there was either no conspiracy at all against the king, or else that it was at some other time, or done by some other captains," &c.<sup>1</sup> These be my words, with others besides; in which proposition disjunctive, if either part be true, it is enough for me. His part it was to refel both, which he hath not done; but only standing fast upon the one part, dissimuleth the other. And this is Alanus Copus Anglus, who, by the time he shall come from Rome (whither he is now gone, as I hear say), I trust, will return a better logician home again, 'in suam Angliam.'

Sir Roger  
Acton  
contrary  
to the  
bishop of  
Rome.

Causes  
conjec-  
tural why  
sir Roger  
Acton  
with the  
rest, were  
put to  
death for  
traitors  
and Lol-  
lards.

But to the truth of our matter: as I said before, so I say again; whatsoever this worthy, noble, virtuous knight, sir Roger Acton was otherwise, this is certain, that he was always of contrary mind and opinion to the bishop of Rome, and to that kind of people; for which cause he had great envy and hatred at their hands, and could as little bear it: neither do I greatly dissent from them, who do suspect or judge that the lord Cobham, by his friendly help, escaped out of the Tower; and that, peradventure, was the cause why he was apprehended and brought to trouble, and, in the end, came to his death. \*Albeit<sup>2</sup> that during that severity and cruelty, it was no hard matter to find out occasion of death, if the divines or bishops did hate any man, or went about to seek his destruction. For whereas it is so provided by the laws, that the sincere worshipping of Christ is counted for heresy, and an heretic counted a traitor, what citizen can, in that commonwealth, live in savitie without sin and wickedness, or be godly without peril and danger? \* Other causes also there might be, that these good men percase did frequent among themselves some conventicles (which

(1) First edition of the Acts and Monuments, p. 174, col. 2.—Ed.

(2) See edition 1563, p. 174.—Ed.

conventicles were made treason by the statute aforesaid), either in those thickets, or in some place else, for the hearing of God's word, and for public prayer; and therefore had they this Beverly, their preacher, with them.

*Henry  
V.*

A. D.  
1413.

But to conclude: whatsoever this sir Roger Acton was, this is the truth, which I may boldly record, as one writing the acts and things done in the church, that he was at length apprehended, condemned, and put to death or martyrdom, three years and more before the lord Cobham died. Likewise Master John Brown, and John Beverly, the preacher, suffered with him the same kind of death, as some say, in the field of St. Giles, with others more, to the number of thirty-six, if the story be true; which was in the month of January, Anno 1413, after the computation of our English stories, counting the year from the Annunciation; but after the Latin writers, counting from Christ's nativity, Anno 1414.

These men, as is said, suffered before the lord Cobham about three years, of whose death divers do write diversely. Some say they were hanged and burnt in St. Giles's-field; of whom is Fabian, with such as follow him. Other there be who say, that some of them were hanged and burned. Polydore, speaking only of their burning, maketh no mention of hanging. A certain other English chronicle<sup>1</sup> I have in my hands, borrowed of one Master Bowyer, which, somewhat differing from the rest, recordeth thus of sir Roger Acton, that his judgment before the justice was this; to be drawn through London to Tyburn, and there to be hanged: and so he was, naked, save certain parts of him covered with a cloth, &c. "And when certain days were past," saith the author, "a trumpeter of the king's, called Thomas Cliff, got grant of the king to take him down, and bury him; and so he did," &c. And thus have you the story of sir Roger Acton, and his fellow brethren. As touching their cause, whether it were true, or else by error mistaken of the king, or by the fetch of the bishops surmised, I refer it to the judgment of Him who shall judge both the quick and the dead, 'et seculum per ignem:' to whom, also, I commit you, Master Cope: God speed your journey well to Rome, whither I hear say you are going, and make you a good man!

Diversity  
in au-  
thors.

A. D. 1414.

Master  
Cope gone  
to Rome.

After the decease or martyrdom of these above mentioned, who were executed in the month of January, A. D. 1414, on the twentieth day of the February following, God took away the great enemy of his word, and rebel to his king,<sup>2</sup> Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury; whose death following after the execution of these good men above recited, by the marvellous stroke of God,<sup>3</sup> so suddenly, may seem somewhat to declare their innocence, and that he was also some great procurer of their death, in that God would not suffer him longer to live, striking him with death immediately upon the same: but, as I did the other before, so this also I do refer to the secret judgment of the Lord, who once shall judge all secrets openly.

Death of  
Thomas  
Arundel,  
arch-  
bishop of  
Canter-  
bury.

In the mean time this may seem strange, that the same Thomas Arundel, who, a little before, sat in judgment against the lord Cobham, and pronounced sentence of death upon him, did himself feel the stroke of death, and the sentence of God executed upon him before the other.

Arundel  
giveth  
sentence  
against  
lord Cob-  
ham, and  
God  
giveth  
sentence  
against  
Arundel.

(1) This English story beginneth thus: "A Table of all the King's."

(2) Ex. Hist. S. Alban.

(3) God's works and punishments are to be noted

Henry  
V.

A. D.  
1414.

Who would have thought but that the lord Cobham, being so cast and condemned definitively by the archbishop's sentence, should have died long before the archbishop? But, such be the works of God's almighty hand, who so turned the wheel, that this condemned lord survived his condemner three or four years.

An exam-  
ple of  
God's  
hand  
working  
against  
the ene-  
mies of  
his word.  
It is in  
vain to  
gainstand  
God's  
word.

In the death of this archbishop, first Polydore Virgil is deceived, who affirmed his death to be A. D. 1415, in the second year of king Henry V., also after the beginning of the council of Constance; <sup>1</sup> who, indeed, never reached the beginning thereof, nor ever saw the second year of that king, unless ye count the first day for a year; but died before, A. D. 1414, February 20.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, concerning the death of this Arundel, and the manner thereof, who had been so heavy a troubler of Christ's saints in his time, because the thing seemeth worthy of noting, to behold the punishment of God upon his enemies, this is the report, as I have found it alleged out of Thomas Gascoin, in 'Dictionario Theologico,' whose plain words be these: "A. D. 1414, Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, was so stricken in his tongue, that he could neither swallow nor speak for a certain space before his death, much like the example of the rich glutton; and so died upon the same. And this was thought of many to come upon him, for that he so bound the word of the Lord, that it should not be preached in his days."<sup>3</sup> Which if this be true, as it doth well here appear, these and such other horrible examples of God's wrath may be terrible spectacles for such as occupy their tongues and brains so busily to stop the course of God's word, striving but against the stream; against the force whereof neither are they able to resist, and many times in resisting are overturned themselves and drowned therein. And thus much for the death of Thomas Arundel, who continued archbishop in the see of Canterbury the space of eighteen years.

Henry  
Chiches-  
ly, arch-  
bishop of  
Canter-  
bury.

See  
Appendix.

After this Arundel, succeeded next in the said see of Canterbury Henry Chichesly, made archbishop A. D. 1414, and sat nine and twenty years. This Henry, following likewise the steps of his predecessor, showed himself no small adversary against the favourers of the truth. In his time was much trouble and great affliction in the church; for, as the preaching and teaching of the word did multiply and spread abroad daily more and more, so, on the contrary side, more vigilant care and strait inquisition followed and increased against the people of God, by reason whereof divers did suffer, and were burned; some for fear fled the country; and many were brought to examination, and by infirmity constrained to abjure, of whom hereafter, Christ willing, particularly, in the order of their times, we will entreat.

Sheen  
and Zion  
builded.

As true piety and sincere preaching of Christ's word began at this time to decay, so idle monkery and vain superstition in place thereof began to increase. For about the same year the king began the foundation of two monasteries, one on the one side of the Thames, of friars observant, the other on the other side of the Thames, called Sheen and Zion, dedicated to charter-house-monks, with certain Bridget-nuns or recluses, to the number of sixty, dwelling within the same precinct; so that the whole number of these, with priests, monks, deacons, and

(1) Polydore Virgil erreth. See his twenty-second book, p. 441. (2) Ex Hist. S. Albani, et multis.

(3) "Tho. Arundel, Cant. archiepiscop. sic lingua percussus erat, ut nec deglutire, nec loqui per aliquot dies ante mortem suam potuerit, divitis epulonis exemplo; et sic tandem obiit. Atque multi tunc fieri putabant, quia verbum alligasset, ne suo tempore prædicaretur."

nuns, should equal the number of the twelve apostles and seventy-two disciples. The order of these was, according to the description of St. Paul the apostle [Col. i.], "Eat not, taste not, touch not," &c.; to eat no flesh, to wear no linen, to touch no money, etc.

*Henry  
V.*

*A. D.  
1414.*

About Michaelmas, the same year, the king began his parliament at Leicester, above mentioned. In which parliament the commons put up their bill again, which they had put up before, in the eleventh year of Henry IV.; that temporalities, disorderly wasted by men of the church, might be converted and employed to the use of the king, of his earls and knights, and to the relief of the poor people, as is before recited; in fear of which bill, lest the king would give thereunto any comfortable audience, as testify Robert Fabian and other writers, certain of the prelates and other head men of the church, put the king in mind to claim his right in France: whereupon Henry Chichelesy, archbishop of Canterbury, made a long and solemn oration before the king to persuade him to the same, offering the king, in behalf of the clergy, great and notable sums: by reason whereof, saith Fabian, the bill was again put off, and the king set his mind for the recovery of the same: so that soon after he sent his letters and messengers to the French king concerning that matter, and received from him again answer of derision, with a pipe of tennis-balls, as some record, sent from the Dauphin, for him to play with at home. Whereby the king's mind was incensed the more toward that viage; who, then furnishing himself with strength and armour, with powder and shot and gunstones to play with in France, and with other artillery for that purpose convenient, so set over into France, where he got Harfleur, with divers other towns and castles in Normandy and Picardy, and at Agincourt had a great victory over the French army, they being counted but seven thousand, by pricking sharp stakes before them, &c. After that he won Caen, Touques, Rouen, with other towns more, as Meaux, and married with Katharine, the French king's daughter. And yet, notwithstanding, he made his viage again the third time into France, where at length at Bois de Vincennes he fell sick and died: concerning all which viages, because they are sufficiently discoursed in Fabian, Hall, and other chronographers, referring therefore the reader unto them, I will return my story to other matters of the church more effectual.

*Crafty  
practice  
of the  
prelates.  
The king  
stirred up  
to wars  
by the  
bishops.*

*See  
Appendix.*

*[August  
31st, A. D.  
1422.]*

#### THE ENTRY OF THE MEMORABLE HISTORY OF THE BOHEMIANS.

##### Here followeth the History of Master John Huss,

NO LESS FAMOUS THAN LAMENTABLE: WHEREIN IS SET OUT AT LARGE, THE WHOLE ORDER OF HIS COMING UNTO THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE, WITH THE ACTS AND PROCESS AGAINST HIM THERE; AND, FINALLY, HIS MOST CRUEL DEATH AND MARTYRDOM, FOR THE TESTIMONY OF THE TRUTH OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST.<sup>1</sup>

I declared a little before, how, by the occasion of queen Anne, who was a Bohemian, and married to king Richard II., the Bohemians coming thereby to the knowledge of Wickliff's books here in England,

*The Bohemians  
receiving  
the gos-  
pel.*

(1) The Title is from the First Edition.

Henry  
V.A. D.  
1414.The pope  
against  
them.John  
Huss  
cited by  
the pope.John  
Huss  
appealed  
from the  
pope to  
the pope.John  
Huss ac-  
cused to  
pope  
John.John  
Huss ex-  
commu-  
nicated  
by card-  
inal de  
Columna.

began first to taste and savour Christ's gospel, till at length, by the preaching of John Huss, they increased more and more in knowledge, insomuch that pope Alexander V. hearing thereof, began at last to stir coals, and directeth his bull to the archbishop of Prague, requiring him to look to the matter, and to provide that no person in churches, schools, or other places, should maintain that doctrine; citing also John Huss to appear before him.<sup>1</sup> To whom the said John answering again, declared that mandate or bull of the pope utterly to repugn against the manifest examples and doings both of Christ and of his apostles, and to be prejudicial to the liberty of the gospel, in binding the word of God not to have free course; and, therefore, from this mandate of the pope he appealed to the same pope better advised. But, while he was prosecuting his appeal, pope Alexander died, as is aforesaid.<sup>2</sup>

After Alexander succeeded pope John XXIII., who also, playing his part here in this matter like a pope, sought by all means possible how to repress and keep under the Bohemians, first beginning to work his malice upon the aforesaid John Huss, their preacher, who at the same time preaching at Prague in the temple of Bethlehem, because he seemed rather willing to teach the gospel of Christ, than the traditions of bishops, was therefore accused of certain, to the beforenamed pope John XXIII., for a heretic. The bishop committed the whole matter to cardinal de Columna; who, when he had heard the accusation, appointed a day to John Huss, that he should appear in the court of Rome: which thing once done, Wenceslaus, king of the Romans and of Bohemia, at the request specially of his wife Sophia and of the whole nobility of Bohemia, as also at the earnest suit and desire of the town and university of Prague, sent his ambassadors to Rome, to desire the bishop to quit and clearly deliver John Huss from that citation and judgment; and that if the bishop did suspect the kingdom of Bohemia to be infected with any heretical or false doctrine, he should send his ambassadors, who might correct and amend the same, if there be any error or fault in them; and that all this should be done at the sole cost and charges of the king of Bohemia: and to promise in his name, that he would aid and assist the bishop's legates with all his power and authority, to punish all such as should be taken or found in any erroneous doctrine. In the mean season, also, John Huss, before his day appointed, sent his lawful and meet procurators unto the court of Rome, and with most firm and strong reasons did prove his innocence; whereupon he so trusted, that he thought he should have easily obtained, that he should not have been compelled, by reason of the great danger, to appear the day appointed. But, when the cardinal de Columna, unto whose will and judgment the whole matter was committed, would not admit any defence or excuse, John Huss's procurators appealed unto the high bishop: yet, notwithstanding, this last refuge did not so much prevail with cardinal de Columna, but that he would openly excommunicate John Huss as an obstinate heretic, because he came not at his day appointed to Rome.

Notwithstanding, forsomuch as his proctors had appealed unto the high bishop, they had other judges appointed unto them, as the cardinals of Aquileia and of Venice,<sup>3</sup> with certain others; which judges, after they had prolonged and deferred the matter by the space

(1) See the Appendix.—Ed.

(2) Ex Cochitæo in Hist. Hussit.

(3) See the Appendix.—Ed.

of a year and a half, at last returned to the sentence and judgment of cardinal de Columna, and, confirming the same, commanded John Huss's procurators, that they should leave off to defend him any more, for they would suffer it no longer: whereupon, when his procurators would not cease their instant suit, certain of them were cast into prison, and grievously punished; the others, leaving their business undone, returned into Bohemia.

*Henry V.*  
A. D.  
1414.

The Bohemians, notwithstanding, little cared for all this; but, continuing still, as they grew more in knowledge, so the less they regarded the pope, complaining daily against him and the archbishop for stopping the word of God and the gospel of Christ to be preached, saying, that by their indulgences, and other practices of the court of Rome, and of the bishop's consistory, they sought their own profit, and not that of Jesus Christ; that they plucked from the sheep of Christ the wool and milk, and did not feed them, either with the word of God, or with good examples. Teaching, moreover, and affirming, that the commandments of the pope and prelates are not to be obeyed, but so far as they follow the doctrine and life of Christ and of his apostles; and that lay-men ought to judge the works of prelates, as Paul judged the works of Peter in correcting him [Gal. ii.]. Furthermore, they had amongst them certain notes and observations, whereby they might discern how far, and wherein, they might obey their prelates; they derided also and scorned the pope's jurisdiction, because of the schism that was then in the church, when there were three popes together, one striving against another for the papacy.<sup>1</sup>

The Bohemians against the pope and his doings.

Over and besides this, at the same time John Huss did propound publicly, and by a notary caused to be written, three doubtful questions, the tenor whereof followeth here word for word, and is this. "Forasmuch," saith he, "as it is good for men being in doubt to ask counsel, whereby, all dubitation removed, they may be able the more firmly to adhere to the truth; three doubts here arise to be solved: The first doubt is, Whether men ought to believe in the pope? The second, Whether it be possible for any man to be saved, who confesseth not with his mouth unto a mortal priest? The third doubt is, Whether any of the doctors do hold or say, that some of Pharaoh's host which was drowned in the Red Sea, and of the Sodomites who were overthrown, be saved?"

Three doubts of John Huss propounded.  
*See Appendix.*

As concerning the first, he did hold negatively; alleging the saying of Bede upon this place of the apostle, "To him that believeth upon him which justifieth the wicked, his faith is imputed to righteousness" [Rom. iv.]. Upon this place saith Bede, "Aliud est credere in Deum, aliud credere Deo, aliud credere Deum." &c. "To the second doubt" saith he, "the master of the sentences<sup>2</sup> doth answer, lib. iv. dist. 17. cap. 2, in these words, 'What is then to be holden or said herein? Certes, that without the confession of the mouth, and assoiling of the outward pain, sins be forgiven through contrition and humility of the heart,' &c. For the third doubt lie brought in the words of St. Jerome upon the prophet Nahum: speaking of the human race destroyed by the deluge, of the Egyptians destroyed in the sea, and of the Sodomites destroyed with fire, and of the Israelites destroyed in the desert, "Know you," saith Jerome,

Credere in Deum.  
Credere Deo.  
Credere Deum.

Against auricular confession.

(1) Ex Cochleæ in Hist. Hussit. lib. 1.

(2) Peter Lombard.

Henry  
V.

A.D.  
1414.

"that God therefore punished them for their sins here temporally, because they should not be punished hereafter perpetually; and therefore, because they were here punished, they shall not be punished hereafter, for else the Scripture should lie, which is not to be granted." These three questions belike John Huss did bring in, to declare how the doctors do not agree in all things, neither with the church of Rome, nor are to be followed in all points of all men.<sup>1</sup>

It followeth, moreover, after the death of archbishop Sbinco above mentioned, that Conrad bishop of Olmutz was placed by the pope as administrator of the see of Prague, which Conrad, conferring with the divines and doctors of the university of Prague, required of them a copy of the counsel which they had given in writing to archbishop Sbinco for assuaging the dissensions between the clergy and the people, and restoring peace: of which counsel the following were the chief heads: <sup>2</sup>—

### Counsel of the Divines of Prague against the Gospellers.

I. That all doctors and masters of the university of Prague should be assembled in the court of the archbishop, and that, in his presence, every doctor and master should swear, not to hold or maintain any of the forty-five articles of John Wickliff before condemned.

II. Item, Concerning the seven sacraments of the church, the keys and censures of the church, the manners, rites, ceremonies, customs, and liberties of the church, concerning also the worshipping of relics and indulgences, the orders and religions of the church, that every one shall swear that he doth hold, believe, and maintain, and will maintain, as doth the church of Rome, and no otherwise, of which church of Rome the pope is the head, and the college of cardinals is the body, who are the true and manifest successors of blessed St. Peter, prince of the apostles, and of the college of the other apostles of Christ.

III. Item, That every one shall swear, that in every catholic matter belonging to the church, he will stand to the determination of the apostolical see, and that he will obey the prelates in all manner of things, wheresoever the thing, which is pure good, is not forbidden, or that which is mere ill, is not commanded; but is mean and indifferent between both: which mean or indifferent thing, yet, notwithstanding, by circumstances of time, place or person, may be either good or evil.

IV. Item, That every one shall swear and confess by his oath, that the opinions of Wickliff and others, touching the seven sacraments of the church, and other things above notified, being contrary to the said church of Rome, be false.

V. Item, That an oath be required of them all, that none of them shall hold, defend or maintain any of the forty-five articles of John Wickliff aforesaid, or in any other matter catholic, and especially of the seven sacraments and other articles above specified, but only as doth the church of Rome, and no otherwise.

VI. Item, That every ordinary in his diocese shall cause the said premises, contained in the first, second, third, and fourth articles aforesaid, to be published in his synods, and by his preachers to be declared to the people in the kingdom of Bohemia.

VII. Item, If any clerk, student, or lay-man shall withstand any of the premises, that the ordinary have authority, if he be convicted thereof, to correct him according to the old laws and canons, and that no man shall defend such a one by any means; for none but the ordinary hath power to correct such a man, because the archbishop is chancellor both of the kingdom and university of Prague.

VIII. Item, That the songs lately forbidden, being odious, slanderous, and offensive to others' fame, be not sung either in streets, taverns, or any other place.<sup>3</sup>

IX. Item, That Master John Huss shall not preach so long as he shall have no absolution of the court, neither shall hinder the preaching in Prague by his presence; that by this, his obedience to the apostolical see may be known.

(1) See the Appendix.—ED.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.

Purum  
bonum:  
purum  
malum:  
medium.



X. Item, That this counsel doth appear to be good and reasonable for the putting away of ill report and dissension that is in the kingdom of Bohemia.

*Henry**V*

A.D.

1414.

XI. Item, If Master John Huss with his complices will perform this, which is contained in the four former articles, then we will be ready to say as they would wish us and have us, whensoever need shall require, that we do agree with them in matter of faith: otherwise, if they will not so do, we, in giving this testimony, should lie greatly unto our lord the king and to the whole world. And moreover, we will be content to write for them to the court of Rome, and do the best we can for them, our honours saved.

*See  
Appendix.*

This counsel and advice the aforesaid administrator, Conrad, presented to the king and to the barons of the realm, and also to the senate of Prague; whereof as soon as word came to John Huss and his adherents, they likewise drew out other articles in manner and form of a counsel, as followeth:

### Articles drawn out by John Huss and his Adherents.

For the honour of God and the true preaching of his gospel, for the health of the people, and to avoid the sinister and false infamy of the kingdom of Bohemia, and of the marquisdom of Moravia, and of the city and university of Prague, and for the reforming of peace and unity between the clergy and the scholars of the university.

I. Let the decreement of the princes, and of the king's council, be holden right and just and stand in force, which, between the lord archbishop Shinceo, on the one party, and the rector and Master John Huss, on the other party, was made, proclaimed, sealed, and solemnly on both parts received and allowed, in the court of our sovereign lord the king.

II. Item, That the kingdom of Bohemia remain in its former rites, liberties, and common customs, such as other kingdoms and lands do enjoy; that is, in all approbations, condemnations, and other acts concerning the holy mother universal church.

III. Item, That Master John Huss (against whom the aforesaid archbishop Shinceo could object no crime before the council) may be present in the congregation of the clergy, and there, whosoever will object to him either heresy or error, let him object; binding himself to suffer the like pain, if he do not prove it.

IV. Item, If no man will set himself on the contrary part against him, then let the commandment be made by our sovereign lord the king through all his cities; and, likewise, let it be ordained and proclaimed through all villages and towns, that Master John Huss is ready to render account of his faith; and therefore if any will object unto him any heresy or error, let him write his name in the chancery of the lord archbishop, and bring forth his probations openly before both the parties.

V. Item, If no such shall be found to object, or who will write his name, then let them be called for, who caused to be noised and rumoured in the pope's court, that in the kingdom of Bohemia, in the city of Prague, and in the marquisdom of Moravia, many there be whose hearts be infected with heresy and error, that they may prove who they be; and if they be not able to prove it, let them be punished.

VI. Item, That commandment be directed to doctors of divinity and of the canon-law, and to the chapter of cathedral churches, and that it be required of them all and of every one particularly, that they will bring forth his name, if they know any such to be a heretic or erroneous, and if they deny to know any such, then let them make recognition thereof, before the public notary, confirming the same with their seals.

VII. Item, These things thus done and premised, then that our sovereign lord the king, and also that the archbishop will give commandment under pain, that no man shall call one another heretic or erroneous, unless he will stand to the probation of that heresy or error, as it becometh him.

VIII. Item, After these things obtained, that our sovereign lord the king, with the consent of his barons, will then levy a subsidy, or collect of the clergy,

*Henry  
V.*

A.D.  
1414.

and direct an honest embassy to the pope's court, with which ambassadors let them also go upon their own proper charges or expenses for their purgation, who have caused this kingdom falsely and grievously to be defamed in the apostolical court.

IX. Item, In the mean season, for the presence of Master John Huss, no interdict ought to be made, as it was made of late, contrary to the order and determination of our holy mother church.

*See  
Appendix.*

The pope  
maketh  
war.

As this matter was thus in altercation between the two parties, the one objecting, the other answering in articles as is aforesaid, in the mean time it happened by the occasion of Ladislaus, king of Naples, who was ravaging the pope's towns and territories, that pope John, raising up war against the said Ladislaus, gave full remission of sins to all those who would war on his side to defend the church. When the bull of the pope's indulgence was come to Prague, and there published, the king Wenceslaus, who then favoured that pope, gave commandment that no man should attempt any thing against the said pope's indulgences. But Huss, with his followers, not able to abide the impiety of those pardons, began manifestly to speak against them, of which company were three certain artificers, who, hearing the priest preaching of these indulgences, did openly speak against them, and called the pope Antichrist, who would set up the cross to fight against his even-christened. Wherefore they were brought before the senate, and committed to ward: but the people, joining themselves together in arms, came to the magistrates, requiring them to be let loose. The magistrates, with gentle words and fair promises, satisfied the people, so that every man returning home to his own house, the tumult was assuaged: but the artisans, being in prison, were notwithstanding there beheaded, whose names were John, Martin, and Stascon. The death and martyrdom of these three being known to the people, they took the bodies of them that were slain, and with great solemnity brought them unto the church of Bethlem: at whose funeral divers priests favouring that side, did sing on this wise; "These be the saints, who, for the testament of God, gave their bodies," &c. And so their bodies were sumptuously interred in the church of Bethlem, John Huss preaching at the same funeral, much commending them for their constancy, and blessing God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who had hid the way of his verity so from the prudent of this world, and had revealed it to the simple lay-people and inferior priests, who chose rather to please God than men.

John,  
Martin,  
and Stas-  
con, mar-  
tyrs.

Stephen  
Paletz, a  
great ene-  
my to  
John  
Huss.

John  
Huss  
banished  
out of  
Prague.

Thus this city of Prague was divided. The prelates, with the greatest part of the clergy and most of the barons who had any thing to lose, did hold with the pope, especially Stephen Paletz, being the chiefest doer on that side. On the contrary part, the commons, with part of the clergy and students of the university, went with John Huss. Wenceslaus the king, fearing lest this would grow to a tumult, being moved by the doctors and prelates and council of his barons, thought best to remove John Huss out of the city, who had been excommunicated before by the pope. And further to cease this dissension risen in the church, he committed the matter to the disposition of the doctors and the clergy. They, consulting together among themselves, did set forth a decree, ratified and confirmed by the sentence of the king, containing the sum of eighteen articles<sup>2</sup> for the

(1) A mistake. See the Appendix.—Ed.

(2) Ibid.

maintenance of the pope and of the see of Rome, against the doctrine of Wickliff and John Huss. The names of the doctors of divinity were these : Stephen Paletz, Stanislaus de Znoyma, Petrus de Znoyma, Johannes Heliæ, Andræas de Broda, Johannes Hildesen, Mattheus Monachus, Hermanus Heremita, Georgius Bota, Simon Wenda, &c. John Huss, thus departing out of Prague, went to his country, where he, being protected by the lord of the soil, continued there preaching, to whom resorted a great concourse of people ; neither yet was he so expelled out of Prague, but that sometimes he resorted to his church at Bethlehem, and there also preached unto the people.

Moreover, against the said decree of the doctors John Huss, with his company, replied again, and answered to their articles with contrary articles again as followeth.

The Objections of John Huss, and of his Party, against the Decree of the Doctors.

*See Appendix.*

I. The foundation of the doctors, whereupon they found all their writings and counsels, is false, which foundation is this, whereas they say that part of the clergy in the kingdom of Bohemia is pestilent and erroneous, and holdeth falsely of the sacraments.

II. The doctors hereby do defame the kingdom of Bohemia, and do raise up new discords.

III. Let them show, therefore, those persons of the clergy, whom they call pestilent, and so let them verify their report, binding themselves to suffer the like pain, if they be not able to prove it.

IV. False it is that they say the pope and his cardinals to be the true and manifest successors of Peter and of the apostles, neither that any other successors of Peter and of the apostles can be found upon the earth besides them : Whereas no man knoweth whether he be worthy of hatred or of favour ; and all bishops and priests be successors of Peter and of the apostles.

V. Not the pope, but Christ only, is the head ; and not the cardinals, but all Christ's faithful people, be the body of the catholic church ; as all holy Scripture and decrees of the holy fathers do testify and affirm.

VI. And as touching the pope, if he be a reprobate, it is plain that he is no head, no nor member even, of the holy church of God, but of the devil and of his synagogue.

VII. The evangelical clergy, agreeing with the saying of St. Austin which they allege, and according to the sanctions of the fathers and determinations of the holy mother church, do say and affirm laudably, that the condemnation and prohibition of the forty-five articles is unlawful, and unjust, and rashly done ; and that, because not only the doctors, but also all bishops and archbishops, in such great causes, namely touching faith (as these articles do), have no authority at all ; as appeareth by ' De baptismo et ejus effectu,' [Decret. Greg. IX. lib. iii. tit. 42.] cap. 3, ' Majores ;' and Distinet. 17. cap. 3, ' Huic sedi,' &c.

VIII. The second cause of discord which they allege also is most false ; seeing the faith of whole Christendom, concerning the church of Rome, is divided in three parts by reason of three popes, who now together do reign ; and the fourth part is neutral. Neither is it true, that we ought to stand in all things to the determination of the pope and of the cardinals, but so far forth as they do agree with the holy Scripture of the Old and New Testament, from whence the sanctions of the fathers did first spring, as is evident by ' De accusationibus,' [Decret. Greg. IX. lib. v. tit. 1.] cap. 24, ' Qualiter,' &c.

IX. In the fourth article they burst out into a certain dotage, and are contrary to themselves ; by reason that they dolefully have reprehended the evangelical clergy, who in all their doings receive the holy Scripture, which is the law of God, the way, the truth, and the life, for their judge and measure : and afterward they themselves do allege the Scripture [Deut. xvii.], where all judges, and therefore the pope and cardinals, are taught to judge and discern in

*Henry*

*V.*

*A.D.*

*1414.*

Henry  
V.A.D.  
1414.Austin  
called  
pope.Pope  
Joan a  
woman.Three  
causes of  
dissen-  
sion in  
the  
clergy.

cases of leprosy, and in every ecclesiastical cause, only after the rule of God's law. They are also contrary unto their second article, whereas they say, that in every catholic matter we must run to the pope; which is contrary to their own foolish condemnation of the articles aforesaid.

X. Consequently, like idiots they do most falsely allege for their purpose the canon written, under the name and authority of Jerome, in *Causa* 24. q. 1. cap. 14, '*Hæc est fides, papa beatissime,*' &c.; where they do apply most impertinently to the pope of Rome the words which Jerome writeth to St. Austin, calling him a most blessed pope.<sup>1</sup>

XI. By the which place of Jerome it is manifest that the first article of those doctors is false: forasmuch as by these words appeareth that other besides the bishop of Rome and his cardinals are called blessed popes, holding the faith and seat of Peter, and are successors of the apostles; as was Austin and other holy bishops more.

XII. Whereof it followeth moreover, that the church of Rome is not that place where the Lord did appoint the principal see of his whole church: for Christ, who was the head priest of all, did first sit in Jerusalem, and Peter did sit first in Antioch, and afterward in Rome. Also other popes did sit, some at Bologna, some at Perugia, some at Avignon.

XIII. Item, The aforesaid prelates are falsifiers of the holy Scriptures and canons, and therefore are worthy to be punished; who affirm and say, that we must obey the pope in all things. For why? it is known that many popes have been heretics, and one pope was also a woman; to whom not only it was not lawful to give obedience, but also unlawful to communicate with them, as all rubrics and numberless canons do declare.

XIV. Item, Their sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, and eleventh articles do stand and are grounded upon untrue and false persuasions, and therefore are to be rejected and detested like the other before; seeing they do induce not to peace and verity, but to dissension and falsity.

XV. It is manifest also to the laity, that this dissension among the clergy riseth for no other cause, but only for the preaching of the gospel, which reprehendeth such simoniacs, and such heretics in the church of God, as namely haunt the court of Rome, spreading out their branches abroad into all the world, who deserve to be removed and extirpate, not only of the evangelical clergy, but also of the secular power. And so these three vices, to wit, simony, lechery, and avarice (which is idolatry), be the causes of all this dissension among the clergy in the kingdom of Bohemia, and not the other, which they falsely ascribe to the gospellers of Prague. These three vices being removed, peace and unity would soon be reformed in the clergy.

XVI. Moreover, their last article is too much gross, and not only is without all law, but also without all colour of law, whereas they fondly and childishly do argue thus: That the processes made against Master John Huss ought to be obeyed, because, forsooth, the whole body of the clergy of Prague have received them. By the same reason they may argue also, that we must obey the devil, because our first parents, Adam and Eve, obeyed him. Also our fore-ancestors before us were pagans; wherefore we must obey them, and play also pagans.

XVII. But let this frivolous opinion go: this is certain truth, that the said processes made against Master John Huss, by right are null, forso much as they were obtained, drawn, wrought, and executed, contrary to the commission of the pope, and against the determination of holy mother church, as appeareth by cap. '*Sacro,*' de *Sententia excom.*, and a thousand other laws besides.

XVIII. Finally, whosoever wittingly and obstinately do defend and execute the said processes made, or consent unto them, are all to be counted as blasphemers, excommunicate, and heretics, as hath been before written and exhibited to the lord bishop of Olmutz, and shall be further declared and proved, if audience may be given openly before all the doctors.<sup>2</sup>

### Substance of the Answer of the Catholic Doctors to the foregoing Objections.

Unto these objections of John Huss and his part the catholic doctors again did answer in a long tedious process, the scope whereof principally tended to

(1) See Appendix.—Ed.

(2) Ex *Ænea Sylvio* et *Cochlæo*. [See Appendix.—Ed.]

defend the principality of the pope, and to maintain obedience to him above all other potentates in the world; affirming and contending, that although Christ is the head alone of the whole multitude of them that are sleeping in purgatory, and who are labouring in the church militant, and who are resting in heaven, yet this letteth not, but the pope is head of the church here militant, that is, of all the faithful, who here in this world live under his office. Like as Christ is King of all kings, and yet Charles may be king of France; so say they, Christ may be the universal head, and yet the pope may be head under him of the whole church.<sup>1</sup> And thus concluded they that the pope is the head, and that the college of cardinals is the body of the Romish church, which church of Rome is placed in the ecclesiastical office here over the earth, to know and define upon every ecclesiastical and catholic matter; to correct errors and to purge them, and to have care upon all such universal matters, and care upon all universal churches, and upon the universal flock of faithful Christians: forasmuch as in the regiment of the church through the universal world, there must needs remain in such office always some such manifest and true successors of Peter, prince of the apostles, and of the college of the other apostles of Christ; neither can there be found or given upon earth any other successors, but only the pope who is the head, and the college of cardinals, which is the body of the aforesaid church of Rome. And although the whole universal multitude of the faithful do make the body of Christ, yet the same body of Christ is not placed here in office to exercise such authority upon earth; because that universal multitude was never yet, nor ever can be, congregate together.

And therefore necessary it is, that some such true and manifest successors and judges be appointed, to whom recourse must be had in all such catholic and ecclesiastical matters determinable. For like as in earthly regiments<sup>2</sup> every case of discord is brought before its judge, and hath its place assigned where to be decided; so, like reason would require, that in principal matters and controversies of faith, some such presidents and places be limited for the purpose to have such doubts resolved. And this being granted, then the doctors proceeded: "And here must needs conclude," say they, "that there cannot be given in all the world any other place, but only the church of Rome; the head whereof is the pope, and the body is the college of cardinals. For, like as Christ, departing out of this world in his corporal presence, left his body here with us under the sacrament in another form, whereby he remaineth with us (according to his promise in the last chapter of Matthew) unto the consummation of the world, even so while Christ walked here on earth in his bodily presence, he was pope himself and chief bishop, and so head of the church here militant on earth, corporally conjoined with the same, as the head is to its body. But because after he departed out of the world his body, which is the church militant upon the earth, should not be headless, therefore he left Peter and his successors to his church for a head in his place, unto the consummation of the world, saying to him, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church,' &c. Matt. xvi. and again, in the last chapter of John he saith, 'Feed my sheep;' that is to say, Be thou, Peter, the head over thy brethren."<sup>3</sup>

Tedious it were to recite all the bible-babble of these doctors in this their long responsal. Whoso listeth to see the bottom of their profound writing and knowledge, may resort either to the history of Æneas Silvius, or else to Master Cochleus, in his first book, 'De Hist. Hussit.'

Thus then Master John Huss, being driven out of Prague (as is before touched) by the motion of these doctors, and, moreover, being so excommunicated, that no mass nor other must be said there where he was present, the people began mightily to grudge and to cry out against the prelates and other popish priests, who were the workers thereof, accusing them as being simoniaes, covetous, whoremasters,

Henry  
V.

A. D.  
1414.

As Charles may be king of France, so also we grant, the pope may be bishop of Italy; and so it is a good consequence.

Catholic, that is, universal.

The promise of Christ doctorly applied.

O deep divinity of these doctors!

(1) He might so be, if God had so appointed him; but where doth he so appoint?

(2) If ye go to human policy, who ever saw any private case of England brought to the emperor's court to be decided? If ye go to God's policy, then show God's word for it.

(3) Ex Cochleus in Hist. Hussit. [See Appendix.—Ed.]

*Henry V.* adulterers, proud; sparing not to lay open their vices, to their great ignominy and shame, and much craving reformation to be had of the clergy.

A.D.  
1414.

The  
priests of  
Bohemia  
despoiled,  
and taxed  
for their  
ill life.

The king, seeing the inclination of the people, being also not ignorant of the wickedness of the clergy, under pretence of reforming the church, began to require greater exactions upon such priests and men of the clergy, as were known and accused to be wicked liveris. Whereupon they, on the other part, that favoured John Huss, taking that occasion present, complained of all, accused many, and spared none, whomsoever they knew to be of the catholic faction, or enemies to John Huss; by reason whereof the priests of the popish clergy were brought, such as were faulty, into great distress, and such as were not faulty, into great fear, insomuch that they were glad to fall in, at least not to fall out, with the protestants, being afraid to displease them. By this means Master Huss began to take some more liberty unto him, and to preach in his church at Bethlem, and none to control him: by the same means the people also received some comfort, and the king much gain and money by that reason.

See  
*Appendix.*

And thus the popish clergy, while they went about to persecute John Huss, were enwrapped themselves in great tribulation, and afflicted on every side, as well of lay-men, as of the evangelical clergy; nay, the women also and children were against them because of the interdict against John Huss; and by the same means wherewith they thought to entangle him, they were overthrown themselves. For the doctors who before condemned this doctrine in John Huss for intolerable heresy, and cried out so much against him, for teaching that temporal lords might take away temporal livings from the clergy sinning 'habitualiter,' that is, lying and continuing still in the custom of iniquity; now, when the king and the lords temporal began to mearse them, and bereave them of their temporalities for their transgressions, the said doctors did keep silence and durst speak never a word. Again, whereas the aforesaid doctors before could not abide in John Huss, that tithes were to be counted for pure almose, now, coming to the Guildhall, they were fain to entreat for their temporal goods not to be taken from them; pleading the same temporalities to be mere almose and devotion of good men, given unto the church.<sup>1</sup>

The  
popish  
doctors  
and  
priests  
over-  
thrown  
in their  
own rea-  
son.

And thus now did they themselves grant the thing, which before they did condemn. The more the pope's clergy were pinched, the more grudge and hatred redounded to John Huss, although he was no cause thereof, but only their own wicked deservings, for which cause Stephen Paletz, and Andræas de Broda, being the chief champions of that faction, though they could not remedy the cause, yet to ease their minds, wrote sharp and cruel letters to Master Huss. And, to help the matter forward, the pope also here must help at a pinch, who likewise writeth his letters to Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia, who was brother to Sigismund, the emperor, for the suppressing of John Huss and of his doctrine, which was in the fifth and last year of his popedom, A.D. 1414: the tenor of whose letters to king Wenceslaus in this wise proceedeth.

Writers  
against  
John  
Huss.

(1) Ex Cochleæ.

## The Letter of Pope John to King Wenceslaus.

*Henry  
V.**A. D.  
1414.**See  
Appendix.*

John, bishop, servant of God's servants, to his well-beloved son in Christ, Wenceslaus, king of Romans and of Bohemia, greeting and apostolical benediction. Among other desires and delights of our hearts, who, although unworthy, occupy the room of Christ here in earth, this doth chiefly redound to our singular comfort, so often as we do hear of the brotherly entreaty of peace and of concord (by which concord kingdoms do increase, as, contrary, by discord they go to decay) which is between your honour and our well-beloved son in the Lord, the noble Sigismund, your brother german, king of the Romans elect, and of Hungary, &c.

And, furthermore, it followeth in these words :

And as we have cause to joy at the premises, so likewise again the heavy rumours which are here do trouble and damp our minds. For we hear that in divers places under your dominion, there be certain who do follow and preach the errors of that arch-heretic Wickliff, whose books have been long since condemned in the general Roman council to be erroneous, heretical, and swerving from the catholic faith. And furthermore, which is worst of all, the said persons, cleaving to the opinions of the heretics lest they should be corrected of their superiors for their excesses, to cover their naughtiness and stubbornness in despising the commandments of the apostolical see do openly teach disobedience and contempt of the keys and ecclesiastical censure, to the subversion of the apostolical dignity, setting at nought the decrees of the holy fathers and canons. Wherefore we do exhort your worship, for the mercy of our God, as heartily as we may or can, that it would please you (as we desire and hope you will) effectuously to show forth your regal power, both for the glory of God and defence of the catholic faith, which you go about to defend, and for the conservation of your kingly name, state, and honour, and for the prosperous and safe government of your kingdom and dominions, as it becometh a catholic prince ; whereby this blot of heresy, which doth so lamentably and miserably spring and creep in those parts, and doth so infect the minds of mortal men, to the destruction of their souls, and doth sequester them from the congregation of the pure and catholic faith and truth, may be rooted out, &c.

Given at Bologna, the third ides of June, in the fifth year of our pope-dom, &c. [June 11th, A.D. 1414.]

In this epistle of pope John above prefixed, forsomuch as mention is made of a certain council before holden at Rome (which was four years before) against the articles and books of John Wickliff, it shall not be impertinent, nor out of purpose, to repeat a certain merry history, and worthy otherwise to be noted, written by Nicholas Clemangis, of a certain spirit which ruled the popish councils : his words are these :

"The same pope called a council at Rome about four years before, at the earnest suit of divers men ; and a mass of the Holy Ghost being said at the entrance into the said council according to the accustomed manner, the council being set, and the said John sitting highest in a chair prepared for him for that purpose : behold, an ugly and dreadful owl, or, as the common proverb is, the evil sign of some mischance of death to follow, coming out of the back half of him, flew to and fro with her evil-favoured voice, and standing upon the middle beam of the church, cast her staring eyes upon the pope sitting. The whole company began to marvel to see the night-crow, which is wont to abide no light, how she should, in the mid-day, come in the face of such a multitude ; and judged, not without cause, that it was an ill-favoured token. 'For behold,' said they (whispering one in another's ear), 'the spirit appeareth in the shape of an owl.' And as they stood beholding one another, and advising the pope,

An owl  
appears  
at the  
council  
of pope  
John.  
Ex Nich.  
Clemangis.

Henry  
V.A.D.  
1414.

scarcely could they keep their countenance from laughter. John himself, upon whom the owl steadfastly looked, blushing at the matter, began to sweat, and to fret and fume with himself, and not finding by what other means he might salve the matter, being so confused, dissolving the council, rose up and departed. After that there followed another session: in which the owl again, after the manner aforesaid, although, as I believe, not called, was present, looking steadfastly upon the bishop; whom he beholding to be come again, was more ashamed than he was before, and justly; saying, he could no longer abide the sight of her, and commanded that she should be driven away with bats and shoutings. But she, being afraid neither with their noise nor with any thing else, would not away, until, with the strokes of the sticks which were thrown at her, she fell down dead before them all. This I learned of a faithful friend, who at the same time came from Rome: which thing I scarcely crediting for the rareness of the matter, he affirmed by his oath, that it was most certain and true: adding, moreover, that all there present were much offended, and did greatly deride that council called for such a purpose; and by little and little the council was dissolved, nothing done there, as he saith."

Although it hath not been always seen that such spiritual doves have been present with popes and their councils, and governed them, yet their evil doctrine declareth no less. Read, gentle reader! the book of Clemangis, and thou shalt not think thy labour ill bestowed; for he hath both learnedly, truly, freely, and godly, bewailed the filthiness of Antichrist and his ministers, their wickedness, impiety, and cruelty, and the miserable state and face of the church. And thus much for pope John.

#### THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE.

Here, by the way, is to be noted and understand, that during all this time of pope John, there were three popes reigning together, neither was yet the schism ceased, which so long time had continued, the space, already, of thirty-six years; by reason whereof a general council was ordained and holden at Constance in the same year, A.D. 1414, being called by Sigismund the emperor, and pope John XXIII., for the pacifying of the aforesaid schism, which was then between three popes striving for the popedom; the first whereof was John, whom the Italians set up; the second was Gregory, whom the Frenchmen set up; the third was Benedict, whom the Spaniards placed. In this schismatical ambitious conflict every one defended his pope, to the great disturbance of christian nations. This council endured three years and five months long, wherein all their matters were decided mostly by four nations, to say, the English, German, French, and the Italian; out of which four nations were appointed and chosen four presidents, to judge and determine the matters of the council. The names of which presidents were these: John, the patriarch of Antioch, for France; Anthony, archbishop of Ragusa, for Italy; Nicholas, archbishop of Gnesen, for Germany; and Nicholas, bishop of Bath, for England: by whom many great and profitable things to the glory of God and public profit might have been concluded, if the rotten flesh of the churchmen could have bidden the salt of the gospel, and if they had loved the truth. But, as Gregory of Nazianzum writeth,<sup>2</sup> "There lightly come few general councils, but they end more with disturbance than

See  
appendix.Three  
popes  
together.

(1) The prelates assembled in this council were numbered together with their deputies 1940, Philip and Cheney, &c. [See Appendix.]

(2) Gregorius in Epistola quadam [ad Procopium, 130 al. 55. tom. ii. p. 110, cdit. 1810.]



tranquillity," so it happened in this council. For whereas John XXIII., in the first session, exhorteth them by these words taken out of the eighth chapter of Zechariah, "Veritatem diligite," that is to say, "Love the truth," further admonishing them, and especially the divines, every man to do his endeavour for the unity of the church, and to speak their mind freely; how soon this his exhortation was forgotten, it appeared shortly after by the despising of the prophets, and persecuting of Christ in his members, as by the grace of Christ shall appear hereafter in the process of this story.

First, this John did resign his papacy: the emperor, giving him thanks, kissed his feet. Afterwards, the said John, repenting him that he had so done, sought means to flee, whereunto Frederic, duke of Austria, did assist him; for he, changing his garments, fled by night with a small company. And when he was now come unto Schaffhausen to go into Italy, the emperor pursuing, took him, and proclaimed Frederic traitor, and for that cause took away certain cities from him. At last the matter was appeased on this condition, that Frederic should require grace of the emperor, and resign all his possessions unto him: whereupon the emperor received him again into favour, and restored him to his dukedom. This pope, being thus deposed, was committed unto the count Palatine, and by him carried to the castle of Manheim, where he was kept prisoner for the space of three years. Afterwards he was again, by pope Martin, admitted to the number of cardinals.

This pope John was deposed by the decree of the council, more than three and forty most grievous and heinous crimes being objected and proved against him: as that he had hired Marcilius Parmensis, a physician, to poison Alexander, his predecessor; further, that he was a heretic, a simoniac, a liar, a hypocrite, a murderer, an enchanter, a dice-player, and an adulterer; and, finally, what crime is it that he was not infected withal?

And now, to return to the council: first, we will declare the order of their sessions, with things therein concluded, in general; then we will, Christ willing, adjoin the special tractation of such matters as pertain to the story of the Bohemians, and John Huss and Jerome of Prague, who, in the same ungodly council, were condemned and burned.

This council, therefore, of Constance, which was summoned by the emperor Sigismund and pope John XXIII., about the nativity of our Lord Jesus, Anno 1414, began the same year to be assembled, about the latter end of the year; which first beginning, as the manner is, with a mass of the Holy Ghost, as they were singing, according to their custom, their hymn, "Veni Sancte Spiritus," there was, at the same time, a certain bill set up in the church by some well-disposed man, as it seemed, wherein were contained these words following: "Aliis rebus occupati nunc, adesse vobis non possumus;" that is to say, "We are otherwise occupied at this time; we cannot attend to come to you." Here is also to be remembered the worthy saying of the emperor Sigismund, when talk was ministered as touching the reformation of the spirituality, and some said, "Quod oportet incipere a Minoritis;" that is, "The reformation ought first to begin at the Minorites;" the emperor answering again, "Non a Minoritis,

Henry  
V.

A.D.  
1414.

Frederic  
of Aus-  
tria pro-  
claimed  
a traitor.

Pope  
John cast  
into pri-  
son.

Mark the  
good quali-  
ties of  
pope  
John.

†

A writing  
set up  
how the  
Holy  
Ghost  
had no  
leisure to  
come to  
the coun-  
cil.

Worthy  
answer of  
the em-  
peror.

Henry  
V.A. D.  
1414.See  
Appendix.

sed a Majoritis ;" that is, " Not with the Minorites, but with the Majorites : " meaning the reformation ought first to begin with the pope, cardinals, and bishops, and other superior states of the church ; and so to descend after to the inferiors. Thus much by the way, and now to the purpose and order of the sessions as we promised. This council continued, as is aforesaid, by the space of three years and a half, and had in it forty-five sessions, wherein many things were concluded, the which altogether were too long to be recited in this place ; as, the deposition of three several popes who were before spoken of, and the hearing of certain legates. Yet I mind to make some brief recapitulation of the most principal matters there done in the sessions orderly ensuing.

### A Recapitulation of Matters done in each Session in the Council of Constance.<sup>1</sup>

In the first session chiefly was concluded, First, that this council was lawfully congregated.

The authority of councils preferred before the pope.

In the second session, Item, that the going away of the pope should be no let or stay, but the council might proceed.—Wherein note, gentle reader, that the authority of the general council is above the pope, contrary to their own doctrine.

In the third session, Item, this council should not be dissolved before the church were reformed, as well in the superiors as inferiors.

In the fourth session [A.D. 1415], amongst other things this was first concluded, That a synod congregated in the Holy Ghost, making a general council, representing the whole catholic church here militant, hath power of Christ immediately, to which power every person, of what state or dignity soever he be, yea, being the pope himself, ought to be obedient in all such things as concern the general reformation of the church, as well in the heads as in the subjects. Item, the said pope should not translate the court of Rome, and the officers of the same, from the city of Constance ; and that all his censures, doings, and workings, after the time of his departure, whatsoever he should enterprise to do to the prejudice of this council, should be of no effect.

In the fifth session, the same articles were repeated and concluded again.

Commissioners to hear John Huss.

In the sixth session, procuration and citation were sent out against the pope. Item, commissioners were appointed out of the four nations for the hearing of John Huss, who shall be hereafter mentioned in his story following. Item, the memory of John Wickliff was condemned, and the sentence, given in the council holden at Rome upon the condemnation and burning of Wickliff's books, was there confirmed. Item, in the same session, citation was sent out against Jerome of Prague, the tenor whereof followeth after in the story of the said Jerome. Item, in this session was decreed against libels of infamy.

Citation against Jerome of Prague.

In the seventh session, nothing was handled but that the tenor of the citation against pope John was recited.

Sentence given for the burning of Wickliff's bones.

In the eighth session, the sentence and condemnation of John Wickliff and his forty-five articles was recited, and sentence given against his memory, and bones to be burned, the tenor whereof is rehearsed in the history of John Wickliff before passed.

In the ninth session, the matter and cause of pope John were again treated of, and commissioners were appointed to inquire upon his cause, and judges for the same.

In the tenth session, suspension was given out and read against the said pope.

The people of Christ excommunicated from the communion of the holy cup.

In the eleventh and twelfth sessions, notaries were assigned, and definitive sentence was given against the said pope ; where also it was decreed that none of those who intended before for the papacy, should be chosen pope.

In the thirteenth session was decreed, that no priest, under pain of excommunication, shall communicate unto the people under both kinds of bread and wine.<sup>2</sup>

(1) See the Appendix.—Ed.

(2) " Quod nullus presbyter, sub poena excommunicationis, communicet populo sub utraque specie panis et vini."

In the fourteenth session, came in the resignation of pope Gregory XII., who was one of the three before mentioned striving for the papacy, with certain other articles concerning the election of the bishop of Rome, and the ratification of their resigning who gave over the papacy.

Henry  
V.A. D.  
1411.

Then ensueth the fifteenth session, in which silence was commanded on all parts, under pain of excommunication and the great curse; that no person or persons, high or low, of what estate or degree soever he were, emperor, king, cardinal, or other, should disturb the said session with any manner of noise, either by hand, foot, or voice. This being done, the sentence and condemnation against John Huss was read and published, which afterwards, in the story of John Huss, followeth to be seen more at large.

Solemn  
publish-  
ing of the  
sentence  
of condem-  
nation  
against  
John  
Huss.

In the sixteenth session, ambassadors were assigned by the council to go to Arragon, to Benedict XIII., to treat with him for the resignation of his papacy, as the other two had done before. Item, power was given to judges to cite, under pain of deprivation, all such as privily departed away from the council; in which session also the sentence against John Huss was confirmed and ratified.

In the seventeenth session, the emperor took upon him a journey to the king of Arragon, to treat with pope Benedict. Item, an excommunication was denounced against all such as should go about to impeach the emperor's journey about that matter, &c. Item, prayers and processions were determined to be made by the council every Sunday for the same cause, with a hundred days of pardon given to them that would be present thereat: and that all prelates should be present at every of these said masses and processions, in their pontificalibus. Granting besides to every priest that said one mass, for the same a hundred days of pardon: and to all others that once a day should say one 'Pater noster,' and one 'Ave,' for the safety of the emperor, forty days of pardon.

The  
emperor's  
journey  
into  
Arragon.Pardons  
were  
here, dog  
cheap.

In the eighteenth session, certain judges were assigned for the hearing of matters which the council had no leisure to hear. Item, it was there decreed, that such letters and bulls as were written in the name of that council, should be received with no less credit and authority than the bulls proceeding from the see apostolical, and that the falsifiers of the same should incur no less penalty than the falsifiers of the other. Legates, also, and ambassadors, were sent into Italy.

In the nineteenth session, which was the same year, in the month of September, Jerome of Prague, who was cited, as is before said, was accused of heresy, and cast into prison, by the said council, and constrained to abjure; the which abjuration of his hereafter followeth to be seen in his history. Item, it was decreed, that, notwithstanding the safe conduct given by the emperor and kings, &c., inquiry may be made against any man for heresy, by a sufficient judge, and process to be made according to the law.<sup>1</sup> Item, the causes of heresies were committed to certain judges and deputies. Item, the chart called Carolina, and divers other charts and constitutions concerning the liberties of the church of Rome, being brought forth, were approved and confirmed.<sup>2</sup>

Consili-  
um fedi-  
fragum.

In the twentieth session, letters and instruments were made and set upon church doors, to require and admonish Frederic, duke of Austria, to restore again unto George, bishop of Trent, such lands, rents, and revenues as he detained and withheld, under pain of interdittement, suspending, and excommunication. During the time of this session, the ambassadors returned out of Arragon from pope Benedict, and were heard with great audience; where certain articles and conditions between the pope and the council were brought forth and agreed upon, to the number of twelve.

Provide  
that the  
men lose  
nothing.

In the year of our Lord 1416, was the twenty-first session, beginning, after their manner, with a mass of the Holy Ghost, with procession and such other rites; in the time of which mass, James, bishop of Lodi, made a sermon taking for his theme these words: "Exprobravit Deus incredulitatem eorum et duritiam;" that is, "The Lord rebuked their misbelief and hardness." This sermon being ended, Jerome of Prague, who had abjured, as is said, the year before, being present thereat, stood up upon a certain bench or form, replying against the aforesaid James and his sermon, alleging and preaching divers and

Jerome  
replied  
against  
the ser-  
mon of  
the bishop  
of Lodi.

(1) "Quod non obstantibus salvis conductibus imperatoris, regum, &c. possit per judicem competentem de hæretica pravitate inquiri." [Labbe's Concilia, tom xii. col. 169.—Ed.]

(2) And how canst thou say that the chart of Constantine's donation is not here mentioned? [See Appendix.—Ed.]

Henry  
V.

A.D.  
1414.

sundry things; whereupon the patriarch of Constantinople, one of the commissioners, proceeded against him, pronouncing the sentence definitive, which he had in writing, against the said Jerome, which sentence being read and approved by the council (the tenor whereof ensueth in his history), the said Jerome was delivered unto the secular power, and burned.

The twenty-second and twenty-third sessions contain no worthy matter, but only the placing of the ambassadors of Alphonsus, king of Arragon, and granting them voices in the council.

In the twenty-fourth session, citation was given out against Benedict, keeping with Alphonsus, king of Arragon.

See  
Appendix.

The twenty-fifth session containeth nothing but a certain 'Commendam' given to the church of Olmutz.

In the twenty-sixth session there was nothing else handled, but the uniting and incorporating of the ambassadors of the king of Navarre into the council, and also concerning the derogation of the priority of voices.

After this followed the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth sessions, which were in the year 1417; wherein were treated the relation and declaration concerning the cause betwixt duke Frederic and the bishop of Trent, and process given out against the said duke, accusing him of sacrilege; and also excommunicating him for not obeying the admonition of the council, concerning the usurpation and detaining of the city of Trent and other possessions from bishop George, as is before specified.

In the twenty-ninth and thirtieth sessions, proctors and notaries were given out in the cause against pope Benedict, and order decreed upon his obstinacy; wherein also the withdrawing of the king of Arragon from the same pope was recited, and approved by the council.

In the thirty-first session, certain instruments and special letters monitory were directed from the council to a certain earl of Italy, Philip earl of Vertus, for laying violent hands upon Albert, bishop of Asti, and for bringing him to prison; requiring the said earl, under pain of interdiction and excommunication, to set the said bishop at liberty. Also another decree was set forth for restoring again the liberties of the church of Bayonne.

Pope  
Benedict  
accused.

In the thirty-second and thirty-third sessions, the accusation of pope Benedict was renewed, and his obtinacy accused, and witness brought in; at doing which the emperor Sigismund was present.

In the thirty-fourth session, the cause of the foresaid pope was heard, and process given out against him.

In the thirty-fifth session, the ambassadors of the king of Castile were brought in, and united to the council, and instruments thereof made and read. Also, that notwithstanding the oaths made to the aforesaid pope, men might lawfully forsake his obedience.

The pope  
curseth  
the  
council.

In the thirty-sixth session, a certain citation was made and read against the pope, containing his deprivation and the sentence against him, and instruments made upon the same. And whereas this pope had thundered out his curses, deprivations, and excommunications against them, the said synod did annihilate all his doings.

The thirty-seventh session did renew again the accusation of the aforesaid pope, and the sentence definitive against him was published.

In the thirty-eighth session, certain decrees were made touching the annihilating of the penalties of the ambassadors of king Henry, son of Alphonsus, king of Arragon. Also, another decree was made touching the revocation of the voices granted to the ambassadors of the king of Arragon.

Decrees  
for  
general  
councils.

Thus pope Benedict being deposed and excommunicated, as is aforesaid, in the next sessions following they addressed themselves to the election of a new pope, beginning first in the thirty-ninth session, to give out decrees concerning general councils, and provision for the avoiding of such like schisms hereafter; decreeing every tenth year to have a general council, after the two councils that should follow immediately after this, of which the one should be kept within five years then next following, and the second within seven years after that. Item, In the same session was drawn out a form touching such things as the pope should profess and bind himself to observe at the time of his election, of which form the order and tenor is this:

"I, N., elected for pope, profess with heart and mouth unto Almighty God,

whose church I take upon me to govern by his help, and to blessed St. Peter, the prince of the apostles, so long as I shall endure in this frail and brittle life, firmly to believe and hold the holy catholic faith, after the traditions of the apostles, of general councils, and of other holy fathers; and namely of the eight general councils; viz. that of Nice the first, of Constantinople the second, of Ephesus the third, of Chalcedon the fourth, of Constantinople the fifth and sixth, of Nice the seventh, of Constantinople the eighth; and also of the general councils of Lateran, Lyons, and Vienne: and that I am willing to observe the same faith inviolate even to the uttermost, and to preach and defend the same, even to the spending of my life and blood; and also, by all means possible to prosecute and observe the rite of the ecclesiastical sacraments delivered to the catholic church. And this my profession and confession, by my commandment being written out by the notary of the arches of the holy church of Rome, I have subscribed with mine own hand, and sincerely, with a pure mind and devout conscience, I offer it unto Almighty God upon such an altar, &c., in the presence of such witnesses, &c. Given," &c.

It was also decided in this session, that no prelates should be translated against their wills.

The third of the same month and the same year, followed the fortieth session, wherein certain decrees were constituted and read, as touching reformatiions to be made through the whole church by the pope that next should be, with the council, before this synod should break up. Item, That they should proceed to the election of the bishop of Rome, notwithstanding the absence of those cardinals who were with pope Benedict in Spain. This done, the order and manner was decreed for the election of the pope.

After these things thus decreed, in the next session, which was the forty-first, the constitution of Clement VI. was read, concerning the order and diet of the cardinals being in the conclave about the choosing of the pope; and upon the same, oaths were ministered unto the cardinals and other electors, binding them to observe and keep all such things as they should be bound to, during the time of the election.

I. That they should enter into the conclave within ten days after the fortieth session, which was this present day, Monday, Nov. 8th, after sunset.

II. That every cardinal have but two servitors attending upon him at the most, either of the laity or clergy, as they would themselves.

III. That they should remain together in the said conclave, without any wall betwixt them, or any other cover, save only bare curtains, if any were disposed to sleep.

IV. That the conclave should so be shut up, a passage only being reserved to the privy-chamber, that none of them should come in or out, nor any have recourse unto them to talk with them privily or apertly, nor they to admit any man to come to them, except that by the consent of them all any should be called about matters concerning the election.

V. That no man should send to them either messenger or writing.

VI. That a competent window should be assigned unto them to receive in their victuals, but that no person might come in thereat.

VII. That no day after their first ingress into the conclave, beside bread, wine, and water, they should have more than one dish, either of flesh, or fish, or eggs; with one pottage made of fish or flesh, not after the daintiest sort, but with decent condiments; besides salt meats, salads, cheese, fruit, and conserves, whereof, however, there shall be no principal mess made, but for sauce and taste.

VIII. That not one should be compelled to go into the conclave, unless they did all refuse to go in; for then they should be compelled thereunto.

IX. That such as would go out, might: but if they would all go out before the pope were elect, they should be compelled to go in again, except such whom infirmity did excuse; but if any went out, without the excuse of infirmity, he should no more be admitted, except they went all out together.

X. That such as went out by reason of infirmity, or were absent, should they come in before the election were determined, might be admitted into the conclave in the same state wherein they should find the election to stand.

Further and besides, the keepers of the conclave should also be sworn to see all these premises observed and kept without fraud or guile, and that they should not straiten the cardinals and other electors above the order here taken. And

Henry

V.

A.D.

1411.

The pro-  
fession  
which the  
pope is  
bound to.

The  
order and  
manner  
of the  
conclave  
in choos-  
ing the  
pope.

Henry  
V.

A.D.  
1414.

if the king be there himself, the same oath to be taken of him, sitting in his throne of estate, by two cardinals. Upon this, such as should be electors, besides the cardinals, were chosen.

Furthermore, forasmuch as the goods and substance of such as were elect,<sup>1</sup> were accustomed to be given and granted unto such as could catch them (whereupon, under the pretence of the same, many did invade the goods of the cardinals and others who were in the conclave, falsely feigning those to be elected who were not to be elected), to stop the greedy ravening of such, a decree also was published in the same session.

See  
Appendix.

Pope  
Martin  
hatched.

The  
emperor  
leadeth  
the pope's  
horse on  
the right  
hand, the  
prince  
elector,  
on the  
left hand.

These things thus prepared and set in order, the patriarch of Constantinople, with the cardinals and other archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, deans, archdeacons, doctors, with other electors, entering into the conclave on Monday, on Thursday after had hatched out a pope, being St. Martin's day, whereupon they named him Martin. This Martin thus being elected, was straightforth brought in by the emperor and the council into the church of Constance, and there enthronized for pope, not without great solemnity and triumph. On Sunday, the twenty-first day of the said month, this foresaid Martin, being brought again into the high church of Constance, was there crowned with all magnificence, after which, according to their accustomed pomp, he was honourably brought with sumptuous procession from thence unto the monastery of St. Austin; the emperor on foot leading his horse by the bridle on the right hand, and the marquis of Brandenburg, prince elector, likewise leading his horse on the left hand; the pope himself riding in the midst upon his palfrey: and thus being brought unto the monastery aforesaid, he was reduced round about again from thence to the high church of Constance.

Notwithstanding all this, yet all the trifling and fond vanity of this council, more great than wise, did not end thus.

In the next session, which was the forty-second, came out a decree in the name of the pope and the council, discharging the bond of the emperor and the count palatine touching the safe custody of the late pope John XXIII., who was, by bond committed unto them to be kept in safety.

In the forty-third session, certain other decrees and statutes were made by pope Martin in the said synod, annullating and reprovng all the acts and proceedings of the other popes before, during the time of the schism from the time of Gregory XI.; as in matters concerning exemptions, unions, fruits and profits of the church benefices, simony, dispensations, tithes and other burdens ecclesiastical. Also concerning the apparel of the clergy, and such other things.

Apparel  
of the  
clergy.

In the forty-fourth session, the sage fathers of this council were occupied about the determining in what place the next council should be kept. The forty-fifth session brake up and dissolved this synod.

Now, to finish our tedious rehearsal of this synod: the cardinal Umbald, by the commandment of the pope and the council, with a high and loud voice pronounced these words: "Domini! ite in pace;" which is, "Lords! depart in peace;" whereunto the standers-by answered, "Amen."

Thus the council being dissolved, friar John, bishop of Catania, by the consent and commandment of the pope and the council, went up into the pulpit to make a sermon, taking for his theme, "Vos

(1) These were wise cardinals, they would not go into the conclave, but they would be sure to have their goods safe and unspoiled.

autem tristitiam habetis ; iterum autem videbo vos, et gaudebit cor vestrum ;” “ You are now in sadness, I will see you again, and then your hearts will rejoice.” Which collation being ended, another cardinal, named Anthony, was sent up by the pope and the council with this proclamation ; first, to dismiss the synod, and to give every man leave to depart home. Also to declare the pope’s indulgence unto them, who, by the authority of God Almighty, had granted to them all and every one present at that council, full absolution once in their life ; so that every one, within two months after the hearing of this indulgence, should procure the same in form of writing.<sup>1</sup> Also, another indulgence was granted in like manner of plenary remission at the hour of death, and that was understood as well of the household as of the masters themselves ; but under this condition, that from the time of notification of the same, they should fast by the space of one whole year every Friday, for the absolution in their lifetime ; and for the absolution at the hour of death, to fast the same Friday another year, except they had some lawful impediment to the contrary, so that after the second year, they should fast unto their lives’ end, or else do some other good work ; which being in this manner proclaimed, the synod brake up, and every man departed home.

The number of the foreigners resorting to this council, both spiritual and temporal, was sixty thousand five hundred : whereof the number of archbishops and bishops was three hundred and forty-six ; abbots and doctors, five hundred and sixty-four ; secular men, princes, dukes, earls, knights, esquires, sixteen thousand ; besides common women belonging to the same council, four hundred and fifty ; barbers, six hundred ; minstrels, cooks, and jesters, three hundred and twenty. So that the whole multitude which were viewed to be in the town of Constance, between Easter and Whitsuntide, were numbered to be sixty thousand five hundred strangers and foreigners at that council.<sup>2</sup>

Here is to be noted that in this council of Constance nothing was decreed or enacted worthy of memory, but this only, that the pope’s authority is under the council, and that the council ought to judge the pope. And, as touching the communion in both kinds, although the council did not deny, but that it was used by Christ and his apostles, yet notwithstanding, by the same council, it was decreed to the contrary.

Hitherto we have comprehended the order and discourse of this council, with the acts and sessions concerning the same ; which council, although it was principally thought to be assembled for quieting of the schism between the three popes ; yet, notwithstanding, a great part thereof was for the cause of the Bohemians, and especially for John Huss, as appeared by their preparation before the council. For before the council began, the emperor Sigismund<sup>3</sup> aforesaid sent certain gentlemen, Bohemians, who were of his own household, giving them in charge to bring John Huss, bachelor of divinity, unto the said council, and that under his safe conduct. The meaning and intent thereof was, that John Huss should purge and clear him-

Henry  
VA. D.  
1414.

The  
number  
of pre-  
lates in  
the coun-  
cil of  
Con-  
stance.  
Number  
of stran-  
gers at  
the council.

See  
Appendix.

Commu-  
nion in  
both  
kinds  
denied.

(1) Smell here, reader ; this made well for the pope’s purse.

(2) Ex paralipomenis Abbatis Ursi.

(3) See the Appendix.

*Henry V.*  
 A.D. 1414. self of the blame which they had laid against him : and, for the better assurance, the emperor did not only promise him safe conduct, that he might come freely unto Constance, but also that he should return again into Bohemia, without fraud or interruption ; he promised also to receive him under his protection, and under safeguard of the whole empire. For the same only cause the emperor sent him afterwards the said safe-conduct double written, both in Latin and Almain ; the form whereof doth hereafter ensue.

*See  
 Appendix.*

### The Safe-conduct given to Master John Huss.<sup>1</sup>

Sigismund, by the grace of God king of the Romans, ever Augustus, and of Hungary and Dalmatia, Croatia, &c. king ; to all and singular princes, ecclesiastical and secular, dukes, marquisses, earls, barons, nobles, baronets, knights, captains, and governors and officers of cities, towns, villages, and boroughs, and rulers of the same ; and generally, to all the subjects of us and of our empire, to whom these presents shall come ; our royal favour, grace, and every good.

The safe  
 conduct  
 given to  
 Master  
 John  
 Huss.

We heartily commend unto you Master John Huss, B.D. and M.A., the bearer of these presents, who is on his way from Bohemia to the general council, to be celebrated very shortly in the city of Constance ; the which John Huss we have received under the protection and safeguard of us and of the sacred empire ; desiring that, when he shall come towards you, you will cheerfully receive him, and entreat him gently, and help him forward and show him good will in all things, touching the expedition and security of his journey, as well by land as by water.

Moreover, we desire that you permit him and his servants, with his horses and every thing else of his, freely to pass, rest, sojourn, and return, through all passages, ports, bridges, lands, governances, lordships, cities, towns, burgages, castles and villages, and all other places of yours, without any payment of tribute or toll, or any other manner of impost whatsoever, but removing every sort of impediment out of his way ; and that, if need be, you do provide him and his with a secure and safe conduct ; for the honour and reverence which you owe unto our imperial majesty. Given at Spire, the eighteenth of October, in the year of our Lord 1414, of our reign over Hungary the 33rd, over the Romans the 5th.

By this it may appear, that this safe-conduct was granted not in the time of the council, by the bishops, but before the council, by the emperor, who was or ought to be the principal ordainer and director of the council under God. Now, whether the bishops did well in breaking and annulling this promise of the emperor, against the emperor's mind, because the discussion thereof belongeth 'ad materiam juris, non facti,' being a matter rather of law than of story, I will defer to reason this case with Master Cope, to such time as may be more convenient to the full tractation thereof.

Notwithstanding, briefly to touch and pass, let us consider part of the reasons of the said Cope,<sup>2</sup> how frivolous and false they be, and easy to be refelled. "What," saith he, "if he preached by the way coming up ?" First, that it is false, see hereafter. "What," saith he, "if he stood obstinate in his heresy ? What if he sought to escape away after his coming up ?" To this the lords of Bohemia do answer : That his safe conduct was broken, and he imprisoned, not only before he attempted to escape, or before he was condemned for a heretic, but also before he was heard of the council what he was.<sup>3</sup> (See p. 443.)

Answer  
 to Copus.

(1) A new translation from the Latin, in "Hist. et Mon. J. Huss," tom. i. fol. 1.—Ed.

(2) Alanus Copus, p. 929.

(3) Dr. Milner, in his "Letters to a Prebendary," p. 80, remarks : "The safe-conduct of John Huss was nothing more than a common travelling passport, to protect him from seizure or violence,



Further, where Cope saith, that the general council was above the emperor, and hath power in case of heresy to break public leagues and grants: to that I say, that this safe conduct stood not only upon the emperor, but also upon the consent of the pope himself. (Seep. 432.)

Henry  
V.

A. D.  
1414.

And admit that to be true, that the council had power to make this decree, to break promise with heretics; yet this cannot be denied, but that John Huss was condemned and judged before that decree in the nineteenth session was made. Finally, when Cope hath proved by what Scripture the councils have power to defeat the authority of their emperors in such secular causes touching safe conducts and outward safety, then will I answer him more fully herein. But to the purpose again of the story.

John Huss seeing so many fair promises, and the assurance which the emperor had given to him, sent answer unto the emperor, that he would come unto the council. But before he departed out of the realm of Bohemia, and especially out of the town of Prague, he did write certain bills long enough before, as well in Latin as in the Bohemian language and Almain, and caused them to be set and fastened upon the gates of the cathedral churches and parish churches, cloisters and abbeyes, signifying unto them all, that he would go to the general council at Constance; wherefore, if any man have any suspicion of his doctrine, that he should declare it before the lord Conrad, archbishop of Prague; or, if he had rather, at the general council, for there he would render and give up unto every one, and before them all, an account and reason of his faith. The copy of his letters and intimations set up here followeth:

John  
Huss  
taketh  
the em-  
peror's  
safe con-  
duct.

### The Letters of John Huss set up in common places of the City of Prague.

Master John Huss, bachelor of divinity, will appear before the most reverend father the lord Conrad, archbishop of Prague, and legate of the apostolic see, in the next convocation of all the prelates and clergy of the kingdom of Bohemia; ready always to satisfy all men who shall require him to give a reason of the faith and hope that is in him, and to see and hear all such as will lay unto his charge either any stubbornness of error or heresy; provided that they should write in their names thereto, as is required both by God's law and man's; and that, if so be that they shall not lawfully prove any stubbornness of error or heresy against him, then they should suffer the like punishment that he should have had. Unto whom altogether he will answer at the next general council at Constance before the archbishop and the prelates, and according to the decrees and canons of the holy fathers will show forth his innocency in the name of Christ.—Dated the Sunday next after the feast of St. Bartholomew. [August 26th, A.D. 1414.]

### Another Intimation of John Huss, for his going to Constance, drawn out of the Bohemian Tongue.

I, Master John Hussinetz, do signify unto all men, that I am ready to come and stand before the face of my lord the archbishop, and to answer to all things

on his journey to and from the council." To this it may be answered, that "common travelling passports" were not in general use for more than three hundred years after this event: that it was not essential for John Huss to provide himself with one: and that, when granted, they were peculiar and special privileges, and, in every sense of the word, "safe-conducts," extended to travellers, when their rank, the importance of their embassy, or the peculiar nature of the times, demanded for them a special pledge of protection. Besides, if it be admitted, by the above Roman catholic writer, that the safe-conduct secured to John Huss protection on his journey from the council (of which the safe-conduct makes distinct mention), it must also be admitted that it remained in force during his stay at Constance, nor can it be denied but that the violation of it, in his condemnation and martyrdom, was an act of the grossest treachery.—Ed.

*Henry  
V.*

A. D.  
1414.

The offer  
of John  
Huss to  
his ene-  
mies.

whereof I am falsely accused, in the next convocation of bachelors; and chiefly to this point, that in many places they do report me to be a heretic, not having respect unto justice or law, neither yet to my merits or deserts. Therefore since you, who do never cease to slander and backbite me with your words, do understand and know these things, come forth openly before the face and presence of the lord archbishop, and with an open mouth declare and show forth what false doctrine or other things you have heard me teach, contrary to catholic faith; and if I shall be found faulty in ever so small a matter, contrary or against the faith of Christ, or in any false doctrine, and that I do choose that, or other things, contrary to the faith of Christ, then I will hold my peace and suffer punishment as a heretic. And if there be no man that will resist against me, or accuse me in this point, once again I say unto you, that I am ready to appear at Constance in the famous congregation, to the end that I may stand in the company of the divines, even before the face of the pope. Therefore, whosoever knoweth any false doctrine and contrary to the faith of Christ in me, let him come thither and show it forth boldly, if he have any thing to lay against me; and for my part I will not be slack, if I may understand or know it, to answer as well to small as great, as touching the truth which I have received of God, and desire to be defended. All you good men, therefore, who love the truth, say now whether, by these my words, I do think or go about any thing, either contrary to the law of God or man. If I be not admitted then to be heard, be it known and manifest unto all men, that it happeneth not through my fault.—The same day.

This Epistle of John Huss which followeth, was set upon the Gates of the King's Palace, translated into Latin, out of the Bohemian Tongue.

Unto the king's majesty, the queen, and to all such as are of his council, and to all other rulers and magistrates, who now are in the king's court: I, John Huss, do signify and publish, that I have understood, not by any vain rumour or tale, that there be letters brought from the pope to the king's majesty; the contents whereof are these: That the king's majesty should bring to pass, that the heretics who were now lately sprung up in his kingdom and dominions, should not take any firm or strong root. Forsomuch as the said rumour is sprung and blown abroad without any fault of mine (as I trust by God's grace), it shall be our part to foresee and take heed, that neither the king's majesty, nor the noble kingdom of Bohemia, should be driven to bear or suffer any reproach or slander for me. Wherefore now of late I have sent my letters to and fro, which I have with great labour and diligence caused to be openly set up, to this intent; that I might thereby cause the archbishop to be careful and diligent about the matter; signifying openly, that if there were any man in all Bohemia, who did know me to be a follower of any false or corrupt doctrine, he should profess his name in the archbishop's court, and there show forth and declare what he thought. And, forasmuch as there would none be found or come forth, who would accuse me, the archbishop commanded me and my proctors to depart in peace. Wherefore I require and desire the king's majesty, who is the defender of the truth, also the queen and their councillors, and all other rulers and magistrates, that they would give me a faithful testimonial of this matter; forasmuch as I have oftentimes willed and attempted this, and no man hath either accused me or troubled me. I do it, moreover, to be known unto all Bohemia, and to all nations, that I will be present even at the first time before the council of Constance, in the most famous place, in the presence of the pope, the pope being president; and finally, in the presence of all others who will come to that most famous place; and that whosoever hath any suspicion of me, that I have either taught or defended any thing contrary unto the faith of Christ, let him come thither also; let him declare there, before or in the presence of the pope and all the doctors of divinity, what erroneous or false doctrine I have at any time followed or holden. Moreover, if he shall convince me of any error, or prove that I have taught any thing contrary unto the christian faith, I will not refuse to suffer whatsoever punishment shall be due for a heretic. But I hope and trust, even from the bottom of my heart, that God will not give the victory to unfaithful and unbelieving men, who do willingly kick and spurn against the truth.

*See  
Appendix.*

The same time John Huss sent his proctor to the lord bishop of Nazareth, ordained, by the apostolic see, inquisitor of heresy of the city and diocese of Prague, requiring him that if he had found any error in him, he would declare it openly. But the said bishop, before the said proctor and the public notary, with many other credible witnesses, answered, that he had often talked with John Huss, and that he never knew any thing in him, but as becometh a godly and faithful man; and this his testimony of John Huss he approved by his letters, the copy whereof is here under written.

*Henry  
V.*  

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A.D.  
1414.

### The Testimonial of the good Bishop of Nazareth.

We, Nicholas, by the grace of God bishop of Nazareth, and specially deputed by the apostolic see inquisitor of heretical pravity in the city and diocese of Prague, by these presents do it to be known unto all men, that we in times past have often communed and talked with that honourable man, Master John Huss, bachelor of divinity, of the famous university of Prague, and have had divers and sundry conferences with him, both of the Scriptures and divers other matters; and in all his sayings, doings, and behaviour, we have proved and found him to be a faithful and a catholic man, finding no manner of evil, or sinister, or, by any means, erroneous doings in him unto this present. We do witness and protest moreover, how the said John Huss, of late, in the cathedral church of Prague, and in other both collegiate and parish churches, and in the colleges of the university of Prague, and in the gates and porches of the most noble prince and lord, the lord Wenceslaus, king of Romans and of Bohemia; also in the gates of the reverend father the lord Conrad, archbishop of Prague, legate of the apostolic see, and chancellor of the university of Prague, and of other princes and barons, then being in the city of Prague, hath set up his letters written both in Latin, and in the Bohemian tongue, containing sentimentally in effect, how the aforesaid Master John Huss would appear before the reverend father, the lord Conrad, the aforesaid archbishop of Prague, and all the prelates and clergy of the kingdom of Bohemia, that shall be congregated and called together by the said archbishop, at the day appointed in the said city of Prague; ready always to satisfy every man that shall desire and require him to show a reason of the faith and hope that is in him, and to see and hear all and every one who could prove any obstinacy of error or heresy lawfully against him, under the pain to receive the like punishment: unto whom all together he would, by God's help, answer in the council of Constance, which was now at hand, before the said lord archbishop and us, with all other prelates; and there, in Christ's name, according to the decrees and canons of the holy fathers, to declare and show forth his innocency. After which letters as is aforesaid, by the said Master John Huss openly set up, there did no man appear before us, who would accuse the said Master John Huss of any error, or of any heresy. For the evident witness of all which things we have commanded these present letters to be made, and confirmed the same with the setting to of our seal.— Given at Prague the thirtieth of August, 1414.

He wit-  
nesseth  
with John  
Huss.

Upon which matter also, a public instrument was drawn, testified with the hand and seal of the public notary, named Michael Prachatz; the copy of which instrument here-under followeth:

### An Instrument of Recognition, or Protestation of the Lord Inquisitor of Heresies.

In the name of God, Amen. In the year of his nativity 1414, indiction 7, on Thursday, the thirtieth of August, about 9 o'clock, in the fifth year of the bishopric of the most holy father in Christ, John, by the grace of God pope, the three and twentieth of that name, in the uppermost parlour of the house of the famous man Peter, lord of Zwogsia, surnamed Zwirgelitz, master of the mint to the most famous prince and lord, the lord Wenceslaus, king of Romans and of

*Henry  
V.*

A.D.  
1414.

*See  
Appendix.*

Bohemia, in the greater city of Prague, about the abbey of St. James the apostle, in the presence of me the public notary here-under written, and certain witnesses here-within written, specially called for that purpose.

There was personally present Master John Jessenitz, master of arts, proctor in the name of the honourable man, Master John Huss, formed bachelor in divinity, of the university of Prague. He most humbly and earnestly required of the reverend father in Christ and lord, Nicholas, bishop of Nazareth, specially appointed by the apostolic see inquisitor of heresies for the city and diocese of Prague, being there also present, saying, 'Reverend father, do you know any heresy or error in Master John Hussinetz, otherwise called Huss?' Which said lord Nicholas, not compelled or constrained, but of his own will and accord, freely and openly did there recognise, saying these or the like words, in the Bohemian tongue:—

'I have often and many times been conversant with Master John Huss, and have eaten and drunk with him; also I have been often present at his sermons, and divers of his collations which he hath made upon divers places of the Scripture, and I never found or perceived in him any error or heresy, but in all his words and deeds I have found him always a true and a catholic man, neither have I found any thing in him that doth savour of error or heresy.'

Again, the said Master John's proctor, in his proctorial name as above, required and asked the said lord Nicholas, bishop and inquisitor, whether any man had accused the said Master John Huss of any heresy before him, being inquisitor for heresy, and had convicted him of heresy? He answered, that since the time he knew John Huss, and that he was made inquisitor for heresy in the city and diocese of Prague (as is aforesaid), never any man had accused or convinced the said Master John Huss of any heresy before him unto this present time. Adding, moreover, that he, the said Master John Huss, did openly set up his letters patent this present year aforesaid, in the said month of August, upon the porches of the cathedral church of Prague and other collegiate and parish churches of the city of Prague, and upon the gates of the said lord, of our lord the king, and of the archbishop of Prague, containing in them this effect: how that he would appear before Conrad archbishop of Prague and all the prelates and clergy of the kingdom of Bohemia, who should be congregated and called together at a certain day of the month aforesaid, ready always to satisfy all men as touching the faith and hope which is in him, and to see and hear all and singular that would lay any obstinacy of error or heresy unto him; so that they should engage themselves there to suffer the like punishment, according to the requirement both of God's law and the canon law; unto whom altogether he would answer in his own right before the said archbishop of Prague, and the said lord Nicholas, bishop and inquisitor aforesaid, and the prelates, even in the next general council of Constance; and there, according unto the canons and decrees of the holy fathers, declare and show forth his uprightness and innocency. Upon all and singular of which proceedings, Master John de Jessenitz, proctor, and in the proctorial name or behalf as before, required and desired that he might have one or more public instruments made unto him by me the public notary here-under written. These things were done the year, indiction, month, day, hour, place, and pontificate, aforesaid, in the presence of these noble and famous men, the lord William de Zwirgelitz, baron of the kingdom of Bohemia; Peter his son; the lord Ilawaczion de Ronow, likewise baron; Wenceslaus de Swarx, Vassone de Miekowitz, burgrave of the castle of Liechtenburg, Cztiborius de Bodanetz, esquire, and William de Dupoer, knight, of the said diocese of Prague; with many other trust-worthy witnesses who were specially desired and required unto the premises. And I Michael, sometime the son of Nicholas de Prachatitz, of the diocese of Prague, and by the imperial authority public notary, was present with the witnesses afore-named at the aforesaid request, demand, answer, and petition, and all and singular the doings within written, and did see and hear all these things to be done in the aforesaid manner and form. But being busied with other matters, I have caused this to be faithfully written by another, and subscribing the same with mine own hand, have published and reduced it into this form, and have signed it with my seal and name accustomed, being called and required to bear witness of all and singular the premises.

After this, as all the barons of Bohemia were assembled in the abbey of St. James, about the affairs of the realm, where the archbishop of Prague was also present, there the said John Huss presented supplications, by which he most humbly desired the barons, that they would show him this favour towards the said archbishop: that if the said archbishop did suspect him of any error or heresy, he would declare it openly, and that he was ready to endure and suffer correction for the same at his hands. And if that he had found or perceived no such thing in him, that he would then give him a testimonial thereof, through which he, being as it were armed, might the more freely go unto Constance. The said archbishop confessed openly, before all the assembly of barons, that he knew not that John Huss was culpable or faulty in any crime or offence, and this was his only counsel: that the said John Huss should purge himself of the excommunication he had incurred. This report which the archbishop had given of John Huss, doth appear by the letters which the barons of Bohemia sent unto the emperor Sigismund by the said Huss, in the town of Constance.

Henry  
V.A. D.  
1414.Conrad  
the arch-  
bishop,  
cleareth  
John  
Huss.

Finally, all the prelates and clergy assembled together in the town of Prague, in the archbishop's court, where appeared personally the worshipful Master John Jessenitz, doctor of decretals and proctor, in the name and behalf of the honourable man, Master John Huss, requiring that either the said Master John Huss, or that he, in the name and behalf of him, might be suffered to come into the archbishop's court, to the presence of the archbishop and the prelates who were there congregated together, forasmuch as Master John Huss is ready to satisfy all men who shall require him to show any reason of his faith or hope which he holdeth, and to see and hear all and singular who were there gathered together; that is to say, the lord archbishop and prelates, or any of them who would lay any manner of obstinacy, or error, or heresy unto him: that they should there write in their names, and according both unto God's law and man's, and the canon law, prepare themselves to suffer like punishment, if they could not lawfully prove any obstinacy of error or heresy against him: unto whom altogether he would, by God's help, answer before the said archbishop and the prelates in the next general council holden at Constance, and stand unto the law; and, according to the canons and decretals of the holy fathers, show forth and declare his innocency in the name of Christ. Unto which Master John of Jessenitz, doctor, one called Ulicus Swabe, of Swabenitz, marshal of the said archbishop, coming forth of the said court, did utterly deny unto the said master doctor and his party, all manner of ingress and entrance into the court, and to the presence of the archbishop aforesaid, and of the prelates there gathered together; pretending that the archbishop, with the prelates aforesaid, were occupied about the king's affairs: requiring the said master doctor, that he would tarry in some place without the said court, that when the archbishop and the prelates had finished the king's affairs, he might then return, and have liberty to come into the court there. The said Master John Huss, and the doctor of law tarried awhile, entreating to be admitted into the archbishop's court; but seeing he could prevail nothing, he made there a solemn protestation of his request, that both

John  
Huss  
requireth  
to give  
testi-  
mony of  
his faith,  
and could  
not be  
admitted.

*Henry  
V.*

A. D.  
1414.

he, and also Master John Huss and his part, could not be suffered to come into the archbishop's court, to the presence of the archbishop and the prelates; requiring of the aforesaid notary public instruments to be made of the same, which also was done.

*See  
Appendix.*

\*An Instrument of Testimonial,<sup>1</sup> how Master Huss and his Proctor were denied entrance into the public Procuration, celebrated and holden in the Archbishop's Court.

In the name of God, Amen. In the year of His nativity, 1414; the seventh indiction, on Monday, the 27th day of the month of August, at three of the clock, or thereabout; in the fifth year of the pontificate of our most holy father and lord, the lord John, by the grace and providence of God pope, the twenty-third of that name, in the lesser city of Prague, before the archbishop of Prague's court.

The most reverend father in Christ, the lord Conrad, by the grace of God archbishop of Prague, and legate of the apostolic see, and all other lords, abbots, priors, presidents, deans, archdeacons, scholars, canons, and rectors, and all other prelates of the city and diocese of Prague, celebrating and holding a solemn congregation, for divers causes, in his court aforesaid; there appeared personally the worshipful Master John Jessenitz, doctor of the decretals, proctor, and in the proctorial name of the honourable man, Master John Huss, formed bachelor of divinity; touching the commission of whose procuration it is quite satisfactory to me, the public notary within written; and he, knocking at the porch or gate of the archbishop's court aforesaid, required that either the said Master John Huss, or that he in the name and behalf of Master John Huss his master, might be suffered to come into the said archbishop's court, to the presence of the said lord archbishop and the prelates who were there congregated together; forsomuch as Master John Huss was ready to satisfy all men, who shall require him to show any reason of the faith and hope which was in him, and to see and hear all and singular, who were there gathered together, that is to say the lord archbishop and prelates, or any of them, who would lay any manner of obstinacy of error or heresy unto him, so that they would there write their names, and according both unto God's law and the canon law, engage themselves to suffer like punishment if they could not lawfully prove any obstinacy of error or heresy against him: unto whom altogether he would, by God's help, answer before the said lord archbishop and the prelates in the next general council to be holden at Constance, and stand unto the law; and according to the canons and decretals of the holy fathers show forth and declare his innocency in the name of Christ. Unto which Master John de Jessenitz, Doctor, a certain famous man called Ulricus Swabe, of Swabenitz, marshal of the said lord archbishop, coming forth of the said court, did utterly deny unto the said Master Doctor and his party all manner of ingress and entrance into the same court, and to the presence of the archbishop aforesaid and of the prelates there gathered together, saying and affirming the lord archbishop, with the prelates aforesaid, to be occupied about the king's affairs or business: requiring, notwithstanding, the said Master Doctor that he would tarry in some place without the said court; and that when the archbishop and the prelates had finished the king's affairs, he might then return, and have liberty to come into the court there. The said Master John, Doctor, thereupon tarried there awhile, intreating to be admitted into the said archbishop's court; but seeing himself to prevail nothing, he made there a solemn protestation of his request, that both he and also Master John Huss and his part could not be suffered to come into the archbishop's court, to the presence of the archbishop and the prelates, but that they were utterly denied thereof; desiring me, the public notary here-under written, upon the premises to make him one or more public instruments. These things were done the year, indiction, day, month, hour, pontificate, and place above written, these honourable and wise men being there present: Simon Tysnove,

(1) This instrument of testimonial is introduced from the Edition of 1563, p. 195.—ED

bachelor of divinity; Simon de Rochezana; Procopius of Pilsen; Nicholas de Stogitzin and John de Przibram, masters of arts; also Frana Czotronis and Jerome Dzorlonis of Prague, John de Niehuitz and Jerome de Ugez, clerical students of the dioceses of Prague and Lithomysel, as witnesses of the premises. And I, James Moles, sometime son of Ambrose, of Prague, being by the imperial authority, public notary, also sworn notary, that of all the bachelors, masters, doctors, and scholars of the famous university and school of Prague, was present at all the affairs aforesaid, and did see and hear them all to be done in form abovesaid; but, being occupied about other weighty business, I have caused this same to be faithfully written by another notary, and have subscribed it with mine own hand, and published, and have reduced it into this public form, and confirmed it with my accustomed mark and name, being desired and required to bear witness of all and singular the premises.\*

Henry  
V.

A.D.  
1414.

And these were the things which were done before John Huss took his journey to the general council of Constance, the which I minded briefly to rehearse; whereunto I will also annex somewhat as touching his journey thitherwards.

About the ides of October, 1414, John Huss being accompanied with two noble gentlemen, that is to wit, Wenceslaus of Duba, and John of Clum, he departed from Prague, and took his journey towards Constance. And in every place as he passed, he notified his presence by his letters which he sent abroad, and especially in every good town, or city of name; the tenor whereof ensueth:

John  
Huss  
taketh  
his jour-  
ney to  
Con-  
stance.

The Copy of the Letters which John Huss set up in the public places of the Cities which he passed through, going to the Council.

Master John Huss goeth now unto Constance, there to declare his faith which he hath hitherto holden, and even at this present doth hold, and by God's help will defend and keep even unto death. Therefore, even as he hath manifested throughout all the kingdom of Bohemia by his letters and intimations, willing before his departure to have satisfied and given an account of his faith unto every man, who should object or lay any thing against him in the general convocation holden in the archbishop of Prague's court: so likewise he doth manifest and signify, that if there be any man in this noble and imperial city, who will impute or lay any error or heresy unto him, that he should prepare himself to come unto the council, forasmuch as the said Master John Huss is ready to satisfy every man at the said council, who shall lay any thing unto his charge as touching his faith.

In all cities as he passed by, and principally when he was parted out of Bohemia and entered into Almain, a great number of people did come unto him, and he was very gently received and entertained through all the towns of Germany, not only of his hosts, but of the citizens generally, and oftentimes of the curates; insomuch that the said Huss did confess, in a certain epistle, that he found in no place so great enemies as in Bohemia. And if it happened that there were any bruit or noise before of his coming, the streets were always full of people who were desirous to see John Huss, and gratify<sup>2</sup> him; and, amongst all others, especially at Nuremberg, where certain merehants had gone before and certified the citizens of

How John  
Huss was  
received  
by the  
way, go-  
ing up  
to the  
council.  
See  
Appendix.

(1) Leutomischl, or Litomysl. A manufacturing town in Bohemia, formerly a bishop's see. —ED.

(2) "Eique gratulari, i. e. to shew sympathy and good will towards him." Hist. et Mon. tom. i. fol. 4. —ED.

Henry  
V.

A.D.  
1414.

A char-  
ter-house  
monk  
against  
John  
Huss.

John  
Huss's  
hostess,  
named  
Faithful.

The pope  
consent-  
eth to the  
safe-con-  
duct of  
John  
Huss.

Huss's  
enemy  
going  
to Con-  
stance,  
dieth by  
the way.  
Stephen  
Paletz  
and  
Michael  
de Causis,  
chief ene-  
mies to  
Huss.

his coming. In the same city there were many curates who came unto him, desiring him that they might talk with him secretly apart, unto whom he answered: That he loved much rather to pronounce and show forth his mind and opinion openly before all men, than in hugger-mugger, for he would keep nothing close or hidden. So, after dinner, until it was night, he spake before the priests, senators, and divers other citizens, insomuch that they all had him in great estimation and reverence, one only doctor excepted, who was a charter-house monk and curate of St. Sebauld, who did improve<sup>1</sup> all that he had said.

The twentieth day after that he parted out of the town of Prague, which was the third day of November, he came unto Constance; and lodged at an honest matron's house, being a widow named Faithful,<sup>2</sup> in St. Galle's street.

The morrow after, the noble men, Lord John de Clum, and Lord Henry Latzenboge, went to speak with the pope, and certified him that John Huss was come, whom they had brought to Constance to the general council, under the emperor's safe-conduct; desiring him also that he, on his part, would grant the said John Huss liberty to remain in Constance, without any trouble, vexation, or interruption. Unto whom the pope answered, That even if John Huss had killed his brother, yet would he go about, as much as in him lay, that no outrage or hurt should be done unto him during his abode in the city of Constance.

In this meantime, the greatest adversary that John Huss had, named Master Stephen Paletz, who was also a Bohemian born, was come unto Constance. But his companion, Master Stanislaus Znoyma, was not yet passed the borders of Bohemia when he was stricken with an imposthume,<sup>3</sup> whereof he died. As soon as the said Paletz was come to Constance, he did associate unto him one Michael de Causis, who was the first and bitterest accuser of the said John Huss. And this may not be forgotten, that the said Paletz had been familiarly conversant and acquainted with the said John Huss from his youth upward; but after that there was a bull brought unto Prague from pope John XXIII. against the king of Apulia, named Ladislaus, the said John Huss withstood it openly, forso-much as he saw that it was wicked and nought. Paletz, albeit that he had confessed at a certain banquet, in the presence of the said John Huss, that the said bull was contrary to all equity and right, yet notwithstanding, forso-much as he was obliged and bound unto the pope by means of certain benefices received at his hand, he maintained and defended the said bull against John Huss: and this was the cause of the discord and falling out between them. As for Michael de Causis, the companion of Master Paletz, he was sometime the curate of New Prague: but he, not being content therewith, but seeking after a further prey, dreamed and imagined out a new device how to attain unto it; for he made a semblance that he had found out a new invention or mean, whereby the mines of gold in Gilowy,<sup>4</sup> which were perished and lost, might be renewed and set on work again. By this means he did so

(1) "Improve," speak against.—ED. (2) "Fidam nomine." Foxe calls her "Faith."—ED.

(3) "Imposthume," a gathering of humours and swellings upon the body.—ED.

(4) See Appendix.



much with the king Wenceslaus, that he did put a great sum of money into his hands, to do that withal which he had promised.

This honest man, after he had laboured and travailed certain days about it, and perceiving that he brought nothing to pass, and that by that means he was utterly in despair of his purpose, conveyed himself privily out of the realm of Bohemia with the rest of the money, and withdrew himself, as a worthy bird for such a nest, to the court of Rome. Such a man, of such conditions, was easily corrupted with money, and that, by the adversaries of the said Huss, and promised them to do what he could for them, which he did shortly after. These two jolly roisters, Stephen Paletz and Michael de Causis, drew out certain articles against the said Huss, saying, that they had gathered them out of his own writings, and especially out of his treatise which he had written of the church. They trotted up and down, hither and thither, taking great pains to show the said articles unto the cardinals, bishops, and monks, and such others of that sort, doing them also to understand, that there were other matters of greater importance, which the said John Huss had committed and done against the holy constitutions, and other ordinances of the pope and the church; which, if need were, they said they would propound before the council. Through the kindling of this their fire, they did so incense the cardinals and all the priests, that all they, with one mind and consent, thought to cause the good man to be taken and laid hands on.

*Henry V.*

A. D. 1414.

Huss's enemies described.

The enemies of Huss practise against him.

The twenty-sixth day after the said Huss was come to Constance, (during all which time he was occupied in reading, writing, and familiar talk with his friends), the cardinals, through the instigation and motion of Paletz, and Michael de Causis, sent two bishops, to wit, the bishops of Augsburg and of Trent, and with them the borough-master of the town of Constance, and a certain knight, to the place where John Huss lodged, about dinner-time; who should make report unto him that they were sent by the pope and his cardinals, to advertise him that he should come to render some knowledge or witness of his doctrine before them, as he had oftentimes desired, and that they were ready to hear him.

*See Appendix.*

Unto whom John Huss answered, "I am not come for any such intent, as to defend my cause particularly before the pope and his cardinals, protesting that I never desired any such thing, but that I would willingly appear before the whole assembly of the council, and there answer for my defence openly, without any fear or doubt, unto all such things as shall be demanded or required of me. Notwithstanding, said he, forasmuch as you require me so to do, I will not refuse to go with you before the cardinals; and if it happen that they evil treat or handle me, yet, nevertheless, I trust in my Lord Jesus, that he will so comfort and strengthen me, that I shall desire much rather to die for his glory's sake, than to deny the verity and truth which I have learned by his holy Scriptures." Wherefore it came to pass, that the bishops being instant upon him, and not showing any outward semblance that they bare any malice or hatred against him in their hearts (albeit they had privily laid garrisons both in the house where they were assembled, and also in other houses), John Huss took his horse which he had at his lodging, and went unto the court of the pope and the cardinals.

John Huss desires to plead his cause before the whole council.

*Henry  
V.*

A. D.  
1415.

He comes  
before the  
pope and  
the car-  
dinals.

When he was come thither, and had saluted the cardinals, they began to speak to him in this sort: "We have heard many reports of you, which, if they be true, are in no case to be suffered; for men say, that you have taught great and manifest errors, and contrary and against the doctrine of the true church; and that you have sowed your errors abroad through all the realm of Bohemia, by a long space or time; wherefore we have caused you to be called hither before us, that we might understand and know how the matter standeth."

Answer  
of John  
Huss to  
the pope  
and the  
cardinals.

Unto whom John Huss answered in few words: "Reverend fathers! you shall understand that I am thus minded and affectioned, that I should rather choose to die, than I should be found culpable of one only error, much less of many and great errors. For this cause I am the more willingly come unto the general council which is here appointed, to show myself ready, even with all my heart, to receive correction, if any man can prove any errors in me." The cardinals answered him again, that his sayings pleased them very well; and upon that they went away, leaving the said John Huss with Lord John de Clum, under the guard and keeping of the armed men.

Dolus  
malus  
cardina-  
lium.

A friar  
minor  
putteth  
two ques-  
tions to  
John  
Huss

In the mean season, they did suborn and furnish out a certain divine, a friar Franciscan, a subtle and crafty man, and a malicious hypocrite, to question with the said John Huss, who was compassed round about with armed men. This man drawing near in his monkish gesture, said, "Reverend master! I, a simple and rude idiot, am come unto you to learn; for I have heard many strange and contrary things against the catholic faith to be ascribed unto you, which do diversely move my mind, being wholly inclined to the truth. Wherefore I do desire you, even for the love which you bear unto the truth, and to all good and godly men, that you would teach me, most simple and miserable man, some certainty and truth. And first, men say, that you hold opinion that, after the consecration and pronouncement of the words in the sacrament of the altar, there remaineth only material bread." John Huss answered, that it was falsely attributed and imputed unto him. Then said he, "I pray you, is not this your opinion?" "No verily," said John Huss, "I do not so think of it." When the monk asked this question the third time,

Lord  
John de  
Clum  
speaketh  
for John  
Huss.

Lord John de Clum being moved somewhat with him, said, "Why art thou so importunate upon him? Verily, if any man had affirmed or denied any thing unto me but once, I would have believed him. And thou, albeit he hath showed thee his mind so often, yet ceasest not to trouble him." Then said the monk, "Gentle master! I pray

A friarly  
Judas.

you pardon me a poor idiot and simple friar; surely I did it of a good mind and intent, being willing and desirous to learn." This friar put forth another question unto him, protesting his simplicity and ignorance: "What manner of unity of the godhead and manhood was in the person of Christ?" When John Huss had heard this question, he, turning himself unto Lord John de Clum, in the

A wolf in  
a lamb's  
skin.

Bohemian language said: "Truly this friar is not simple, as he doth pretend, for he hath propounded unto me a very hard question." And afterwards, turning himself to the friar, he said unto him, "Brother! you say that you are simple, but as I have heard of you,

I perceive very well that you are double and crafty, and not simple.” “It is not so, verily,” said the friar. “Well,” said John Huss, “I will cause you well to understand that it is so. For as touching the simplicity of a man, it is required in things that concern civility and manners, that the spirit, the understanding, the heart, the words, and the mouth, should agree together: and I do not perceive that this is in you. There is in your mouth a certain semblance of simplicity, which would very well declare you to be an idiot and simple, but your deeds show plainly and evidently a great subtlety and craft in you, with a great quickness and liveliness of wit, in that you have proponed unto me so hard and difficult a question. Notwithstanding, I will not fear to show you my mind in this question.” And when he had made an end, the monk gave him great thanks for his gentleness, and so departed. After that, the pope’s garrison which was about the said John Huss told him, that this friar was called Master Didace, who was esteemed and counted the greatest and most subtle divine in all Lombardy. “Oh!” said John Huss, “that I had known that before; I would have handled him after another sort and fashion: but I would to God they were all such; then, through the help and aid of the holy Scriptures, I would fear none of them.”

Henry  
V.A. D.  
1415.See  
Appendix.Didace, a  
crafty  
friar.  
Many a  
man be-  
guiled  
under a  
cloak of  
simplicity.

In this manner the said Huss and Lord John de Clum were left under the keeping of these men of arms, until four of the clock in the afternoon. After that time the cardinals assembled again in the pope’s court, to devise and take counsel what they should do with John Huss. Then Stephen Paletz and Michael de Causis, with divers others of their adherents, made earnest suit that he should not be let go at liberty again, and having the favour of the judges on their part, they bragged up and down in a manner as they had been mad men, and mocked the said John Huss, saying, “Now we will hold thee well enough; thou art under our power and jurisdiction, and shalt not depart until such time as thou hast paid the uttermost farthing.”

The ac-  
cusers of  
John  
Huss  
triumph  
over him  
when he  
is taken.

A little before night, they sent the provost of the Roman court unto Lord John de Clum, to show him that he might return to his lodging; but as for John Huss, they had otherwise provided for him. When Lord John de Clum heard this news, he was wonderfully displeased, forasmuch as through their crafts, subtleties, and glosing words, they had so trained this good man into their snares; whereupon he went unto the pope, declaring unto him all that was done; most humbly beseeching him, that he would call to remembrance the promise which he had made unto him and Lord Henry Latzenboge, and that he would not so lightly falsify and break his faith and promise. The pope answered, that all these things were done without his consent or commandment; and said further to lord de Clum apart, “What reason is it that you should impute this deed unto me, seeing that you know well enough that I myself am in the hands of these cardinals and bishops?”

The pope  
breaketh  
promise.

In mine opinion, forasmuch as pope John feared that which indeed did after follow, that he should be deprived of his dignity, he thought to win the favour of these Herodian cardinals and bishops, by betraying this good man unto them. So the said lord de Clum returned very pensiveful and sorry; he complained very sore, both privily and

The pope,  
to please  
his coun-  
cil, is  
against  
John  
Huss.

*Henry  
V.*

*A. D.  
1415.*

*Imprisonment  
and sickness of  
John  
Huss.*

*See  
Appendix.*

openly, of the injury and outrage that the pope had done; but all profited nothing. After this, the said John Huss was led by the officers to the house of the precentor of the church of Constance, where he was kept prisoner by the space of eight days; from thence he was carried unto the Jacobites, hard by the river Rhine, and was shut up in the prison of the abbey, which was hard by the bogardes.

After he had been enclosed there a certain time, he fell sore sick of an ague, by means of the stench of the place, and became so weak, that they despaired of his life. And for fear lest this good man should die in prison, as others are wont to do, the pope sent unto him certain of his physicians to cure and help him. In the midst of his sickness his accusers made importunate suit to the principals of the council, that the said John Huss might be condemned, and presented unto the pope these articles here under-written :

### Articles presented unto Pope John XXIII., for the Condemnation of Master John Huss, after he was newly imprisoned.<sup>1</sup>

*The sup-  
per of the  
Lord.*

I. He doth err about the sacraments of the church, and especially about the sacrament of the body of Christ, forasmuch as he hath openly preached, that it ought to be ministered openly unto the people under both kinds, that is to say, the body and blood. This article is evident, forasmuch as his disciples at this instant in Prague do minister the same in both kinds. Moreover, it is affirmed by divers, that he hath taught both in the schools and in the church, or at the least that he doth hold this opinion, that after the words of consecration pronounced upon the altar, there remaineth still material bread in the sacrament. This article shall be known by his examination.

*Of the  
adminis-  
tration of  
the sacra-  
ments.*

II. He doth err as touching the ministers of the church, forasmuch as he saith, that they cannot consecrate or minister the sacraments when they are in mortal sin. This article shall likewise be known by his examination: notwithstanding, all that which is here contained may be gathered of his treatise 'De Ecclesia'; the which if he deny, let there then be some divines and others appointed, to peruse and look over his said treatise 'De Ecclesia.' Moreover he saith, that other men beside priests may minister the sacrament. This article is evident, forasmuch as his disciples do the same at Prague, who of themselves do violently take the sacrament out of the treasury, and communicate among themselves, when the holy communion is denied unto them. By this and other things also it is sufficiently evident, that he hath taught that every man, being without mortal sin, hath the power of orders or priesthood, forasmuch as such only as have taken orders ought to minister the sacrament unto themselves. And because he proceedeth from small matters unto great and weightier, it doth consequently appear and follow, that those who be in the state of grace can bind and loose.

*Of the  
church.*

III. He doth err as touching the church, and specially for that he doth not allow and admit that the church signifieth the pope, cardinals, archbishops, and the clergy underneath them; but saith, that this signification was drawn out by the school-men, and is in no case to be holden or allowed. This article is manifest from his said treatise 'De Ecclesia.'

*Ecclesi-  
astical  
revenues*

Moreover, he doth err concerning the church, in that he saith, that the church ought not to have any temporal possessions. And that the temporal lords may take them away from the church and the clergy without any offence. This error is evident, forasmuch as through his doctrine and enticements many churches in the kingdom of Bohemia, and in the city of Prague, are already spoiled and robbed of a great part of their temporalties and goods. He saith also, that Constantine and other secular princes erred in enriching and endowing churches and monasteries. This article is manifest by that which goeth next before.

(1) In the first Edition, it is stated that these articles were presented by Michael de Causis.—Ed.

IV. He erreth as touching the church, in that he saith that all priests are of like power, and therefore affirmeth that the reservation of cases for the pope, the ordering of bishops, and the consecration of the priests, were invented only for covetousness. This article doth somewhat appear by those aforegoing, but by his examination shall be more evident.

Henry  
F.

A. D.  
1415.

V. He erreth concerning the church, in that he saith, that the church, being in sin, hath no power of the keys, when the pope, cardinals, and all other of the priests and clergy are in deadly sin; which he saith is possible enough. This also doth appear in his treatise upon the church, in his first error as touching the ministers of the church.

The  
bishops'  
power.  
The  
power  
of the  
keys of  
the  
church.  
Excom-  
munica-  
tion.

VI. He erreth touching the church, forasmuch as through contempt he doth not fear excommunication. This doth notoriously appear by his own doings, in that he did condemn and despise the apostolic and ordinary censure; and in all the apostolic excommunications and injunctions he hath borne himself upon the divine commandments; and in contempt of the keys, to the setting out of his hypocrisy, he hath said mass all the way between this and the city of Prague, and thereby hath profaned the process and authority of the church.

VII. He erreth again as touching the church, because he keepeth not the institutions and investitures thereof, but holdeth opinion that every man hath authority to invest and appoint any man to the cure of souls. This is evident by his own doings, forasmuch as many in the kingdom of Bohemia by their defenders and favourers, or rather by himself, were appointed and put into parish churches, which they have long ruled and kept, not being appointed by the apostolic see, neither yet by the ordinary of the city of Prague.

Investi-  
tures.

VIII. He erreth as touching the church, in that he holdeth opinion, that a man, being once ordained a priest or deacon, cannot be forbidden or kept back from the office of preaching. This is likewise manifest by his own doings, forasmuch as he himself could never be letted from preaching, neither by the apostolic see, nor yet by the archbishop of Prague.

The  
office of  
preach-  
ing.

And to the intent that the said John Huss, who is clothed in sheep's clothing, and inwardly a ravening wolf, may be the better known by his fruits, for the better information of you, most reverend fathers, I say, that from the first time that he took in hand, or went about to sow such errors and heresies, which afterwards he did in deed, he, understanding and perceiving himself to be withstood and gainsayed by the Germans, who were in the university of Prague, forasmuch as he could conclude nothing, because they had three voices, and he on his part had but one voice only: he went about and brought to pass, and that by the secular power, that the Germans should have but one voice, and he and his parts three voices; which thing when the Germans once perceived, rather than they would lose or forsake any part of their right which they had in voices, or be in danger in their persons, which would then have ensued upon it, to save themselves, they wholly, with one consent, agreed together to depart out of Prague; and by this means this solemn and famous university of Prague was made desolate, that had brought forth so many notable men in divers sciences. Behold this his first fruits, who divided that so famous university, forasmuch as grapes are not gathered of thorns, neither figs of brambles.

Lupus  
agnum  
accusat,  
quod  
turbarit  
fontem.  
A heaping  
together  
of many  
grievous  
crimes.

The  
departure  
of the  
Germans  
from the  
univer-  
sity of  
Prague.

Moreover, when there were questions moved amongst the divines of the university of Prague upon the forty-five articles of John Wickliff, and they had called a convocation, and all the divines of Bohemia (for the Germans were already departed) had concluded that every one of those articles was either heretical, seditious, or erroneous; he alone held the contrary opinion, that none of those articles were either heretical, seditious, or erroneous, as afterwards he did dispute, hold, and teach, in the common schools of Prague; whereby it is evidently enough foreseen, that he doth affirm those articles of Wickliff, which are not only condemned in England, but also by the whole church, because they were first invented and set forth by the members of Antichrist.

The forty-  
five  
articles of  
Wickliff

Moreover, he being complained of to the archbishop of Prague, that he preached and set forth certain articles which were heretical, false, and seditious, he was forbidden by the said archbishop to preach any more, who proceeded against him, according to the canonical sanctions; which process is confirmed by the apostolic see, and published as well in the court of Rome, as without; which John Huss and his adherents have divers and manifold ways violated

Henry  
V.

A. D.  
1415.

The  
office of  
preaching  
forbidden  
by the  
arch-  
bishop.  
Insurrec-  
tions  
against  
the  
clergy  
feared in  
Bohemia.

and profaned. And whosoever did speak against him, they were deprived of their benefices, and others placed in, who have ruled and yet do rule the said churches and the flocks pertaining to the same, not having any cure or charge of souls committed unto them, neither by the apostolic see, nor yet by the ordinary of the place.

Also many, as well priests as lay-men, in the city of Prague and kingdom of Bohemia, who have spoken against the doctrine of Huss, and the profanation of the process aforesaid, or at the least not allowing the same, have suffered the most mortal hatred and persecutions, and yet to this day do suffer, but that at this present it is dissimuled until the end of the process against John Huss. Wherefore, if he be now let go again, without doubt they shall suffer great persecution both in body and goods, and throughout all the realm of Bohemia, "house shall be against house;" and this mischief will creep, yea suddenly spring up throughout all Germany, and innumerable souls shall be infected, so that there shall be such persecution of the clergy and faithful, as hath not been since the time of the emperor Constantine to this present day; for he ceaseth not to move and stir up the laity against the clergy and faithful Christians. And, when any of the clergy would draw him away, or call him from his heresy, and for that cause forbid him to preach, that he do not teach any heresies; then saith he, and teacheth, that the clergy do that of envy and malice, because he rebuketh their vices and faults; that is to say, their simony, pride, and covetousness.

Moreover, he stirreth up the secular princes against the prelates of churches, monasteries, and universities, and generally against the whole clergy, by reason that he, going about, preacheth and teacheth that prelates and other men of the church ought not to have any temporal goods or possessions, but only to live upon alms. And by this means he hath done already very much hurt, and annoyed divers and many prelates, clerks, and churches in the kingdom of Bohemia and the city of Prague, forasmuch as thereby they are already spoiled and robbed of their possessions. Yea, he teacheth also that it is lawful for the lay people, without sin, to withhold and keep back the tithes and oblations, or to give the church-goods to any other minister; all the secular princes are greatly inclined hereunto, but especially the laity, who follow every man his own will.

He hath generally to lay for himself all those heretics who do but very smally regard the ecclesiastical censures, and do hate the authority of the Roman church, yea, and do utterly detest and abhor the same; which thing will more and more increase, except it be effectually and manfully withstood: and if he do by any means escape from the council, he and his favourers will say that his doctrine is just and true, and that it is allowed by the authority of the universal sacred council, and that all his adversaries are wicked and naughty men; so that he would do more mischief, than ever any heretic did since the time of Constantine the Great.

Wherefore, most holy fathers! provide and take heed to yourselves, and to the whole flock amongst whom the Holy Ghost hath placed you, to rule the church of Christ, which he hath purchased with his own blood; and, whilst the disease is new and fresh, help and remedy it, as well touching him who doth so infect and trouble the church of God, as also concerning the occasions through which he hath presumed, and might do the same; because the prelates do abuse the ecclesiastical censures, and as well the prelates as those that are under them, do not keep and observe the order of the church which is appointed them by God; whereby it cometh to pass, that whilst they themselves do walk the broken and unknown paths, their flock falleth headlong into the ditch.

Wherefore let our sovereign lord the pope, and this most sacred council ordain and depute commissioners, who may examine the said John Huss upon all aforesaid, and other things in the presence of them who know the matter. Let there be also certain doctors and masters appointed to read over and peruse his books which he hath written, whereof some are here present; that the church may be speedily purged and cleansed from these errors.

Upon this his accusation, they ordained and appointed three commissioners or judges; that is to say, the patriarch of Constantinople, and the bishop of Castel-a-mare, and the bishop of Lebus; the which prelates

Cadaphas  
prophe-  
sied.

Master  
Paletz  
lieth, for  
the Holy  
Ghost  
had no  
leisure to  
come to  
that  
council.

See  
Appendix.

being thus deputed, heard the accusation and the witness which was brought in by certain babbling priests of Prague, confirmed by their oaths, and afterwards recited the said accusation unto the said Huss in the prison, at such time as his ague was fervent and extremely upon him.

*Henry V.*

A. D. 1415.

John Huss sick of an ague in prison. Debarred of his advocate.

Upon this, John Huss required to have an advocate to answer for him; which was plainly and utterly denied him. And the reason that the masters commissioners brought against it was this: that the plain canon doth forbid that any man should be a defender of any cause of him, who is suspected of any kind of heresy. The vanity and folly of the witnesses was such, that if in case they had not been both the accusers and judges themselves, there should have needed no distinct confutation. I would have rehearsed the testimonies in this place, but that I knew them to be such, as the prudent and wise reader could not have read without great tediousness. Howbeit, some of them shall be declared, when we come to the process of his judgment.

Afterwards, when John Huss had recovered a little strength or health, by the commandment of the three commissioners there were presented unto him certain articles, many in number, which, they said, they had gathered out of his book which he made 'Of the church;' of which articles some were forged and invented by Master Paletz, and others were gathered only by halves, as shall be more plainly declared hereafter, when we come to speak of the judgment pronounced and given against the said Huss.

*See Appendix.*

Thus John Huss remained in the prison of the covent of the Franciscans, until the Wednesday before Palm Sunday, and certain appointed to keep him; and in the mean season, to employ and spend his time withal, he wrote certain books, that is to say, of the ten commandments, of the love and knowledge of God, of matrimony, of penance, of the three enemies of mankind, of the prayer of our Lord, and of the supper of our Lord.

Books which John Huss wrote in prison.

The same day pope John XXIII. changed his apparel, and conveyed himself secretly out of Constance, fearing the judgment by which afterwards he was deprived of his papal dignity by reason of most execrable and abominable forfeits and doings. This was the cause that John Huss was transported and carried unto another prison; for the pope's servants, who had the charge and keeping of John Huss, understanding that their master was fled and gone, delivered up the keys of the prison unto the emperor Sigismund, and to the cardinals, and followed their master the pope. Then, by the whole consent of the council, the said John Huss was put into the hands of the bishop of Constance, who sent him to a castle on the other side of the river Rhine, not very far from Constance, where he was shut up in a tower with fetters on his legs, that he could scarce walk in the day-time, and at night he was fastened up to a rack against the wall hard by his bed.

Pope John fled out of Constance.

In the mean season, certain noblemen and gentlemen of Poland and Bohemia did all their endeavour to purchase his deliverance, having respect to the good renown of all the realm, which was wonderfully defamed and slandered by certain naughty persons. The matter was grown unto this point, that all they who were in the town of Constance, who seemed to bear any favour unto John Huss, were made as mocking

Noblemen of Bohemia labour for John Huss.

*Henry  
V.**A. D.  
1415.*

stocks, and derided of all men, yea, even of the slaves and base people. Wherefore they took counsel and concluded together to present their request in writing unto the whole council, or at the least unto the deputies of the four nations of Almain, Italy, France and England: this request was presented the fourteenth day of May, A.D. 1415; the tenor here ensueth:—

The first Schedule or Bill, which the Nobles of Bohemia delivered up to the Council for the Deliverance of John Huss, the fourteenth day of May, A. D. 1415.

Most reverend fathers and lords! the nobles and lords of Bohemia and Poland here present, by these their present writings do show and declare unto your fatherly reverences, how that the most noble king and lord, the lord Sigismund, king of Romans, always Augustus, king of Hungary, Croatia, Dalmatia, &c., hearing of the great dissension that was in the kingdom of Bohemia, as heir, king, and lord successor, willing to foresee and provide for his own honour, sent these noblemen, Lords Wenceslaus de Duba and John de Clum here present, that they would bring and assure Master John Huss, under the king's name and safe conduct; so that he would come to the sacred general council of Constance, under the safe conduct of the said king, and the protection of the sacred empire, openly given and granted unto the said Master John Huss, that he might purge himself and the kingdom of Bohemia from the slander that was raised upon them, and there to make an open declaration of his faith to every man that would lay any thing to his charge: which the said nobles, with the beforenamed Master John Huss, have performed and done, according to the king's commandment.

When the said Master John Huss was freely of his own accord come unto Constance, under the said safe-conduct, he was grievously imprisoned before he was heard, and at this present is tormented both with fetters, and also with hunger and thirst. Albeit that in times past, at the council holden at Pisa, in the year of our Lord 1409, the heretics who were condemned, were suffered to remain there at liberty, and to depart home freely; notwithstanding this, Master John Huss, neither being convicted nor condemned, no not so much as once heard, is taken and imprisoned, when neither king nor any prince elector, nor any ambassador of any university, was yet come or present. And albeit the lord the king, together with the nobles and lords here present, most instantly required and desired, that as touching his safe-conduct they would foresee and have respect unto his honour, and that the said Master John Huss might be openly heard, forasmuch as he would render and show a reason of his faith; and if he were found or convicted obstinately to affirm or maintain any thing against the truth of holy Scripture, that then he ought to correct and amend the same, according to the instruction and determination of the council; yet could he never obtain this. But the said Master John Huss, notwithstanding all this, is most grievously oppressed with fetters and irons, and so weakened with thin and slender diet, that it is to be feared, lest that, his power and strength being hereby consumed and wasted, he should be put in danger of his wit or reason.

And although the lords of Bohemia here present are greatly slandered, because they, seeing the said Master John Huss so to be tormented and troubled, contrary to the king's safe-conduct, have not by their letters put the king in mind of his said safe-conduct, that the said lord and king should not any more suffer any such matters, forasmuch as they tend to the contempt and disregard of the kingdom of Bohemia, which from the first original and beginning, since it received the catholic faith, never departed or went away from the obedience of the holy church of Rome; yet, notwithstanding, they have suffered and borne all these things patiently hitherto, lest by any means, occasion of trouble or vexation of this sacred council might arise or spring thereof.

Wherefore, most reverend fathers and lords! the nobles and lords, before named, do wholly and most earnestly desire and require your reverences here present, that both for the honour of the safe-conduct of our said lord the king, and also for the preservation and increase of the worthy fame and renown both

The safe  
conduct  
of the em-  
peror  
challeng-  
ed.

See  
Appendix.

The ex-  
tremities  
John  
Huss suf-  
fered in  
prison.



of the aforesaid kingdom of Bohemia, and your own also, you will make a short end about the affairs of Master John Huss; forasmuch as by the means of his strait handling he is in great danger by any longer delay; even as they do most specially trust upon the most upright consciences and judgments of your fatherly reverences. But, forasmuch as, most reverend fathers and lords! it is now come to the knowledge and understanding of the nobles and lords of Bohemia here present, how that certain backbiters and slanderers of the most famous kingdom of Bohemia aforesaid have declared and told unto your reverences, how that the sacrament of the most precious blood of our Lord is carried up and down through Bohemia in vessels not consecrated nor hallowed, and that cobblers do now hear confessions, and minister the most blessed body of our lord unto others: the nobles, therefore, of Bohemia here present, require and desire you, that you will give no credit unto false promoters and tale-tellers, for that, as most wicked and naughty slanderers and backbiters of that kingdom aforesaid, they do report and te untruths; requiring also your reverences, that such slanderous persons of the kingdom aforesaid may be named and known. And the lord the king, together with your reverences, shall well perceive and see that the lords of Bohemia will go about in such manner as to refel and put away the false and frivolous slanders of these naughty persons, that they shall be ashamed to appear hereafter before the lord the king and your reverences.

*Henry  
F.*

A. D.  
1415.

The con-  
futation  
of certain  
slanders.

As soon as this their supplication was read, the bishop of Lychomysl rising up said, "Most reverend fathers, I well perceive and understand, that the last part of this writing doth touch me, my familiars, and friends, as though the kingdom of Bohemia were slandered by us. Wherefore I desire to have time and space of deliberation, that I may purge myself from this crime that is laid against me." The principal of the council appointed him the sixteenth day of May, at the which day the lords of Bohemia should be present again, to hear both the answer of the council and also the excuse of the bishop of Lithomysl; the which thing indeed was afterward performed, for the sixteenth day of May, which was the fourth day before Whitsuntide, they met there again; where, first of all, a certain bishop, in the name of the whole council, answered by word to the nobles of Bohemia; the contents of whose answer may easily be known by the second supplication which the Bohemians put up to the council. But first, I shall here, in these few words following, show how the bishop of Lithomysl defended himself against that which is before written.

*See  
Appendix*

#### Answer of the Bishop of Lithomysl to the last Part of the Supplication which the Nobles of Bohemia presented unto the Council.

Most reverend fathers and noble lords! whereas Peter de Mladonyewitz, bachelor of arts, in the name of certain of the nobles of the kingdom of Bohemia, in his writings amongst other things did propound how that certain slanderers and backbiters of the said kingdom have brought to the ears of your reverences, that the most precious blood of Christ is carried up and down in Bohemia in bottles, and that cobblers do hear confessions, and minister the body of Christ unto others;—"Tis true, most reverend fathers and lords: albeit that I, together with the other prelates, doctors, masters, and other innumerable catholics of the said kingdom, who do desire as much as in them lieth to defend the faith of Christ, have laboured for the extirpation of that most wicked and detestable sect of Wiclevists, which now (alas! for sorrow) beginneth to spring and rise in the said kingdom, as is well known; notwithstanding, here in the pursuit of my vocation, not for any shame or reproof but for the honour of the kingdom aforesaid, I have propounded a certain new scandal to have now sprung up in the said kingdom, viz. that the followers of that sect do communicate the common people of both sexes in many cities, towns, and places of the said kingdom under both kinds, both of bread and wine, and do constantly teach

Answer  
and accu-  
sation of  
the bishop  
of Litho-  
mysl  
against  
John  
Huss.

*Henry  
V.*

A. D.  
1415.

that it is so to be communicated, obstinately affirming the same, and that the clergy who do repugn or say nay unto it, are to be counted church-robbers; as by the writings of their assertions, being directed and presented hither, shall openly appear.

Moreover, by the report and fame which goeth here abroad, and by the writings which were sent over unto me, I have propounded that it came to my knowledge, that the blood of Christ is carried about in vessels not consecrated, approving the aforesaid erroneous assertion of the Wicklevists, who affirm it necessary for salvation, that the people should communicate under both kinds of bread and wine; and that it is necessary, as the body of Christ is carried in the pix or box, so the blood of Christ should be carried in bottles, or other necessary vessels, from place to place, and especially about the ministration of the sick. Also I declared not of myself, but I heard it to be declared by others, both great and credible persons, that there was a certain woman, a follower of that sect, who, taking by violence the body of Christ out of a priest's hands, did communicate unto herself, and affirmed that all men ought to do so, if the priests should deny them the communion. And the same woman, amongst many other errors of the which she was convicted, did affirm that a good lay-woman might better consecrate and give absolution, than an evil priest; affirming that an evil priest can neither consecrate nor absolve. But I know that neither I, nor any of my assistants in this matter, have brought this at any time unto your ears, that cobblers in the said kingdom do hear confession, or minister the sacrament of the body of Christ, as is alleged by the said Peter, in behalf of the said supplicants. Notwithstanding that, we did fear, if means were not found to recounter or stop the offences before named, that this would immediately follow upon it. Wherefore, most reverend fathers! lest that the kingdom might be defamed any more by such pestiferous sects, and that the christian faith might happen to be endangered, with all reverence and charity, I do desire you, even by the bowels of mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ, that this most sacred council would provide some speedy remedy for this kingdom, as touching the premises.

Moreover, whether be they backbiters and slanderers, or wicked and false enviers of the kingdom of Bohemia, who do let the errors aforesaid, and many others more, which are sown by the Wicklevists in the said kingdom, and also elsewhere? who also both do labour, and have laboured, for the extirpation and rooting of those errors out of the kingdom aforesaid, and as catholic men for the zeal of their faith have manifestly put forth themselves against the maintainers of the said errors, or such as do maintain and defend the teachers of those errors? this answer I have here presented before your reverences, always wholly submitting myself and assistance unto your judgment, and to the definition of this most sacred council of Constance.

Answer  
of the  
bishop  
confuted.

The day before Whitsuntide, the nobles of Bohemia did confute this answer, made two days before in the council to their former writing, as here followeth.

### Answer of the Nobles of Bohemia.

Most reverend fathers and lords! forasmuch as upon Thursday it was answered in the behalf of your reverences, to the requests of the nobles and lords of Bohemia, that the said lords were misinformed of divers points contained in the declaration of their said bill; therefore the aforesaid lords have now determined and decreed to declare their former propounded requests more at large unto your reverences, not minding hereby to argue or reprove your fatherly wisdoms and circumspections; but that your reverences (their desires being partly on this behalf fulfilled) might the more effectuously and distinctly discern and judge as touching this matter.

The  
bishops  
do quarrel  
about the  
safe con-  
duct of  
John  
Huss.

And first of all, Whereas, the lords alleging how that Master John Huss was come hither unto Constance freely of his own good-will, under the safe-conduct of our lord the king and the protection of the sacred empire, it was answered thereunto on the behalf of your reverences, that the said lords were misinformed as touching the safe-conduct, for that you had understand by trust-worthy persons, that the friends and favourers of the said Master John Huss did first

procure his safe-conduct on the fifteenth day after his imprisonment :—To this the lords of Bohemia, and especially the lord John de Clum here present, whom this matter doth chiefly touch, do answer, that not on the fifteenth day after, but even the very same day that John Huss was apprehended and taken, when our reverend father the pope, in the presence of all his cardinals, demanded of Lord John de Clum, whether Master John Huss had any safe-conduct from the king his son, he answered, ‘Most holy father and cardinals! know ye that he hath a safe-conduct;’ and when he was asked the question again the second time, he answered in like manner.

Yet notwithstanding, none of them required to have the safe-conduct showed unto them : and again, the third day following, the lord John de Clum complained unto our lord the pope, how, notwithstanding the safe-conduct of our sovereign lord the king, he detained and kept Master John Huss as prisoner, showing the said safe-conduct unto many. And for a further truth herein, he referreth himself unto the testimonies and witnesses of divers earls, bishops, knights, gentlemen, and famous citizens of the city of Constance, who, all together at this present, did see the said safe-conduct, and heard it read; whereupon the said John de Clum is ready to bind himself under what penalty shall be required, evidently to prove and confirm that which he hath promised, whosoever say to the contrary.

Moreover, the lords of Bohemia refer themselves unto the knowledge of certain princes electors, and other princes, bishops, and many other noblemen, who were present before the king’s majesty, where and when the said safe-conduct was granted and given out by the special commandment of our said lord the king.

Hereby your fatherly reverences may understand and perceive that the said lords of Bohemia are not evil-informed as touching the said safe-conduct; but rather they, who by such reports have falsely and untruly informed your reverences. And first of all, they have offended against the lord our king and his chancellors : Secondly, against the lords and nobles of Bohemia, as though we had privily and by stealth, purchased the said safe-conduct. Wherefore the lords aforesaid most humbly require and desire your reverences, that you will not so lightly believe such as be not worthy of credit; but rather, hearing the contrary part, to labour and discuss, that the truth may the more evidently appear.

Secondly, Whereas, the lords aforesaid alleging how that Master John Huss, coming unto Constance of his own free will, being neither condemned nor heard, was imprisoned, your reverences made answer thereunto, that he, the said Master John Huss, in the time of Alexander V. was infamed and slandered upon certain heresies, and thereupon cited personally to appear in the court of Rome, and there was heard by his proctors, and forsomuch as he refused obstinately to appear was excommunicated; in the which excommunication he hath continued, as you affirm, by the space of five years; for the which he is to be judged and counted not only a simple and plain heretic, but a heresiarch, that is to say, an inventor and sower of new and strange errors; and that he, coming towards Constance, did preach by the way openly :—To this the lords aforesaid do answer, that, as touching his slander and citation, they can affirm nothing but by report. But, as touching that he did not personally appear, they say they have heard both himself and divers other credible persons say, yea even the most famous prince Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia, and almost all the whole nobility are witness, that he would willingly have appeared at Rome, or elsewhere, if he might safely have comen thither, and deadly enmity had not letted : and, moreover, his proctors which he sent unto the court of Rome alleging reasonable causes for his non-appearance, some of them were cast into prison, and others very evil entreated.

As for the excommunication which he hath so long sustained, they have heard him often say, that he hath not resisted against the same by contumacy or stubbornness, but under evident appellation, and thereupon referreth himself unto the acts of his causes which were pleaded in the court of Rome, wherein all this is more largely contained; the which your reverences may evidently perceive and see in this our present public transumpt, which we have offered unto you upon certain points aforesaid.

As concerning his preaching, wherewithal his enemies do report and charge, that Master John Huss did preach openly in the city of Constance; the lords

Henry  
V.

A. D.  
1415.

The safe-  
conduct  
of John  
Huss  
obtained  
and  
showed  
before his  
imprison-  
ment.

The  
bishops  
of the  
council  
falsely  
informed  
touching  
the safe  
conduct  
of John  
Huss.

John  
Huss  
imprison-  
ed before  
he was  
either  
condemn-  
ed or  
heard.

John  
Huss  
falsely  
charged  
to preach  
coming  
to the  
council.

The  
answer  
touching  
the cita-  
tion of  
John  
Huss to  
the court  
of Rome.

His pro-  
ctors evil  
entreated  
at Rome.

Henry  
V.

A.D.  
1415.

John  
Huss  
falsely  
reported  
to preach  
openly at  
Con-  
stance.

See  
Appendix.

Has many  
well wish-  
ers in  
Bohemia.

aforesaid, and specially the lord John de Clum here present, do answer, that he hath continually lodged with the said Master John Huss here in Constance, and that whosoever they be, that have been so bold, or dare be so bold, to say and affirm that Master John Huss had preached, as is premised, or, which is less, that since the time of his coming unto this city, even unto the very day and time of his captivity and imprisonment, he went but one step out of the house of his lodging, that the said lord John de Clum will and is content to bind himself with any such as shall affirm the same, under what penalty soever it be, of money or otherwise, that that which they have falsely reported unto your reverences, they shall never be able justly and truly to affirm and prove.

Thirdly, Whereas your reverences do say, that you do not understand or know what the lords do mean, by the heretics condemned at the council holden at Pisa, whether the rival popes, whose ambassadors came thither for unity's sake, and were tolerated, and gently treated, as though their lords had been much inclined unto unity; or else that they do mean the particular heretics, who were there condemned; adjoining thereunto, that even heretics coming unto a council under the pretence of that unity ought to be gently handled and entreated, &c.—reverend fathers and lords! whether the former or the latter he supposed to be meant, the lords aforesaid require none other thing, but that the said Master John Huss may use such liberty as they used, forsomuch as he came willingly unto this most sacred council, not for any other purpose, but only publicly to recognise his faith. And in what point soever he shall seem to vary from the word of God, and the union of holy mother church, in that point he will willingly be united and reconciled again thereunto; and not only himself, but also his favourers and adherents he would move and provoke thereunto, of whom the greater number are in the kingdom of Bohemia. Also he is come hither, that he might purge and clear the noble kingdom of Bohemia from the sinister and evil slander which was raised upon it.

Last of all, most reverend fathers and lords! forsomuch as your reverences have most favourably answered unto the principal request made by the lords aforesaid, that the process of Master John Huss, through God's help, should be determined and ended with all expedition and gentleness; the lords aforesaid do render most hearty thanks unto your reverences, and whensoever their desire, by God's help, shall come to the end or effect long wished or looked for, they will not only here, but also before the whole kingdom of Bohemia, and in all other places wheresoever they come, render unbounded thanks unto your reverences for ever.

This declaration of the nobles of Bohemia above prefixed may serve, not only to the confutation of the bishop of Lythomysl, the Bohemian, but also against the cavillations of Alanus Copus, the Englishman,<sup>1</sup> touching the safe-conduct of John Huss, whereof sufficiently before hath been said.<sup>2</sup>

The Copy of a public Testimonial of the whole University of Prague for John Huss, offered up to the Council.<sup>3</sup>

\*In the name of God, Amen. The year of our Lord 1411, the tenth day of September, in the second year of the pontificate of our most holy father in Christ and lord, the lord John, by the providence of God pope, the twenty-third of that name; in the greater city of Prague, in the college of Charles, where the weighty affairs of the university of Prague are accustomed to be intreated of; the honourable and devout man, Master John de Hussenitz, master of arts, and bachelor of divinity, and preacher of the word of God in the chapel called Bethlehem, did put up a certain writing in manner of an epistle, written with his own hand, before the reverend man sir Simon de Thysnow, master of arts, and bachelor of divinity, rector of the university, and before the whole college of doctors and masters, in the presence also of the public notaries, the which he would send unto our most holy father, the tenor whereof followeth, word by word.

‘According to the reverence which I owe unto Jesu Christ, the supreme pontiff, being ready to satisfy every man, who shall require me to render an

(1) Dial. 6, p. 929.

(2) See p. 424.—ED.

(3) From the edition of 1563, p. 265. See Appendix.—ED.

account of the faith which I do hold:—First, I do confess with my whole heart Jesus Christ our Lord to be very God and very man, and his whole law to be of such firm truth, that no iota or tittle thereof can fail. Moreover, I do confess his holy church to be so firmly founded upon a firm rock, that the gates of hell can by no means prevail against it; and in the hope of the Head, our Lord Jesus Christ, I am ready to sustain the punishment of most cruel death, rather than speak evasively or assert any thing which should be contrary to the will of Christ and his church. Whereupon, boldly and truly I do affirm, that I am wrongfully accused unto the apostolic see by such as are enemies unto the truth. For they have falsely accused me in affirming, that I should teach the people, that in the sacrament of the altar remaineth only the substance of material bread: with like untruth, also, that when the host is lifted up, then it is the body of Christ, and when it is laid down, it is not. Falsely, likewise, do they affirm that I should teach the people, that a priest being in deadly sin cannot consecrate: untruly, also, do they say of me, that I should teach that the lords may take away the temporalities from the clergy, and not pay the tithes: falsely, that pardons are nothing worth: unjustly have they said, that I have persuaded to punish the clergy by the sword: untruly have they reported that I have preached, taught, or holden, any manner of error or errors, or any kind of heresy, or that I have seduced the people from the way of truth in any manner whatever. Unjustly have they accused me, that I should be the cause that certain German masters were expelled out of Prague, when they themselves refused to hold and keep the privilege of the foundation of the famous university of Prague; neither would they obey the lawful commandments of the most noble Wenceslaus, king of the Romans and of Bohemia; thinking, that without their presence the university of Prague could not subsist: whereupon, without any compulsion, they departed and went their ways.

‘I confess, indeed, that I did appeal from the sentence of the most reverend father in Christ, the lord Sbinco, archbishop of Prague, unto the apostolic see; and, again, that I did appeal from the processes which came forth from the most holy apostolic see through sinister information. For the enemies of the truth, not having any regard unto their own honour or salvation, falsely made suggestion unto the apostolic see, that in the kingdom of Bohemia and the marquisdom of Moravia manifold errors were sprung up, the which had infected the hearts of many; so that, for the multitude of those who were infected with such errors, it was necessary that speedy remedy and correction be had. Finally, they falsely made suggestion, that the chapel of Bethlehem was a private place; whereas that place was confirmed by the ordinary bishop for an ecclesiastical benefice, the destruction whereof would not a little diminish and take away the honour of God amongst the people, hinder the profit of souls, give great offence, and provoke and stir up the people not a little against those who should be the destroyers thereof.

‘Further, being cited personally to appear at Rome, I desired with all humility so to do. But, forso much as both within the kingdom, and also without, there were snares laid for my life, especially by the Germans, therefore, being advertized by the counsel of many, I thought it should have been but to tempt God to put my life in danger, not profiting the church any thing at all. Whereupon I have not personally appeared, but, willing to show myself obedient unto the most holy apostolic see, have appointed advocates and proctors. I therefore most humbly do implore and desire your clemency, O most high vicar of Christ, that your holiness would vouchsafe, even for the tender mercy of Almighty God, freely to absolve me from personal appearance, and other things which follow thereupon. Forsomuch as by the most famous prince Wenceslaus, king of the Romans and of Bohemia, and, also, by the reverend fathers and most noble princes, the lord Wenceslaus patriarch of Antioch, the lord Conrad bishop of Olmutz, and also the most famous prince, the lord Rodolph, duke of Saxony, elector of the most sacred empire, and, also, by means of other princes, barons, and lords, as the most noble lord Stiborius, ambassador of the most famous prince, lord Sigismund, king of Hungary, I am fully and wholly agreed and accorded with the aforesaid most reverend father in Christ, the lord Sbinco; for I did offer myself to answer to all and singular such things as should be objected against me, referring myself to the whole audience; and if any thing should be found in me contrary to truth and equity,

*Henry  
V.*

A. D.  
1415.

*Why  
John  
Huss  
went not  
to Rome.*

Henry  
V.

A.D.  
1415.

I am contented, even with my whole heart (except that I should give place and be ready to amend the same), to be punished with fire, and am even presently ready, before the whole university of Prague and all the clergy thereof, if any man shall stand up against me, to give an account of all such things as shall be objected. But, unto this day, there would no man stand up against me, who, according to the canonical laws, would bind himself unto the like punishment or forfeit.'

'Written at Prague with mine own hand, upon Saint Giles' day.'

The which brief or epistle being thus put up and read, the said Master John Huss required, that, for the more evidence and greater credence to be had, the said writing should be written over again by us the notaries hereunder written, and should be reduced to a public form and order, and afterward, by the rector, doctors, and masters, of the university aforesaid, be sealed with their common seal. The which lord, the rector, after he had taken counsel and advice with the whole college, with one consent and mind granting to the request of the said John Huss, commanded that the brief aforesaid should be newly written and reduced unto a public form by us the notaries hereunder written; and, for the greater credit to be given thereunto, he commanded also the seal of the university to be put unto it. Upon all which and singular the premises, the foresaid Master John Huss required that we, the said notaries, should make unto him one or more public testimonials. These things were done in the presence of the most honourable and discreet men and lords, Vitus, provost of Myzzin in the diocese of Olmutz; James de Tachau, and John de Teplitz, presbyters; Matthew de Chlumtzan, clerk, and by the imperial authority public notary; John Xapasnick esquire, of Prague; Anthony de Rezce, and Michael de Drenow, clerks; and many other witnesses about the premises.

Michael de Pracatitz, of the diocese of Prague, by the imperial authority public notary, and also sworn notary of the bachelors, doctors, masters, and scholars of the university and school of Prague; and Nicholas de Brunn, of the diocese of Olmutz, by the apostolic and imperial authority public notary.\*

When the noble men of Bohemia by long time could receive no answer of those supplications which they had already put up, they determined, the last day of May following, by another supplication put up unto the principals of the council, to entreat that John Huss might be delivered out of prison, and defend his own cause openly: they also put up the testimonial of the bishop of Nazareth, as touching John Huss; the copy whereof is expressed in the beginning of this history, word by word.

### Another Supplication of the Nobles of Bohemia for John Huss.

Another  
supplication  
of  
the Bohemians  
for  
John  
Huss.

Most reverend fathers and lords in Christ! of late there was a supplication put up unto your reverences on the behalf of the lords and nobles of Bohemia and the nation of the Poles, wherein they most humbly desired your reverences to consider how the informations which were put up unto your reverences by the enemies of Master John Huss were insufficient, and, with reverence be it spoken, in many points untrue; as in the safe-conduct granted by the king's majesty, and also in other articles, as more plainly appeareth in the schedule, which was then offered unto you; upon which said schedule and other things at that present, being put up, they could not as yet receive any answer. Wherefore the lords aforesaid, most humbly require your fatherly reverences, that it would please you to consider the said supplication, and to give some answer to the lords aforesaid thereupon, and, specially having respect unto the great injuries and griefs which are done unto the said Master John Huss, the which may be understand and known by the schedule aforesaid, that you will mercifully consider and foresee that all those griefs and evils, so far different

The lords  
could  
have no  
answer to  
their sup-  
plication.

from all brotherly love and charity, are done unto him by his enemies even for very malice and hatred.

To the intent, therefore, that rancour and malice may be confounded and overthrown, and the plain and evident truth appear, it may please your fatherly reverences to understand that it is notified and known unto the barons, nobles, and citizens, the clergy and laity of the kingdom of Bohemia, that Master John Huss, in all his acts and doings, as well scholastical as ecclesiastical, and specially in all his public and open sermons, hath made, and hath accustomed to make, these manner of protestations; the which, without any thing to the contrary, he hath always taken pains to ratify and confirm as valid, as by this his protestation here following (which he made about the determination of a certain question) may most evidently and plainly appear unto every man who would behold and look upon the same: the form and tenor whereof here followeth, and is this.

Henry  
V.

A D.  
1415.

### ‘ The Protestation of John Huss.

‘ Forsomuch as above all things I do desire the honour of God, the profit of the holy church, and that I myself may be a faithful member of our Lord Jesu Christ, who is the head and husband of the holy church which he hath redeemed; therefore, as heretofore oftentimes I have done, even so now again I make this protestation: That I never obstinately said, or hereafter will say, any thing that shall be contrary unto the truth and verity; and, moreover, that I have always holden, do hold, and firmly desire for to hold, the very true and infallible truth and verity; so that before that I would defend and maintain any error contrary thereunto, I would rather choose, by the hope and help of the Lord, to suffer extreme punishment, even unto death: yea, and through the help of God, I am ready even to offer this my miserable life unto death for the law of Christ, the which I do believe, every part and parcel thereof, to be given by the counsel of the most holy Trinity, and promulgated by holy men of God, for the salvation of mankind.

\* ‘ Moreover,<sup>1</sup> I do believe all and singular the articles of that law, according to the sense and understanding in the which the most blessed Trinity hath commanded them to be believed. Wherefore, like as in my answers and acts scholastical, and also in my public sermons, I have, oftentimes, submitted myself, even so now, again, I do submit myself, and hereafter will most humbly submit myself under the obedience, reconciliation, and ordinance, of this most sacred and holy law; being ready to revoke and retract whatsoever I have heretofore spoken or said, on being truly informed and taught, that it is contrary unto the truth.’\*

From the which his protestation, and other protestations used by the said Master John Huss, it may be easily gathered, that his whole intent hath been and is, that he neither would nor will speak or write any thing in his books, treatises, doctrines, or public sermons, or affirm any articles, the which wittingly he did know to be either erroneous, offensive, seditious, heretical, or offensive to pious ears; albeit that these and such like things are falsely imputed unto him by his enemies. But it hath always been his chief intent, and so is, to affirm every point, conclusion, or article, contained in his books or doctrines, according to the warrant of gospel truth, the holy doctors, and writers upon the holy Scriptures, for to the end before expressed in his protestation; and if in any points he should be found defective or insufficient, or that he were not well understand of others, by information thereof to be directed, corrected, understood, and illuminated; and by no means to defend or sustain any one article against the holy church of Rome and the catholic faith.

Wherefore, most reverend fathers! seeing that, the premises notwithstanding, his enemies, through the extreme hatred which they bear unto him, have picked and taken out by piecemeal certain articles out of the books of Master John Huss, and, rejecting his allegations and reasons, neither adverting to the distinctions of their equivocations, do compound thereof certain false and feigned articles against him, to the end that, all charity being set apart, they may

(1) This paragraph is supplied to complete the document, from the edition of 1563, p. 207.—ED.

Henry  
V.A.D.  
1415.

overthrow him and bring him unto death, contrary unto the safe-conduct with good and just intent openly assigned unto the said Master John Huss by the most serene prince the lord Sigismund, king of the Romans and of Hungary, for his just defence against all molestations and frivolous accusations of the enemies, not only of the said Master John Huss, but also of the famous kingdom of Bohemia, and for the timely appeasing of these contentions springing in the said kingdom of Bohemia or elsewhere; the avoiding of which perilous contentions in the said kingdom of Bohemia, the said king of the Romans doth greatly desire and wish, as the right heir and successor to the said kingdom:—

These  
foisted  
out of  
Huss's  
books by  
his ene-  
mies.

The  
council  
evil in-  
formed  
against  
John  
Huss.

The  
nobles  
require  
that John  
Huss not  
being  
convicted  
nor con-  
demned  
should be  
delivered  
out of  
prison.

Thereupon the barons and nobles aforesaid humbly pray that, the premises being considered, as also the infamy which may happen by the premises unto the said kingdom and inhabitants thereof, you would put to your hands and take some order and mean, that Master John Huss may be distinctly heard by the enlightened men, learned in holy Scripture, already deputed, and others to be deputed, upon all and singular such articles as shall be laid unto him; to declare his own mind and intent, and also the mind of the doctors alleged for his purpose, with the manifold distinctions and equivocations, wherein the drawers-out of his articles do greatly equivocate among themselves, that so he may not, according to the deposition of witnesses, a great number of whom are and have a long time been his mortal enemies, and at the frivolous instigation of his enemies, while he is so miserably detained prisoner, be condemned unheard: forsomuch as by the said declarations your fatherly reverences might be the better informed of the truth, and he himself is ready always to submit himself under the determination of this most sacred council. For your reverences, by the crafty and feigned persuasions of his enemies, are thus informed, that Master John Huss hath been incorrigibly obstinate by a long time in perilous articles, the which your reverences may then plainly perceive to be untrue: and for the more evident manifestation hereof is presented unto your reverences an instrument of public recognition by the most reverend father in Christ, the lord Nicholas, bishop of Nazareth, especially appointed by the apostolic see inquisitor of heretical pravity in the diocese of Prague, the which by your reverences is more diligently to be hearkened unto.

Wherefore may it please your fatherly reverences to command the said Master John Huss, being neither convicted nor condemned, to be taken out of the bonds and fetters, in which he is now most grievously kept, and to put him into the hands of some reverend lord bishops or commissioners, deputed, or to be deputed, by this present council; that the said Master John Huss may be recruited in his strength, and be the more diligently and commodiously examined by the said lords commissioners. And for the greater assurance, the barons and nobles aforesaid of the kingdom of Bohemia will provide most sure and good sureties, who would not break their faith for any thing in the world; who also shall promise in his behalf, that he shall not flee out of the hands of the said commissioners, until such time as the matter be fully determined. In the effectual execution of which premises, wholesomely foreseeing to the *status*, fame, and honour of the said kingdom of Bohemia, and also to the safe-conduct of the most serene prince, the king of Romans; and lest the enemies and detractors of the honour and fame of the said kingdom of Bohemia and of the lords aforesaid, should not a little slander the said lords; pretending perhaps hereafter, that they had made unlawful or unreasonable requests:—for the withstanding of such mischiefs we require your fatherly reverences, that you will decree, and most graciously consent, that this our petition be drawn out and reduced into public form by your notary.

After this supplication was read before the deputies of the four nations, the patriarch of Antioch answered in the name of them all unto every article of the said supplication; but it was done in few words.

See  
Appendix

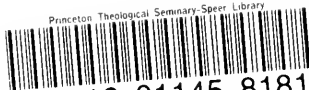








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